

LIFESTYLE MIGRANTS IN DATÇA

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ABSTRACT

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In this thesis, I take a generational perspective towards lifestyle migration to understand the current internal migration flow among the post-80s generation from big cities to Datça, a coastal/seasonal town located in the Aegean region in Turkey. Taking “lifestyle migrants” as a generational unit according to Mannheim’s terminology, I first describe the reasons and motivations for the post-80s generation to decide to migrate to Datça, arguing that the decision to leave big cities is not a random choice and should be understood as a response to their experience with and relationship to the modern in Turkey. I then transition to acclimatization processes and means of subsistence in Datça, and I argue that living in Datça requires establishment of symbolic and social boundaries, regulation of social relationships, and composition of social, symbolic, and economic capitals. Finally, I conclude by analyzing the gentrification and personal change aspects of these migrants’ narratives, and I argue that lifestyle migrants are critical of the gentrification processes in Datça, and that they perceive Datça as a place to learn.

ÖZET

DATÇA'DAKİ YAŞAM BİÇİMİ GÖÇMENLERİ

CEMRE ZEKİROĞLU

KÜLTÜREL ÇALIŞMALAR YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, AĞUSTOS 2020

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Anahtar Kelimeler: yaşam biçimi göçü, 80 sonrası kuşak, kuşak birimi, düşünümsellik, sermaye

Bu tezde yaşam biçimi göçü literatürüne kuşak kavramını ekleyerek Türkiye’de son yıllarda artmaya başlayan ve 80 sonrası kuşağın bir parçası olan Datça’daki yaşam biçimi göçmenlerini inceliyorum. “Yaşam biçimi göçmeni” kategorisini Mannheim’in terminolojisinden yararlanarak 80 sonrası kuşak içindeki "kuşak birimlerinden" biri olarak tanımlıyorum. İlk bölümde yaşam biçimi göçmeni kuşak birimine denk düşen kişilerin büyük şehirlerden Datça’ya göçme sebeplerini ve motivasyonlarını inceliyorum ve Datça’ya göçün rastlantısal olmadığını, aksine bunun Türkiye’deki modernite süreçlerine bir "cevap" olduğunu öne sürüyorum. Ardından bu göçmenlerin Datça’ya intibak ve Datça’da geçinme yollarını analiz ediyorum ve aynı kuşak birimini paylaşan yaşam biçimi göçmenlerinin Datça’da kendilerine bir hayat kurabilmeleri için sosyal ilişkilerini yeniden biçimlendirdiklerini ve büyük şehirlerde elde ettikleri kültürel sermayeleri etrafında sosyal ve ekonomik sermayelerini oluşturduklarını öne sürüyorum. Tezin son bölümünde ise bu kuşak biriminin Datça’nın soylulaşma sürecini ve kendi göç deneyimlerini nasıl yorumladıklarını ele alıyorum ve hem Datça’nın soylulaşma sürecine hem de kendi bireysel deneyimlerine eleştirel ve düşünümsel bir bakışları olduğunu ve Datça’yı bir öğrenme alanı olarak gördüklerini savunuyorum.

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1. INTRODUCTION

On Arkitera, an online platform and community of architects, Onurcan Çakır, an Istanbulite architect who migrated to Urla in 2012, explains his motivations for leaving Istanbul as follows: “[during my time in Vienna] I realized that I had been looking for fewer crowds, less traffic, and less noise, but more nature and peace, and it was possible to move from Istanbul for a more comfortable life somewhere else. I skipped the possibility of living in a city center and switched to village life. [...] Compared to Istanbul, the village I am living in [Barbaros] embraces tranquility and nature, which makes this place ideal to me” (Çakır 2016 (Accessed on 2020-06-30)). Alen Mevlat, another Istanbulite who used to be a freelancer in Istanbul, elaborates on why she quit her job to settle down in Edremit in 2015: “At one point, my job was reduced into a means of making money. I was working at home. I was not wasting my time in traffic. I did not have to visit customers regularly, but I was bored a lot. It was a soulless and mechanical job” (Limon 2018 (Accessed on 2020-06-30)). In Onurcan and Alen’s documented reflections, we only catch a glimpse of their motivations for leaving Istanbul, be it from the city itself or their occupational role in it—they do not tell us an in-depth story of the process of their migration. Thus, we are left uninformed about how and why they decided to leave Istanbul to settle in some rural locale on the Aegean coast. Since their stories are mostly portrayed as stories of achievement, in which individuals realize their dreams due to a “snap decision” made alone, critical analysis of lifestyle migration requires additional inquiry: How and why did they decide to leave the city? What were their motivations and expectations? How did they create their living spaces in their destinations? What challenges did they encounter?

The reason for my interest in these stories also derives from my personal experience. I was born and raised in Antalya, a seasonal town located in Turkey’s Mediterranean region. Every year, Antalya welcomes millions of tourists from all around the world. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the city of Antalya itself has been organized to meet the demands of tourists and visitors. Until I moved to Istanbul to start my university education, I spent all my time in Antalya. During my high

school years, my friends and I were very much motivated to leave Antalya for Istanbul because we always perceived Antalya as a small and dull city. It did not offer as many opportunities as Istanbul did, and if we wished to establish our independent lives, and to be employed in something other than tourism, we were supposed to study hard enough to get into a university in Istanbul and to spend our lives there.

Thus, our teachers and families always encouraged us to push our limits during preparation for the National University Entrance Exam. Getting into a university in Antalya would constitute 'failure' and signal that we were not smart or diligent enough. If we failed to win acceptance from an Istanbul university, it would mean spending another year in Antalya, going to the same places, spending time with the same people, and doing so far from any suitable employment option. Staying and living in Antalya was a great, shared fear.

During my high school years in Antalya, I was steeped in stress, pushing to fulfill my teachers' and family members' expectations, and to prove that I deserved 'a better life' in Istanbul. I did not want to miss my chance to become a 'successful and independent' adult, and higher education was the most conventional and convenient path to achievement. I used to wake up at 5.30 am to go to school and would arrive at home at 10 pm after long hours of practice and lectures, promising myself I would leave Antalya as soon as possible.

In 2012, I did not embarrass anyone, nor myself. I won acceptance to an Istanbul university, and everything would be perfect from then on. My success story had begun. However, my perception of Istanbul changed drastically in a day in December 2013. I walked Istiklal Street with my friends, together planning a New Year's celebration. The tram passed us with some musicians on it, who sang and received applause from the crowd. When we decided to go home at midnight, we took a bus from a street parallel to Istiklal, in Tarlabasi, where a new phase of urban renovation was ongoing. Immense, fancy advertisements for this renovation covered historic buildings, promising that the "result" would be good for us. They showed smiling Women and children, and happy couples shopping.

Suddenly, just after I boarded the bus I had been waiting for, a woman ran out of one of the Tarlabasi narrow streets, shouting for help. I strained to see anything at first, but then I realized that two men were following her, carrying sticks in their hands. In front of our bus, these two men began beating her to death. A woman cried for help, but no one responded to her; people just watched and pretended that nothing was happening. Others and I on the bus decided to call the police and an ambulance, but the driver closed the bus doors for 'security reasons,' and the police did not show up. I witnessed a woman beaten for minutes that felt much

longer. Some time later, when abandoned by her assailants and alone, the woman's daughter approached her, who cried and begged her not to die.

I still do not know what happened to her, and I have never seen any news about this incident. It remained untold and unrecognized. However, years after this incident of violence, this story is still with me, and I still talk about this scene in which I witnessed violence with my naked eyes in Tarlabası, set to a soundtrack of tram musicians. To me, Istanbul was no longer the city of opportunities or the setting for my success story. It made me revisit all those years spent in Antalya studying and struggling to move to Istanbul, where I thought I would be carefree and fully independent. I realized Istanbul was not the city I thought it was, and had been promised. No one in Antalya told me that I could ever witness such violence or become a victim of it.

"The better story," Georgis (2013) writes, "captures not the hierarchy of cultural expression, but rather, what's possible" (2). According to Georgis, we live or even die for our stories. Through our stories, we construct safety nets from pain and difficulties experienced, and those same stories shape the paths of our becoming (Ibid 2-4). The incident above shaped my 'becoming' and my growth. It changed the way I related to the city, making it fragile and ephemeral. I had been studying to become a translator in 2013, but in 2014, I decided to study sociology to create a space for more possibilities in my life to listen to more stories, hear more voices, and make sense of them through a sociological lens.

The first idea for this thesis derives from the above story: how it steered me to social science, becoming a turning point in my life. Taking into account other 'becoming' stories, I discuss life stories of the post-80s generation now in Datça, who were born and raised in big cities and spent much of their time in Istanbul and Ankara, and who decided 'instantaneously' to leave Istanbul and Ankara for various reasons, and to start a new beginning in a seasonal/coastal town in the Aegean coast in Turkey, Datça. Throughout this thesis, I follow their lived experiences and biographical accounts to find answers to the following questions: How did lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in Turkey decide to leave Istanbul and Ankara? Did they have a turning story? What were their reasons and motivations? Why and how did they decide to migrate to Datça? What were the challenges they encountered before and after migration? How do they perceive and narrate their lives in Datça?

1.1 Theoretical Approach

1.1.1 Lifestyle Migration

“Lifestyle migration” as a relatively new area of study in migration studies was coined by Benson and O’Reilly in 2009. They define lifestyle migration as a distinct category of temporal or permanent migration of relatively affluent individuals of all ages in search of a ‘better’ and more meaningful life (Benson and O’Reilly 2009). They explore a typology of lifestyle migration based on chosen destination, mentioning several interrelated categories: (i) residential tourism areas, (ii) the rural idyll seeker, and (iii) bourgeois bohemians who are searching for spiritual and artistic experiences (ibid, 2009: 611-613). As a product of late modernity, lifestyle migration can be regarded as an unfinished “reflexive project of the self,” as Giddens notes, in which “individuals negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options,” and these choices play an important role in the formation of self-identity and daily activity (Giddens 1991).

So far, several scholars from different disciplines, including geography, sociology, and anthropology, have contributed to the field of lifestyle migration. A number of researchers have focused on European retiree lifestyle migration, and second-home seekers at the transnational level (Benson 2009; Casado-Diaz 2016; Gallent 2015; Gustafson 2009; Oliver and O’Reilly 2010). Oliver and O’Reilly (2010) investigate the habitus of British lifestyle migrants and argue that they reproduce dominant cultural taste by participating in cultural activities and intentionally avoiding local meeting places in order to segregate themselves. Similarly, based on her ethnographic accounts, Benson (2009) describes how the British retirees in rural France accumulate cultural capital through engaging in the local lifestyle.

A number of scholars have recently explored the relationship between lifestyle migration and social capital (Casado-Diaz 2016; Gallent 2015; Gustafson 2009). Casado-Diaz (2016) highlights the importance of the accumulation of social capital through establishing a circle of culturally-homogeneous friends for British retiree lifestyle migrants in Costa Blanca. Likewise, Gustafson (2009) stresses the role of social networks in the selection of a destination for migration.

Korpela (2009) and Osbaldiston (2012) demonstrate that the search for authenticity

and ‘true self’ is among motivating factors for lifestyle migration. (Korpela 2009, 19) argues that Western lifestyle migrants in Varanasi associate India with a bohemian, relaxing, and spiritual lifestyle, in contrast to the West’s consumer and wage-driven uncertainty. Additionally, she argues that Western migrants’ privileges of citizenship and migratory freedom enable them to make these decisions relatively free of consequence.

Hoey provides valuable insight on the heterogeneity of ‘downshifting middle-class American’ lifestyle migrants in rural Northern Michigan (Hoey 2005, 2009). In his ethnographic research, Hoey (2005) suggests that lifestyle migrants frame their narratives around moral stories of a pressuring, stressful, and intense work life, and that they are motivated to find their own ‘potential, authentic selves’ in migration. This supports the idea that “the quest for a more meaningful existence that drives lifestyle migrants is socially as well as culturally constructed (Osbaldeston, 2012 cited in Salazar (2014)). Moreover, O’Reilly (2014) argues that social imaginaries are highly related to one’s relation to and practice of migration, by saying “[l]ifestyle migration is rife with stories about imaginings, and social imaginaries take shape through elements of its practice,” (O’Reilly 2014, 229).

Research on lifestyle migration in Turkey is rather limited. Nudrali and O’Reilly (2016) explore experiences of British retirees in Didim, including their motivations, daily lives, and experiences of distress with locals whom they regard as second-class citizens. In her research on British retirees in Muğla, Ertugrul (2016) argues that the motivation of lifestyle migrants is influenced by their political disposition. While conservative British migrants mention cultural dissatisfaction with the UK, often deriding multiculturalism and the loss of pure and unified Britishness, those who identify themselves as anarchist and/or socialist complain about “progressive capitalism” and excessive neoliberalism within the EU. Furthermore, she emphasizes that, for British migrants, “traveling to the East, to the South represents not only a movement in space but also a ‘movement in time,’ a means to recapture an imagined past,” and southwest Turkey gives them an opportunity to live without “a sense of life” (Ibid: 479-492). Additionally, Kılınç and King (2017) thematically analyze the motivations of second-generation Turkish-German returned migrants in Antalya by applying Benson and O’Reilly (2009)’s concept of lifestyle migration. The migrants reported reasons related to authenticity, work-life balance, a search for true self and better life.

Second-home or summer house construction and ownership in Turkish coastal regions began to be encouraged by the Turkish government in the 1980s, following the introduction of neoliberal politics and efforts to integrate the international tourism

sector by offering financial opportunities like mortgages to potential customers and making legal arrangements for national and international investors (Emekli 2014). Akyürek, Kılıçaslan, and Özkan (1988) discuss ecological destruction and property value inflation in the coastal regions in relation to increases in second-home ownership (as cited in Emekli 2014). Hurley and Ari's recent research examines the relationship between the emergence of a housing market that satisfies the demands of amenity migrants, and local resistance to the neoliberal landscape transformation in the Ida Mountains, overlapping with Costello's inverse correlation between the increase in the number of migrants in Castlemaine, a small, rural town in Victoria, Australia, and the decrease in the availability of relatively affordable housing (Costello 2009; Hurley and Ari 2018).

Öztürk, Hilton, and Jongerden (2014) argues that neoliberal transformations in the agricultural sector in Turkey have led to the emergence of "new" rural localities such as exurbias, where affluent professionals either live or "summer", and commuter villages in western and southwestern Turkey where urbanite retirees settle. She refers to "dual settlement" and a "multiple hybrid life" that blurs urban and rural boundaries (372). Regarding new migration flows and mobility, people create "geo-social realities or the socio-spatial products of their movement" (Ibid, 2014).

Young's case study in two villages, Yeni Orhanlı and Yağcılar in İzmir, illustrates these "new" kinds of rural localities, claiming that "urbanite villages" comprised of upper-middle-class professionals seeking healthier and 'authentic' family lives in newly emerged "hip villages" in Izmir which offer an imagined "country" lifestyle (Yücel Young 2007). Moreover, she argues that traditional divisions such as traditional/modern and urban/rural are no longer black and white for urbanite villagers. Rather it is possible to observe "hyper-traditions," meaning that these villagers fuse perceived dichotomous urban/rural lifestyles (Ibid, 2007).

In her unpublished MA thesis, Kurmuş (2018) argues that lifestyle migrants in Bodrum, who are former white-collar workers and professionals, consider life in cities other than Bodrum dispensable due to factors including former connections they have maintained in Bodrum, a desire to live there, and problems with a demanding former work life and commute in larger cities. Very recently, Orhon (2020) argues that Turkish back-to-landers' decision to leave for villages or towns, stories of which have gained much visibility in the last three years, is closely related to personally-held nostalgia and visions of utopia. Leaving big cities for the rural/coastal areas is a symptom of "responses produced against the "destructive appearances of the modern" (31).

After reviewing the literature on lifestyle migration, I contend that what is missing

in the current literature is a generational perspective on lifestyle migration. For this reason, I propose to combine the extant literature with Mannheim (1998)'s understanding of generation. According to Mannheim, the generational concept is a social phenomenon, and it refers to a particular constructed identity that includes location and related age-groups. People who are born in the same period consider themselves members of a generation, and they normally share a similar location as they go through similar historical and intellectual phases. However, as Mannheim argues, members of a perceived generation do not necessarily share similar locations despite sharing time-derived social and intellectual commonalities, which he terms 'stratification of experience.' Thus, this definition of generation includes a varied response to similar events. The former refers to an actual generation while the latter constitutes a generation unit. Mannheim explains these two concepts as follows:

“Youth experiencing the same concrete historical problems may be said to be part of the same actual generation, while those groups within the same actual generation which work up the material of their common experiences in different specific ways constitute separate [generation] units.”
(Mannheim 1998, 304)

Although examining post-80s generation migrants to Datça through the lens of generational lifestyle migration offers some insight, I have further questions: What does the post-80s generation in Turkey refer to, and by examining which characteristics of the post-80s generation can I make connections to understand lifestyle migrants as a generation unit? The discussion must begin with the Turkish Modernization project and the Kemalist Doxa.

1.1.2 Turkish Modernization and Kemalism as Doxa

Kemalist doxa combines a set of values and understandings regarding the Turkish nation and Turkishness with an aim to establish a sense of “family”. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu starts his book *Practical Reason* by explaining that the word “family” corresponds to:

“... it has also been pointed out that this principle of construction is socially constructed and common to all agents socialized in a particular way. In other words, it is a common principle of vision and division, a *nomos*, that we all have in our heads because it has been inculcated in us through a process of socialization performed in a world that was itself organized to the division of families. ... It is a tacit law (*nomos* of perception and practice that is at the basis of the social world ..., the basis of *common sense*.” (Bourdieu 1998, 66).

To Bourdieu, family is a universal principle derived from socialization which urges individuals to situationally define that which is perceived/seen as common and natural. This “common sense”, according to Bourdieu, is *doxa*:

“Doxa is a particular point of view, the point of view of the dominant, which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view - the point of view of those who dominate by dominating the state and who have constituted their point of view as universal by constituting the state.” (Bourdieu 1998, 57)

In Bourdieu’s view, Doxa is a locally-dominant view presented and accepted as both broad and universal, and is constructed through cultural and social processes, representing the views of people or groups holding instruments of the state.

When the Republic of Turkey was declared in 1923, it gave birth to the formation of a new state, including a mandated plan for “Westernization” reforms. These Kemalism-driven reforms, the official doxa, and Kemalism itself changed the relationship between Turkish citizens and state institutions and influenced daily interactions. The Republican People’s Party (RRP)¹ remained as the single party, the practitioner of Kemalist doxa, and solely occupied a position of power to ensure that Kemalist values and reforms would be persistent and well-established across the country. This political tradition continued to 1950, although its influence extended far beyond that.

As Zürcher notes, Kemalism never managed to become a coherent and inclusive ideology, and during the 1930s, nationalism and secularism were the keys to its program. However, it lacked “emotional appeal”. What Kemalist ideology intended to achieve is establishment of a new national identity and erosion of religious influence in civic life. Kemalism shaped education, media, and military life in order to impose its new ideology and republican values, with an intent to create and indoctrinate

¹Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) in Turkish

citizens with “historical myths” (Zürcher 2004, 181-182).

In particular, reforms introduced 1925-1935 related to education and generational identity speak specifically to the issue of doxa and historical myths. One of Kemalism’s theorists, sociologist Ziya Gökalp pays much attention to education and its social function. Gökalp perceives education as a way to transform an “individual person” into a “social person” so that the Turkish society can flourish and sustain itself. Moreover, he proposes a homogenizing and normative system of education that suppresses individual freedoms (Parla 1985, 52).

As Berkes puts, “among the various aspects of social life that felt, with particular intensity the impact of the secularization of government, of the family institution and certain cultural practices, was education,” (Berkes 1998, 476). As Neyzi argues “young people were central to the ideology of Turkish nationalism because the goal of the regime was to create a new type of person with a new mind-set, imbued with the values of the Republic and freed of what was perceived as the shackles tradition,” (Neyzi 2001, 416-417). Undoubtedly, secular, modern and unified national education served as “a tool for shaping young generations toward modernization,” (Lüküslü and Dinçşahin 2013, 196) and education became a means of success and upward mobility for the young people who were in favor of the Kemalist values (Neyzi 2001, 417). Additionally, in relation with the generational identity between 1923-1950, Lüküslü proposes that a new “myth of youth” emerged (Lüküslü 2009, 14-15). According to Lüküslü, it focused on the education of young people’s souls, minds and bodies. According to Lüküslü, the early republican myth of youth was centralized by the state and defined the Turkish youth as the ultimate guardian of the Republic and Kemalist values.

1.1.3 The 80s and the Post-80s Generation in Turkey

The year 1980 is an important turning point in Turkish political and cultural history. On September 12, 1980, the Turkish Republic experienced its third coup d’état 20 years after that of 1960 and nine years after the coup of 1971². Without a doubt, the 1980s coup and its aftermath have influenced Turkey’s structures and every day. To “save the democracy from politicians and political parties”, the Military Junta aimed to pacify political activities and campaigns. For this, mostly leftist unions, newspapers, and foundations were shut down, and all political parties were

²As part of this thesis, I am not going to dwell into the coup of 1960 and 1971.

dismissed, and politicians before the coup were forbidden from policy-making for the next ten years, until 1990. Thousands of people were arrested and received imprisonment. The new constitution formed by the junta was introduced in 1982 (Zürcher 2004, 279-281).

The formation of a new political party was only possible upon the National Security Council's approval and consent. As a result of this, only three parties were allowed to participate in the 1983 elections. Along with the Party of Nationalist Democracy (PND)³, the Populist Party (PP)⁴, the Motherland Party (MP) of Turgut Özal⁵ was one of them. Even though the junta demonstrated its willingness in favor of the Party of Nationalist Democracy, Özal's Motherland Party won the first place in the polls (Ibid 2004, 281-283) and the post-coup era in Turkey began.

Nilüfer Göle argues that political culture fundamentally changed after 1980. According to her, the change can be traced at three levels: change in political discourse, the engagement of social actors with the state and politics, and the narrative of political parties in terms of the relationship between society and state. What is distinctive in Göle's argument is that no matter how oppressive and violent the coup period was, the post-1980s period in Turkey should not be perceived as apolitical. Instead, it is a period of finding new political understandings. Relatedly, the post-80 era is not characterized by ideological polarization as it used to be between 1960 and 1980, and new political actors such as women, homosexuals, and environmentalist emerged. Göle calls this multiplication of identities among new political actors as "sensitivity realms of modern societies", especially concerning human health and environmental issues, and it should not be confused with being apolitical⁶ (Göle 2002, 37-40).

While analyzing the cultural atmosphere of the 1980s, Nurdan Gürbilek divides the 80s in half, and she defines the second half of the 1980s as "the return of the repressed" out of the oppression of the military coup. Gürbilek elaborates on it as follows:

³Milliyetçi Demokrasi Partisi (MDP) in Turkish.

⁴Halkçı Partisi (HP) in Turkish.

⁵Anavatan Partisi (AP) in Turkish.

⁶My translation of Göle's article written in Turkish in her book, *Melez Desenler* (2002) Full quote: "... Üstelik kamuoyu da sesini yalnızca doğrudan politik konularda değil, aynı zamanda **modern toplumun yeni duyarlılık alanlarında da**, özellikle insan ve çevre sağlığını ilgilendiren konularda duyuruyor," (pp. 39).

“... if the cultural climate of that period is described first of all as ‘repression of speech,’ it must be characterized as an ‘explosion of speech.’ And there was from the late 1980s on, an explosion so widespread as to create the illusion that repression was a thing of the past. Prohibitions continued, yet people began to speak with an appetite like that had never been seen before. ... Groups unable to express themselves within the founding Republican ideology began to speak, groups that had no place in the Kemalist modernizing design: Kurds, ‘minorities,’ Islamists - in sum, the provincial population. ... Women, too, found a new voice. ... Homosexuals, almost never heard of in public, began to speak for themselves” (Gürbilek 2013, Introduction).

It can be argued that Göle’s and Gürbilek’s arguments follow a continuity in terms of political and cultural change during the 1980s. Even though Turkey witnessed a series of repressions, violence, and radical changes after the coup, the post-80s era evoked a multiplication of political subjects and cultural production. This multiplication can be seen as “apolitical” if we understand them through the perspective of the leftist and rightist politics of the 1960s and 1970s. However, the multiplication of identities and actors in the public sphere, in fact, led to an “explosion of speech” and the utterance of newly emerged issues and concerns that have been historically remained as outcast upon the foundation of the Republic and the implication of the Kemalist doxa.

As I have mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the Kemalist doxa pays particular attention to education and youth as youth is defined as the guardian of the Turkish Republic and youth is perceived as the transmitter of the “historical myths” to ensure the continuation of the ideals of the Kemalist doxa. In the realm of youth studies, Lüküslü calls this the “myth of youth”. Later in her book, *“The Myth of Youth” in Turkey*, Lüküslü argues that the youth between the 1960s and 1970s, similar to that of between 1923 and 1950 aims to “save the country” and their thoughts are state-centered, meaning that saving the country corresponds to the saving of state. The youth in these two periods can be perceived as a continuity of the youth myth in Turkey, and the post-80s generation drifts away from the myth. (Lüküslü 2009, 15). Later on, based on her fieldwork, drawing from Mannheim’s concept of generation, Lüküslü defines the post-80s generation’s characteristics. According to her, the post-80s generation consciously takes ‘being apolitical’ as a political standpoint, and they perceive institutional politics and politicians as corrupted and unreliable. Towards the very end, Lüküslü (2008) acknowledges that her analysis of the post-80s generation in Turkey brings out general characteristics of the generation and more research should be conducted to reveal how diverse and ‘colorful’ the post-80s generation is (198-201), which I believe the diversity and colorfulness of the

post-80s generation refer to “generation units“ within the post-80s generation.

Throughout this thesis, I will follow this theoretical understanding to analyze the lifestyle migration of the post-80s generation in Turkey. Drawing on the literature of lifestyle migration, the Kemalist doxa, and the concept of generation, I engage with the following theoretical questions through the narratives of the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in Datça: What makes the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation as a particular generation unit? In what ways are the concepts of generation and the Kemalist doxa useful analytical tools to make sense of the lifestyle migrants in Datça?

1.2 Methodology

For this thesis, I conducted field research in Datça in June 2019 and semi-structured life story interviews. “Narrative research is the study of stories. Stories are ubiquitous, appearing as historical accounts, as fictional novels, like fairy tales, like autobiographies, and other genres” (Polkinghorne 2007, 471). Starting from the narrative turn, biographies and biographical methods have gained much importance. Biography can be accepted as a product of changing environments and cultures, and it can be said that researcher have been using biographies to trace even macro-scale changes including migration and political distress, and it has been used in several disciplines in social science including anthropology, sociology, education and psychology, opening room for interdisciplinary research. A biographical research perspective can offer ways to grasp how people from different backgrounds take action for/against or react to seemingly ‘objective’ or ‘neutral’ situations and of subjective understanding and conceptualization of the past (Merrill and West 2009).

According to Plummer (2001), we can distinguish biographical/life stories into three as *naturalistic*, *researched*, and *reflexive*. As he argues, naturalistic life stories come out as part of the conversation in everyday life, and they are not “artificially assembled, but just happen *in situ*” whereas researched stories are not naturally generated. Instead, they are produced as an activity between informants and researchers in a created setting, and they can be recorded. Among these researched stories, Plummer (2001) are oral history, life story interviews, and psychological case studies. Finally, reflexive stories are surrounded by self-consciousness and recursiveness, such as auto-ethnography and observation of the self (Ibid, 27-35).

More importantly, Plummer (2001) attempts to define the concept of biography/life story as *resource* and *topic*. If we approach a biography or a life story as a topic, we happen to see it in its own right, and contextualization of it would be less significant. However, when taken as a resource, it enables us to understand social life (36-39). I find these definitions quite useful when it comes to the methodology of this thesis. What is in connection with Plummer's definitions of "life story as a resource" and "researched story" is the fact that, as Rosenthal (1993) argues, a narrated life story evolves around certain topics and represents one's past experiences and future orientations that have been socially constructed. As Rosenthal (1993) suggests, "this construct which is not at the biographer's conscious disposal, not only constitutes the selection of experiences out of one's memory. It also constitutes how the biographer perceives these experiences today" (5).

For this thesis, I conducted 16 semi-structured life story interviews with lifestyle migrants in their thirties and forties. Except for my two informants born and raised in Manisa and Antakya, all of them were born and raised in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. However, all my informants spent most of their time in Istanbul and Ankara, and their migration to Datça was from either Istanbul or Ankara.

I took the interviews I conducted as resources to understand narratives and discourses of lifestyle migrants from the post-80s generation in Datça. I first started to conduct interviews in Bodrum and Marmaris (two districts of Muğla) because, in the beginning, I intended to cover the city of Muğla as a whole. After completing four interviews in Bodrum, Marmaris, and Fethiye, in July 2019, I arrived at Datça to stay ten days to expand my research. However, the number of interviews increased in Datça, and I had an opportunity to compare them with those in other districts. As a result, I decided to narrow down my field to Datça because I believed that all these districts' localities and historical backgrounds would be practically challenging. I also had the time and travel-related constraints as I did not live in Muğla, and as this study overlapped with my studies and work. Rather, I concluded that keeping Datça as my field would allow me to explore the city's particularities, why lifestyle migrants specifically decided to settle down in, and how they set up a new life for themselves there.

During my ten days in Datça, I conducted ten face-to-face life story interviews. I had two gatekeepers there who initially introduced me to my informants and helped me enter the field. I reached all of my informants through snowball sampling. I recorded eight of them upon their consent, and I took interview notes in two interviews. During my stay in Datça, I also visited art exhibitions and cafes, bars, and stores of lifestyle migrants and had some daily conversations with them. I also attended an

open forum organized by the city council, where I had a chance to meet new people and follow the discussions among people living there. After arriving at Istanbul, one of my informants sent me an e-mail from the recording of the forum I attended along with another city forum recording of which they organized in early 2019.

I spent most of my time in the Datça city center since most lifestyle migrants lived there. On my last day, one of my informants offered me a ride to guide me through neighborhoods and historical monuments that helped me understand the district. Thanks to her, I met seven lifestyle migrants from different neighborhoods in Datça and invited them to participate in my study, yet as I had very limited time and would go back to Istanbul the next day, I offered them to have Skype interviews. All of them agreed in our face-to-face conversations, and we exchanged phone numbers. However, after I returned to Istanbul, two of them declined to have an interview. Thus, as part of this research, I conducted four more interviews on Skype between August-October 2019, and I met one of my informants to have an interview in Istanbul in November 2019.

Skype interviews were the most challenging part of this research. They offer researchers and informants an opportunity to overcome time and financial and geographical constraints since it offers more flexibility for both parties (Janghorban, Roudsari, and Taghipour 2014). During my fieldwork, Skype interviews allowed me to continue my interviews when I was not physically available to conduct research. No matter how I acknowledge the advantages of Skype interviews, I also experienced some limitations and drawbacks. Firstly, it was challenging to come up with an interview date and time with my informants, and Skype interviews seemed to be easier to postpone compared to face-to-face interviews. From time to time, it was also challenging to focus on listening to my informants and establish a clear channel of communication due to unstable internet connection and distractions around.

1.3 Contextualizing Datça

Datça is a peninsula and a district of the city of Muğla in the Aegean region of Turkey. It is 121 km away from the center of Muğla, which takes about three hours by car. The city of Muğla has two airports close to Bodrum and Dalaman, and the nearest airport to Datça is the Dalaman Airport, which is two hours away from Datça (160 km).

The city of Muğla has nationally and internationally well-known touristic districts such as Bodrum, Dalaman, Köyceğiz, and Marmaris. Compared by size and population, Datça is one of the smallest and least crowded ones, followed by Akyazı and Ula. Datça's neighboring districts are Marmaris and Bodrum.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, tourism across the Aegean and Mediterranean coast of Turkey developed as a sector organically supported by the government. Notably, the post-1980s witness an increase in second-houses across the coastal towns in Turkey. Similarly, the first attempt to turn Datça into a touristic town was initiated with the construction of *Datça Aktur Tatil Sitesi* in the early 1970s. It is a gated community in use, and it includes second summer houses, markets, theatre, and other facilities. One of my informants in Datça was one of the first owners of a house at *Datça Aktur Tatil Sitesi*, and she told me that the gated community was constructed for the urbanites to allow them to own a summer house in the Aegean coast and it led to a seasonal population increase in Datça. However, since the only connecting railroad to Datça is from Marmaris, during our conversations, she also mentioned that the road to Datça from the 1980s to early 2000s was very narrow, unsafe, and bumpy, which made reaching Datça even more challenging and this is why Datça remained “behind the curtains” compared to its neighboring districts.

On December 6, 2012, the new Law No. 6360, also known as “the metropolis law”⁷, was enforced, converting the administrative and governmental status of some cities in Turkey from “small city” into “metropolis”. As a result, villages of the districts in Muğla lost their legal entities and became neighborhoods and were connected to the Muğla Metropolitan Municipality. In other words, before 2012, Datça had 12 villages, yet now they are officially recognized as neighborhoods.

In general, the Law has brought up a change in rural areas with the introduction of the new master and urbanization plans governed by the Muğla Metropolitan Municipalities, increasing population and construction. Nevertheless, there is hardly any study focusing on the changes in Datça, providing an overview and comparison of the district within time. However, some research would guide me in terms of ongoing and potential changes expecting Datça. For example, in her article, Partigöç (2018) argues that the new Metropolitan Law led to a spatial change in rural areas in Pamukkale, Denizli. It created an expansion in the use of land, leading to the sprawl of Pamukkale. Drawing on this perspective, I can tell that it is possible to trace a spatial sprawl in the Datça city center:

⁷Büyükşehir Kanunu in Turkish.

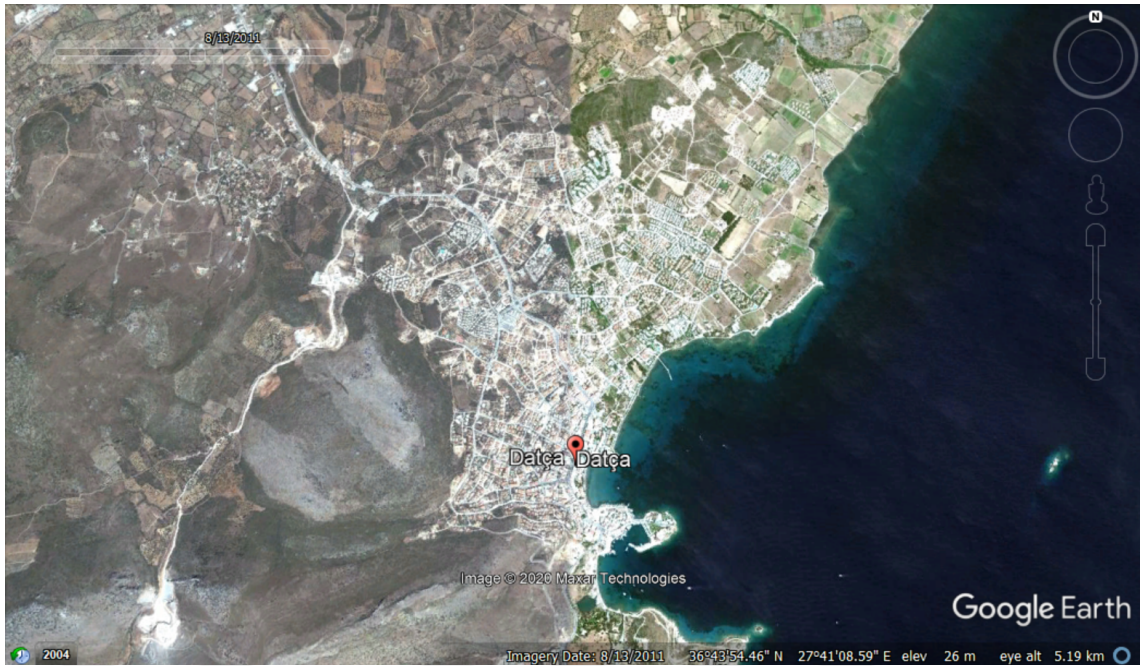


Figure 1.1 Satellite View 1: Datça City Center in 2011, retrieved from Google Earth Pro on 2020-06-12

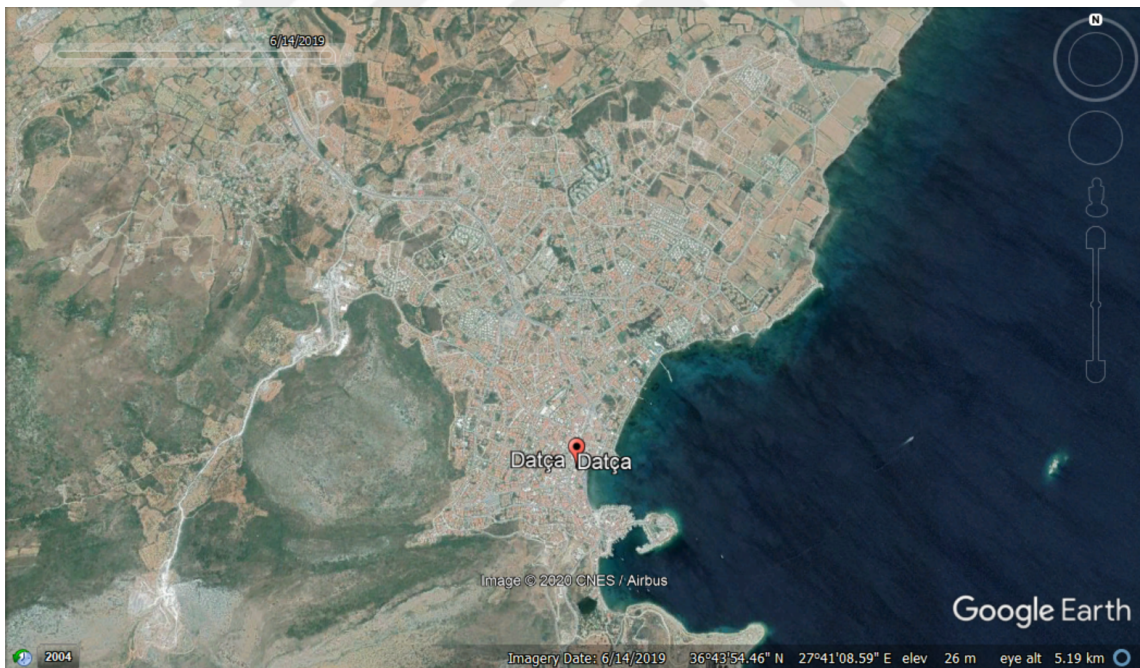


Figure 1.2 Satellite View 2: Datça City Center in 2019, retrieved from Google Earth Pro on 2020-06-12

As seen in the figures above, since 2011, Datça has been expanding towards North and West. In 2019, a local newspaper in Datça indicated that the population of Datça grew by 6.8% and became 22.261, becoming the fastest populating district of

Muğla⁸. When I first visited Datça in June 2019, I was struck by the number of gated communities and apartments under construction. During the interviews, spatial change in Datça was a recurrent topic mentioned for explaining how Datça has been getting crowded and expensive year by year. My informants also mentioned how newer roads were constructed to connect the center of Datça to its neighbors, which are very critical steps towards urbanization and gentrification of Datça since all these have been contributing to Datça's attractiveness and making it more accessible.

At first, it may seem to be contradictory talk about the gentrification of Datça when its population is taken into account. However, gentrification in small-scale places that are open to tourism is not a new phenomenon in Turkey. Onen (2016), for example, explains how migrants from Istanbul and Ankara have transformed and contributed to the heterogeneity of Alaçatı (İzmir). Other researchers have also indicated that gentrification in small scales is fueled by tourism (Bahar 2003; Başaran-Uysal 2012; Cilingir 2018; Dinç 2020). Orhan and Yücel (2019) argue that new migration flows to Doğanbey village in Söke (a district of Aydın, another city in the Aegean coast similar to Muğla), have led to a change in property relations upon the discovery of the village by newcomers and locals started to sell their properties to newcomers to leave Doğanbey. Also, newcomers in Doğanbey village led to the village's gentrification, creating a division in terms of lifestyles between locals and newcomers.

1.4 Significance

Researchers have taken lifestyle migration as a part of international migration and this brings certain limitations. Firstly, most of the research has dealt with the issue at transnational and international level. For example, while Benson (2009) and Casado-Diaz (2009) analyze the patterns of lifestyle migration within the European Union (EU), Korpela (2009), Kılıç and King (2017), and Ertuğrul (2016) discuss the differentiating aspects of the lifestyle migration from the EU to non-EU countries. Furthermore, they introduce power relations between Indian or Turkish locals and European lifestyle migrants. Secondly, what is common in this research is that researchers tend to take the category of "retirees" as the actors of lifestyle migration and this category specifically refer to those holding EU citizenship. For this reason,

⁸<http://www.datca-haber.com/haber/-68-buyudukdatcanin-nufusu-22261-oldu/1379/> Accessed on 07/06/2020

I believe that my research will contribute to the field in two ways: Firstly, it can be considered as one of the exemplary studies to demonstrate the heterogeneity of lifestyle migrants as I focus on lifestyle migrants who belong to the post 80s generation. Secondly, my research will open a path to discuss the modernism and internal dynamics of Turkey as I take lifestyle migration as part of internal migration. Here, I believe it is important to understand how the post-80s generation is characterized. For this, as I have aimed to explain in the very first section of this chapter, it would be crucial to understand the different generations and generation units within the course of Turkish history and how to situate the post-80s generation within the Turkish historical and social context.

Apart from the concept of lifestyle migration, there are some journalistic coverage of the recent brain drain trend among younger generations in Turkey. In September 2018, journalist Kadri Gürsel wrote a piece on Al-Monitor, claiming that the ‘Gezi generation’ is fleeing Turkey, and his informants describe Gezi Park protests as the turning point in their decision to leave Turkey (Gürsel 2018 (Accessed on 2020-06-30)). In 2018, Plaza Eylem Platformu, a solidarity group of white-collar workers in Istanbul, organized an interactive meeting on the migration of white-collar workers to exchange their experiences and constraints in business life and current political and social issues that urge them to think of leaving Turkey (Aktan 2018 (Accessed on 2020-06-30)).

Since 2013, newspapers and online media have published interviews or covered stories of former professionals who migrated to rural areas in western Turkey to seek for alternatives beyond Istanbul. For example, in Merve Damcı’s interview with İrem, who used to be an architect in Istanbul but now owns a publishing house and lives on the Aegean coast of Turkey, she identifies the city with fear and hopelessness (Damcı 2018 (Accessed on 2020-06-30)). Also, in Ervin’s full-page report on a former bank-employee couple living in Datça now, they express that they are one of the rare individuals who have managed to “become successful in rural life”. Even though they claim that rural life is not suitable for everyone, and they also have gone through some challenges during the migration process, Ervin does not investigate those challenges in-depth. Rather, Ervin underlines how they have succeeded in changing the rural life in Datça by establishing weaving workshops and teaching women how to do sericulture (Ibid). Given the amount of journalistic coverage and their narrative, this thesis aims to contribute to the discussions about the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation from an academic perspective.

1.5 Outline of This Thesis

This thesis is made up of three chapters based on the fieldwork I conducted in Datça in June 2019.

In the first chapter, I am going to analyze the reasons and motivations of the lifestyle migrants of the post-1980 generation in Datça, and I argue that their migration can be understood as a response to the risks they are surrounded in big cities and these risks can be conceptualized within the frame of modernity. In this chapter, I draw on Giddens's theory on late modernity and Simmel's blasé attitude to explain what the responses of lifestyle migrants correspond to in big cities such as Istanbul and Ankara and how they decide to migrate to Datça. Undoubtedly, it is not a random choice, and it is very much rooted in their lived experiences and is closely related to the globalized character of the modern.

The second chapter offers an analysis of the acclimatization processes and the means of getting by of the lifestyle migrants as a generation unit in Datça. For this, I look at how their lifestyle migrant identity is formed. In the first part of this chapter, I argue that the acclimatization processes of lifestyle migrants go hand in hand with establishing a sense of home for themselves, which requires reorganizing relationships with possessions and intimate partners. As part of the reorganization of relationships, I scrutinize their perception of locals, which resonates with the Kemalist doxa. I also look at the "sense of solidarity" among lifestyle migrants where we see the reflection of social, cultural, and economic capitals. In the second part of this chapter, I analyze the means of getting by among the lifestyle migrants, and I argue that getting by and making money in Datça urge them to use the cultural, social, and economic capitals that they accumulated in big cities and have been expanding in Datça. However, cultural capital stands out as the central and their means of getting by is connected to the notion of entrepreneurship.

Finally, in the last chapter, I focus on the narratives of lifestyle migrants in terms of the spatial change in Datça and their change due to their migration to Datça. Here, I argue that in the narratives of the lifestyle migrants, we can follow two layers of change, and these two are intertwined with self-reflexivity. In this chapter, I argue that the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation are critical about the gentrification of Datça, and they have a sense of awareness when it comes to their position within the framework of gentrification. Finally, I argue that migration to Datça offers them a place of learning where they can revisit their life choices and selves and I believe that it is a continuation of their lifestyle migrant as a generation unit that constitutes a specific identity and belonging formation.

2. NARRATIVES OF ESCAPE”: SELF-REFLEXIVITY AND LIVED EXPERIENCE IN SNAP DECISIONS”

In this chapter, I aim to understand the migration narratives of the post-80s generation who has migrated to Datça. It mainly focuses on the motivations, reasons, and experiences of these migrants, and I argue that the lifestyle migration of the post-80 generation who grew up in and witnessed the 1990s and 2000s in Turkey can be perceived as a “response” to the modern in Turkey. In this chapter, I draw on Giddens’ theory on late modernity and how the self becomes reflexive as a result of late modernity.

During my field research, one thing that often came up was that the pre-migration and post-migration narratives of these migrants were drastically shifting, making Datça a definite turning point. When we were having conversations about their lives before they decided to move to Datça, I realized that their narratives were more open to analysis to discuss Turkey’s political and social dynamics and how they position themselves within them. One of my informants has strongly shaped my thoughts regarding pre-migration and post-migration narratives. During our conversations with Didem, she told me: “We are the people out of the system”. I got curious about what “the system” was, and I asked her what she meant by it. She replied: “The system... You should have a family, a home, a job. You should live in big cities. It is what has been taught us”.

2.1 “I am Özal’s Child”: A Generational Approach to Lifestyle Migration

Towards the end of June 2019, I was about to complete my fieldwork in Datça. I had some interviews with lifestyle migrants there, trying to understand why they chose to move from big cities to Datça. As part of it, on a sunny afternoon, I

scheduled a meeting with Elif, Hakan, and Çağlar. They are in their late thirties and early forties. Elif and Hakan left Istanbul and Çağlar Ankara, and they met and became good friends in Datça. Elif studied mathematics, specialized in finance, and worked in the advertisement sector in Istanbul for years. Hakan is a photographer, and Çağlar is a musician, having studied music at university. Elif was the first person I met when I arrived at Datça, and she introduced me to her friends and acquaintances. When she migrated to Datça in 2011, as she told me, there were no people “like her”, but now, she has a large circle of friends with whom she has much in common.

On my way to Elif’s house where I would meet Çağlar and Hakan, my mind was full of thoughts and concerns. Even though I started my fieldwork a while ago, I still could not find a way to describe “these people” in Datça. I was reminding myself that one of my professors told me not to give them a title because “these people” do not contain any defining characteristics. “Why do you want to research with them? What makes them different? You should think about these” she told me. “They caught my attention in one way or another,” I replied. “It seems to me that they decided to make changes in their lives in terms of work, family, and place... Why and how did they do these? I can’t imagine myself moving to a seasonal town to spend my life, to make a living. There is something difficult to explain in them”.

It seemed to me that their stories were very distinctive within themselves, but without a doubt, they must have “something” in common. For this reason, I decided to share my confusion with my informants and invite them to think about how to call them. For this, during our interviews, I told them that I was not sure how I should call this “phenomena” of people like “them” who left cities to settle down in Datça. Were they villagers? Were they urbanites? Or something else?

During our face-to-face interview with her a day before our interview with Çağlar and Hakan, Elif told me the following: “People in Datça are like us, like me... I mean, our generation”. “Your generation?”, I replied. “Yes, my generation, people who think like me, like us”. I wrote down in my notebook “Our Generation”.

With her words in my mind, I met Hakan and Çağlar at Elif’s home. Hakan is Elif’s partner. They met in Datça and had been sharing the same house since they started their relationship. Elif had invited Çağlar because she thought that he was an ‘interesting example’ for my research. With Elif, Hakan, and Çağlar, after having some small conversations, we started to discuss why “people like them” started to leave cities.

Çağlar started first. He was living in Ankara with his wife, Zeliha. As he told me,

they used to have a decent life back there. Zeliha used to work in an institution as an archaeologist, and Çağlar was producing music for short films and documentaries. Çağlar later decided that they should move to Istanbul to establish a set of networks and make more money because it was challenging to sustain good relationships between Ankara and Istanbul. However, Zeliha's position was quite satisfying, and she was content with her workplace. While discussing about moving to Istanbul or not, Çağlar stumbled upon a website about permaculture. It caught his attention and told Zeliha about this. Then, they decided to attend a 2-week permaculture workshop in 2010. After the workshop, they realized that they liked the idea of permaculture and decided to take another step towards it. Within a short period, the couple got packed up, left their home in Ankara, and embarked on a journey to Asia to learn more about permaculture. They first traveled around Turkey for six months, then went to Syria and Indonesia. They volunteered to work in gardens in exchange for shelter and an allowance. After a year and a half, they decided to return to Turkey with the money they saved up as they missed their friends and families much. Their first destination in Turkey was Datça because Zeliha's grandmother had a summer house there. In Çağlar's words, they decided to give a "chance" to Datça. After they settled down in Datça around April-May 2013, the Gezi protests started in Istanbul and spread to other cities rapidly. "We went to Ankara and Istanbul for sure, to join the protests", Çağlar said, "We were tear-gassed, we shouted, kicking and stamping".

Elif, Hakan, and Çağlar agreed that migration to Datça increased after the Gezi, and it was the "first trigger". According to Hakan, when the protests were suppressed, it created a disappointment in them and his generation. However, people got to know each other thanks to the city forums of the Gezi, and they decided to do something on their own. "I started my journey like many others after the Gezi", Hakan said.

According to them, the second trigger was the 15th July coup attempt in 2016. "You don't feel like you are safe in the city after the 15th of July. Police are everywhere. They stop you and check your ID," Hakan said, and Çağlar agreed with him.

"When you stay in Datça for a while," Çağlar took the stage, "you realize that people in Ankara and Istanbul are miserable, hopeless, and pessimistic. You can't realize it when you live there, but you can when you go as a visitor. I think this is why people who can flee do so..."

After our conversation about the Gezi and their reasons for moving to Datça, I got curious about their political engagements. "Were you already political before the Gezi?", I asked. "I was", Hakan replied, "I have been politically organized as an anarchist since '94. Protests, magazine delivery, cultural centers, etc. I have some

jobs related to it. I mean, I have always been political”. When Hakan paused, Çağlar came in and told: “I was not, at all. I am still not that much. I am Özal’s child. So is my wife, Zeliha. We somehow got engaged in the Gezi protests, but I have never considered myself as ‘political’ in this sense [that of Hakan]. One of the most political messages is that you can produce your food and be completely independent”.

A few months after our conversation with Elif, Hakan, and Çağlar, after I came back to Istanbul and started to read all the interviews I had with my informants, I found out my answer. “These people” I talked to were born in the late 70s and early 80s. They went to school and attended university during the late 1990s. In the early 2000s, they started their “adult” lives. However, I acknowledge that it would be entirely deterministic to argue that all informants’ narratives are in absolute homogeneity. On the contrary, I believe that the overlapping aspects of their narratives are a useful starting point to understand why they have left big cities to settle down in Datça.

2.2 Reflexive Project of the Self

“Cutting off the Northern Forest¹ was the last tipping point,” said Zehra when she started to tell her and her family’s journey of leaving Istanbul. “The Northern Forest used to prevent the particles coming from Europe. When they decided to build the third bridge and butcher the Northern Forest, we decided to leave Istanbul”.

Discussions about Istanbul’s third bridge is not a new phenomenon for Turkish politics and the Istanbulites. It started to be publicly discussed in 1998 and spanned over 15 years until its construction was launched in 2013, and it opened in 2016. I am not going to separate another sub-chapter to analyze the discourses of a third bridge project in Istanbul. However, it would be useful to mention that a third bridge has always been narrated as a “necessity” for Istanbul and the two former bridges, the Bosphorus and the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridges, opened in 1973 and 1988, respectively. In 1998, a third bridge project was approved by The State Planning Organization (*Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*) connecting Sarayburnu and Kadıköy in

¹Kuzey Ormanları in Turkish.

July 1998². Nevertheless, this decision was severely criticized by the NGOs and chambers of trade arguing that the traffic load of Istanbul would not be solved by constructing another bridge, it would destroy the historical fabric of the Peninsula, and it would be against the urbanization plans of Istanbul³. When the AKP came to power in 2002, these discussions did not halt, and in 2005, the Mayor of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Kadir Topbaş, announced that another third bridge project and its itinerary were completed⁴. It again received criticism as it would destroy the natural resources of Istanbul and lead to the evacuation of the urban poor. Also, constructing a third bridge in the northern part of the city would be disastrous⁵.

In 2012, the government's bid over "the Northern Marmara Railway Project" was finalized, and its construction started on May 29, 2013, a day after the Gezi protests began. According to Göle (2013), "within the Gezi Movement, environmental sensitivity and criticism of capitalism became intertwined" (9). Even though Göle does not take "class" as an analytical tool, according to Keyder, the Gezi protests are a product of the new middle class in Turkey, and it should be understood within the global dynamics. A new middle class started to form in the late 1980s, and they confront the system as opposed to their "fathers". This class's characteristics include the occupation of positions requiring knowledge, skill, and education in the division of labor, and this new middle class is in favor of individual freedom, sensitivity towards the environment, and is critical about the government's interference in terms of lifestyles and individual autonomy (Keyder 2013).

According to Giddens, modernity is contradictory in itself. Even though modernity is characterized by risk reduction as a result of rational thinking and expert knowledge, at the same time, it introduces new risks. What is more, these newly introduced risks result from the "globalized character" of the systems of modernity. According to Giddens, these risks are nuclear weapons, massive destructive machines, and ecological catastrophes. What is essential about these risks is that they are the ones that the former generations did not experience since they are the consequences of high modernity. I believe the generational division in terms of risk produced within high modernity is crucial to understand why my informants left big cities for Datça.

²<https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/3-kopru-1998de-39255995> Accessed on 17/07/2020.

³<https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/3-kopru-zararli-39077411> Accessed on 17/07/2020.

⁴<https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/kadir-topbas-3-kopru-projesi-tamam-14532833> Accessed on 17/07/2020.

⁵<https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/3-kopru-kuzeye-yapilirsa-istanbulun-sonu-olur-9221143> Accessed on 17/07/2020.

I do not aim to provide an institutional analysis of high modernity and its traces in Turkey, and I think Giddens' theory opens some room for me to map out the reflections of what "new risks" have been introduced to the post-80s generation. For this reason, I find Giddens' analysis of the self in high modernity quite useful. "Self-identity becomes a reflexively organized endeavor" and the reflexive project of the self that is continuously revised to establish a biographical narrative, "takes place in the context of multiple-choice as filtered through abstract systems" (Giddens 1991, 3-6). For this reason, as individuals revisit their life choices out of multiple options, the notion of lifestyle is quite significant to understand the biographical narratives or the reflexive project of the self. Moreover, developing a sense of trust in the abstract systems is directly linked to an early sense of ontological security. It also provides a basis for the reflexive project of the self (Ibid, 3).

Undoubtedly, environmentalist language reflects the globalized character of the modernity. As Hajer and et al. (1995) suggest, contemporary environmental discourse and politics date back to 1972. However, it was the mid-80s when they become influential all around the world and the parts of political agendas. In other words, environmental problems started to demonstrate their "globalized" structure in the 80s and reached their peak in the 1990s Hajer and et al. (1995). With this line of thought, it is not an exception to observe the ecological and environmental concerns of the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in Datça. These ecological concerns encourage them to engage in "societal inquiry" (Ibid, 1995). Moreover, I also think that this societal inquiry is closely interrelated to one's health, interpersonal relationships and their perception of institutional politics.

Additionally, I take Giddens' term "reflexive project of the self" as an inseparable part of my informants' narratives. If self-identity becomes reflexive, it means that biographical narratives are always in progress and in flux; an individual continuously revisits her experiences to evaluate them and reshape themselves. Tied with the globalized character of the environmentalist language, the individuals who were born and raised under the influence of the post-80s, go through a process of self-perception in terms 'their roles and responsibilities' (Milton 2002, 179). Following Giddens, we can say that there is no absolute trust in abstract systems and self-identity. Due to the lack of absolute trust, choices being made become crucial in one's path of life. This is also what I realized in the field. While narrating their reasons and motivations for leaving big cities for Datça, my informants lacked absolute trust in Turkey's abstract systems. Related to this lack of absolute trust, they continuously revisited their life choices during their lives in big cities, including their environment and work. For this, I can argue that lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in Datça have a sense of reflexivity, and they negotiate their life choices as a driving

force to migrate. In their pre-migration narratives, I see their notion of the self includes reflexivity and risk assessment and these are reinforced by the political and social transformations in Turkey.

Now, I would like to go back to Zehra's story of leaving Istanbul. Zehra is in her mid-30s, and she has been living in Datça with her partner and child since 2018. She was born and raised in Istanbul. As a musicologist, she used to work as a music critic in Istanbul, where she worked for different magazines and newspapers. When her child Güneş was born in 2010, as the newspaper she had been working for did not accept her request for a maternity leave of six months, she quit and decided to complete her master's thesis. "The first place Güneş ever saw was my university," said Zehra to highlight how she tried to find a balance between childcare and her education. According to her, their migration to Datça from Istanbul was not a reason, but a result. "If the change in me had not begun in Istanbul, I would not be in Datça now," Zehra said in our interview.

While discussing her and her family's decision to leave Istanbul, Zehra began to talk about her child and their health problems. Back in Istanbul, her child, Güneş, had several illnesses concerning his breath and skin. Zehra and his husband frequently visited doctors to find a cure for him. Soon, doctors told them that unless they left Istanbul, Güneş would soon have asthma. However, they had to stay as they had jobs and a settled life in Istanbul. Later on, the coup attempt of 2016 happened in Istanbul. At that time, Zehra and her family had been living in Üsküdar, very close to Selimiye Barracks. "I have many traumatic stories from that day," said Zehra and continued: "Our house was three-steps away from Selimiye Barracks. I saw a woman approaching the Barracks. A soldier shouted her not to approach. I heard the soldier saying that he was going to shoot her after three warnings".

Along with her child's health problems and the coup attempt of 2016, Zehra also mentioned that an anticipated Istanbul earthquake had been distressing her family. "I used to sleep with a bag with me and make plans to save my children in the case of an earthquake. I was in Bostancı during the earthquake of 1999. I could foresee what would happen," Zehra said.

In Zehra's narrative, three risks come forward with a potential for physical and mental well-being to deteriorate, including health, security, and life. Due to these risks regarding Zehra and her family's life in Istanbul, they had to revisit their life choices and come up with a response to those risks and concerns, and this response was to leave Istanbul permanently.

Parallel to the risks imposed on them, Zehra and her family decided to migrate to

Datça as it represents the opposite of what Istanbul has. “There is hardly any crime in Datça. The environment and the quality of the air are wonderful. Güneş goes to a public school here where he can meet many people from different backgrounds. It would not be the case if we stayed in Istanbul”. Even though Güneş’s education was not one of the reasons that Zehra enumerated, it was still relatable with their decision to migrate to Datça. As Güneş grew up and reached his school age, it became an issue that needed to be taken into account and it encouraged them to think about migrating to Datça. “There are no private schools in Datça, which is a good thing. Everyone’s children go to public schools. This is a precious thing, and Güneş will understand its value in the future. Let us think about Istanbul. There is a wide gap between private and public schools. There is no gap here, it is an excellent thing as I am against the privatization of education,” Zehra told me.

Zehra’s narrative concerning the risk of education is not the only one that I encountered. During my time in Datça, I met Sedef. Sedef is in her mid-forties and is a former banker. She has been living in Datça as a single mom with her two children. Her children go to primary and middle school, respectively. I first ran into her when she opened her counter in order to sell accessories that she made. “Things are slow today *İşler kesat bugün,*” she said, “you can ask me whatever you want”. I asked why she decided to move Datça. “Why did I come to Datça? Because I wanted to save my children from the mentality of Istanbul”.

Then Sedef started to talk about her experience with her children’s school life. One of Sedef’s children, her son, has some health problems that affect his social relationships as Sedef told me that her son would continuously get bullied by his friends at school. We used to see a therapist every week,“ Sedef told me, and she added: “all those shopping malls and technology in Istanbul used to threaten my children’s lives”. However, her decision to save her children from the mentality of Istanbul was not welcomed by her former husband. “He still curses me. What a shame! He thinks that our children have become antisocial, and his idea of being antisocial is not being able to go to the shopping mall. Interesting, isn’t it? He thinks that I have made my children’s life miserable. It is not the case, of course. I have been raising my children as free individuals. They can do whatever they want, they can go out, and I do not have to think about them, they hang out with their friends freely, and I do not worry if they are safe”.

As I understand from my interview and conversations with Sedef, there were some risks in Sedef’s and her children’s life back in Istanbul. During their time in Istanbul, her son’s health problems were one of her biggest concerns, and his health started to deteriorate day by day as a result of being bullied at school. Moreover, she considers

the limited access to open space in Istanbul as another risk for her children as they are not able to have enough freedom to play outdoors. There are no shopping malls in Datça compared to the case of Istanbul, and Sedef is very much content with this because by playing and spending time outdoor, their children can experience their childhood. Lastly, as Istanbul poses security and trust issues when it comes to her children's socialization processes, Sedef thinks that Datça is more risk-free compared to Istanbul as she knows the families of her children's friends.

2.3 The Blasé Attitude

In *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, Simmel suggests that individuals in modern life try to establish their individuality and autonomy out of social forces and external culture, and the metropolis is at the heart of the battle between agency and structure. According to him, the money economy is the epitome of the metropolis (Simmel 1997). In this analysis of the relationship between the metropolis and the mental, putting the economic exchange at the center, Simmel proposes that individuals in the metropolis have developed what he calls the “blasé attitude” which is the psychological source of the metropolitan life. “[T]he blasé attitude results ... from the rapidly changing and closely compressed contrasting stimulations of the nerves” and “life in boundless pursuit of pleasure makes one blasé because it agitates the nerves to their strongest reactivity for such a long time that they finally chase to react at all” (Ibid 178).

Simmel writes these sentences to describe the blasé attitude that is widespread among individuals living in the metropolis, and they echoed in my mind during my fieldwork in Datça. The blasé attitude has some common points with Giddens' theory of liquid modernity. “Personal meaninglessness,” writes Giddens, “becomes a fundamental psychic problem in circumstances of late modernity,” resulting in a repression of moral questions. “The reflexive project of the self generates programs of actualization and mastery. However, as long as these possibilities are understood largely as a matter of the extension of the control systems of modernity to the self, they lack moral meaning” (Giddens 1991, 10). Giddens continues:

“Many aspects of routine behavior are not directly motivated – they are carried on as elements of day-to-day life. ... We should regard motivation

as an underlying ‘feeling state’ of the individual, involving unconscious forms of effect and more consciously experienced pangs or promptings.” (Giddens 1991, 63-64)

Esra, one of my informants, is in her 30s and has been living in Datça for five years. She was born and raised in Istanbul and “has no roots in the rural”. She studied architecture and worked as a senior architect at a prestigious company for six years until she migrated to Datça. In her words, Mustafa, her husband, expressed that they did not decide to migrate to Datça, yet all they wanted was to “escape from the city”. Also, Esra narrates their reasons to leave Istanbul as follows:

“A person cannot have a personal space in the city. Everyone is very stressed and other environmental factors constantly affect the nervous system. Sound, light, smell ... Many things. You cannot escape from them as ideas and thoughts, on the contrary, you are exposed to them. The exposure situation in this city starts to get very tiring after a point and you feel exhausted. So there is always a rush, there are always stimuli coming from the environment and you have to perceive them all. We wanted a calmer, more peaceful, and slower life. We set out with a desire that everything around us should not constantly change, everything should not be under stress, we should not hear horns, and if we do not want news, we should not be exposed to them. Everything in the city is very artificial and we are crushed and lost in the virtual and artificial system we have established”.⁶

According to Esra, one of the most disturbing characteristics of Istanbul is to be exposed to things that one does not choose. “Being exposed” “consumes” her and affects her nervous system. As she told me: “You can call this consumption: your clothes, your car, your job, your job promotion. You are consumed by the things you think you do consume”. Esra framed her reasons for leaving Istanbul as “being exposed” and “being consumed,” as well as rejecting becoming indifferent or getting used to being a passive voice in Istanbul. However, realizing it took her many years. One day, she and her husband decided to leave their jobs and embarked on a trip to find a place. “We made a snap decision, but the formation of these feelings has a long-term infrastructure. We made a snap decision to leave Istanbul, realizing that

⁶“Şehirde insanın kişisel alanı olamıyor. Herkes çok stresli ve diğer çevresel faktörler sürekli sinir sistemini etkiliyor. Ses, ışık, koku... Birçok şey. Fikir ve düşünce olarak kaçamıyorsun bunlardan, aksine bunlara maruz kalıyorsun. Bu şehirde maruz kalma durumu bir noktadan sonra çok yorucu olmaya başlıyor ve tükendığını hissediyorsun. Yani hep bir koşturma var, sürekli çevreden gelen uyarılar var ve hepsini algılamak zorunda kalıyorsun. Biraz daha sakin, huzurlu ve yavaş bir hayat istedik. Etrafımızdaki her şey sürekli değişmesin, her şey stres altında olmasın, korna sesi duymayalım, haber istemiyorsak maruz kalmayalım gibi bir istekle yola çıktık. Şehirde her şey çok yapay ve kendi kurduğumuz sanal ve yapay sistemin içinde eziliyoruz ve kayboluyoruz”.

we cannot keep up with Istanbul anymore, and it is time for us to leave”.

Esra and Mustafa’s first journey across the Aegean coast to find their new home took months. “I cannot remember how many months it took but many,” says Esra. “We did not make any plans, we did not research anywhere. Someone told us to go somewhere, and we just went to check out if it was suitable for us. It was a romantic and spontaneous trip”. However, they could not find the “right” place, and they had to return to Istanbul to get ready for their second trip. Datça was not part of the first round. “We could not find anywhere,” Esra explains, “the only place we did not visit was Datça”. When they arrived at Datça for the first time, Esra recalls her disappointment in Datça’s city center. “Is this the Datça that everyone recommends us to go? One of the worst places I have ever seen. Why did these people tell us to go there? Then we went up, up to the villages. Then we entered Mesudiye, and I told myself, aha, this was the place people recommended us to see. Mesudiye, my love at first sight”.

Meryem is in her early 40s, and when we met and had our interview, she had been living in Datça for less than a year. She was born and raised in Antakya. “I grew up in a big family back in Antakya. My parents were state officers. We went on holidays in summer, and spent the winter in Antakya. My parents were really relaxed,” Meryem said, and we just started our interview.

Meryem left for Istanbul to start her university education in 1996. She got placed in the department of cinema and television. “But I always wanted to go on the stage”. When she completed her university education, she started working as an art director. However, due to the heavy conditions and long working hours, she decided to leave. As her-then-husband encouraged her to cook professionally, she started working as a cook from the 2000s to the time she decided to move to Datça.

Similar to Esra, Meryem also expresses that it was a snap decision, but “its establishment” took a very long time. “I decided on this immediately, and I went to the *bakkal* near my home and told him to save moving boxes for me”. She narrates her reasons as follows:

“ I was tired of the many people in Istanbul and the many people I had to have a forced relationship with when I stayed there and I didn’t want it. However, if I left their side, I would be able to end that relationship. I would not be able to tell those people that I would not see them or meet with them, because they did not do anything that could justify me

saying something like that. They didn't do anything, but I don't want to meet, but I know they won't understand if you talk to them. So the problem was with me, of course I was the one to go.”⁷

Even though Meryem did not know where to go, she was confident that she wanted to leave Istanbul and make a change in her life. For this, she got packed for four months with the cardboard boxes that the *bakkal* collected for her. When she was ready, she started searching for a place to settle down. As she has a master's degree in art history, at first she thought that applying to universities as a part-time lecturer would be a good idea. She created some syllabi and sent them to the universities on the Aegean coast of Turkey. In the end, she had some job interviews, and all of them were in different districts in Muğla, such as Marmaris, Bodrum, or Köyceğiz. However, Meryem demonstrates her reluctance towards more touristic and gentrified districts of Muğla compared to Datça:

“I wouldn't think of settling in Bodrum. This is important for me. Bodrum is just like Istanbul. For example, I do not like Çeşme, I saw the same thing in Çeşme. I don't like the people there. The people of this place are more naive, simpler. They don't do things that reveal their economic conditions, but wealthy people. You don't see this much, but if you go to their house or see extra things, you might notice it. For example, he lives in a mansion but does not show this [in Datça], but it is not so in Bodrum. In Bodrum, in Çeşme, this type of people bother me the most. They are also the people I dislike most in Istanbul. “People who reveal they have a lot of money, that is, people who are actually corrupt and lost.”⁸

According to Meryem, she looked for “humane values” and these values are associated with being naive and unpretentious, and these two describe why Meryem decided to leave Istanbul. To support her thoughts, she told me about her experience in Alaçatı, a touristic district in İzmir:

⁷“İstanbuldaki birçok insandan ve kaldığım zaman orada mecburi ilişki kurmam gereken birçok insandan sıkıldım ve bunu istemedim. Ancak onların yanından ayrılırsam o ilişkiyi bitirebilecektim. O insanlarla ben sizinle görüşmeyeceğim diyemezdim çünkü bunu diyebileceğim şeyler yapmadılar. Bir şey yapmadılar ama ben görüşmek istemiyorum ama bunu onlarla konuşursan anlamayacaklar biliyorum. Yani problem bende, haliyle gitmesi gereken bendim.”

⁸“Bodrum'a yerleşmeyi düşünmem. Bu benim için önemli. Bodrum aynı İstanbul gibi. Ben Çeşme'yi de sevmiyorum mesela, Çeşme'de de aynı şeyi gördüm. Oradaki insanları sevmiyorum. Buranın insanı daha naif, daha sade. Ekonomik durumlarını çok çok ortaya çıkaran şeyler yapmıyorlar ama varlıklı insanlar yani. Bunu çok fazla görmüyorsun, ancak evlerine gidersen veya fazladan şeyler görürsen onu fark edebilirsin. Mesela malikanede yaşıyordur ama bunu göstermez [Datça'da] ama Bodrum'da öyle. Bodrum'da, Çeşme'de beni en çok rahatsız eden şey bu tip insanlar. İstanbul'da da en sevmediğim insanlar onlar. Parasını falan çok ortaya çıkaran insanlar, yani aslında yozlaşmış ve kaybetmiş insanlar.”

“... There are types who live in/hang out in Bağdat Caddesi, Nişantaşı, you know... Women, men... Talking to you from above... For example, we went to an Alaçatı Festival last year with a friend of mine. We went to a hotel. We said we will stay one night, the next day the festival starts and the hotel is empty. It’s 11 o’clock at night. So we’ll go to bed for one night and then leave. Then the kid [at reception] gave us a price because of the festival. It was a price higher than we expected. We said, can’t you make a discount, the hotel is empty. He says, but the next day will be full. I can’t, this hotel is like this, this hotel said that. Then he laughed, so that’s the price of this hotel, he said okay. He will earn money no matter what, he talks about a value, and what he calls value is more valuable than you, that is, more valuable than a person. More valuable than a human need. This is a point where things get lost for me. “We returned from Alaçatı to Dikili for four and a half hours that night because we got angry with them.”⁹

As seen, Meryem narrates her experience and what she dislikes in terms of “values”. She uses the expression of “people like those in Bağdat Avenue or Nişantaşı” to explain against what she raised her voice, the blasé. Those people represent what Meryem does not look for during her search for a new place outside Istanbul. According to Meryem, these personas look down on people; they are privileged and unsympathetic and reduce humanistic values into those of economic.

Taking Meryem’s reasons and motivations into account, now I would like to move on to Hülya and Ömer as I believe that there is a parallel between both narratives. “I thought this society got sick and its sickness arrived at our front door”, Ömer said when discussing his and Hülya’s decision to leave Istanbul. Ömer is an industrial designer and a chef, and Hülya, his wife, is an archaeologist and a yoga trainer. Even though their parents were not from Istanbul, they spent a great deal of their time in there. “We were not content with the transformation Turkey had been going through for the last 17 years,” said Ömer, and added:

“The most important reason is the moral erosion that people went through in this 17-year period. Even in our closest relationships there are small interests or benefits. And it started with your friend and your family. I was uncomfortable with that. As a result, it started in some

⁹“... Bağdat Caddesi, Nişantaşı tipleri vardır ya, bilirsin... Kadınlar, erkekler... Seninle böyle yukardan konuşan... Mesela bir Alaçatı Festivali’ne gitmiştik bir arkadaşla geçen sene. Bir otele gittik. Bir gece kalacağız dedik, ertesi gün festival başlıyor ve otel boş. Saat gece 11 falan. Bir gece yatıp çıkacağız yani. Sonra [resepsiyondaki] çocuk festival yüzünden bir fiyat söyledi bize. Bizim düşündüğümüzün üstünde bir fiyattı. Biz de dedik ki indirim yapamaz mısınız, otel boş. Ertesi gün full dolacak ama. Yapamam, bu otel şöyle, bu otel böyle dedi. Sonra gülerek, yani bu otelin fiyatı bu, dedi tamam mı. Ne olursa olsun para kazanacak yani, bir değerden bahsediyor ve bu değer dediği şey senden daha değerli onun için, yani bir insandan daha değerli. Bir insanın ihtiyacından daha değerli. Bu, bir şeylerin kaybolduğu bir nokta benim için. Biz o gece Alaçatı’dan Dikili’ye dört buçuk saat geri döndük onlara sinirlendiğimiz için.”

places, it also had economic effects, working conditions started to deteriorate, but as I said, the most important factor is the moral degradation of people later on as time passes. It started to spread all over the society. People that we thought were not affected by this or would not be affected by this also started to get involved under its influence. Istanbul is the place where this is the most intense. Everything is production-consumption relationship.”¹⁰

“Moral erosion” resulting from the production and consumption relations that Ömer witnessed made him question his life choices instead of developing apathy. I believe that Ömer’s usage of the metaphor associating “moral erosion” with “illness” is crucial. As Sontag suggests, “any disease that is treated as a mystery and acutely enough feared will be felt to be moral, if not literally, contagious. [...] The disease itself becomes a metaphor. Then, in the name of the disease (that is, using it as a metaphor), that horror is imposed on other things. The disease becomes an adjectival. Something is said to be disease-like, meaning that it is disgusting or ugly. In French, a moldering stone facade is still *lépreuse*,” (Sontag 2001, 6-58). The illness of moral erosion Ömer mentioned is contagious, and as he told, “it started to infect his inner circle of friends and then I told Hülya: ‘If we continue living here, I will also start losing our moral values.’”

Here, I believe it is important to realize that how the migration narratives of Meryem, Hülya and Ömer are interconnected with well-being, health and morality. According to Drawing from the concept of risk by Beck (1986), von Schomberg (2007) suggests that concerns raised towards newly implemented technologies, ecological crisis, politics and finance create a new individual spheres of values. When we think about the individual spheres of values and their reasons to migrate to Datça, we understand that “moral erosion” and “deterioration of interpersonal relationships/humane values” are in fact products of the modernity that the lifestyle migrants experienced. The modernity they experienced leads to not only technological and environmental risks but also to uncertainties with regards to morality and humane values. Moreover, “moral well-being” and engaging in more “humane values” are tied to their physical well-being. For this, in order to “save” both their body and mind, they decide to migrate to Datça it should be understood as a “response” to what they experienced back in the city.

¹⁰“En önemli sebebi de aslında bu 17 yıllık süre içerisinde insanların geçirdiği moral erozyon. En yakın ilişkilerimizde bile küçük çıkarlar veya fayda durumu var. İşte de başladı bu, arkadaşınla da, ailenle de. Bundan rahatsızdım. Bunun sonucu olarak da bazı yerlere başladı, ekonomik etkileri de oldu, çalışma koşulları ağırlaşmaya başladı ama hani en önemli etken bence dediğim gibi insanların sonradan zaman geçtikçe ahlaki [olarak] bozulması. Toplumun her yerine sirayet etmeye başladı. Bundan etkilenmediğini ya da etkilenmeyeceğini düşündüğümüz insanlar da bunun etkisi altında ilişkilenemeye başladılar. Bunun en yoğun yaşandığı yer İstanbul. Her şey üretim-tüketim ilişkisi.”

When Hülya and Ömer became convinced that there would be no space for them in Istanbul, and the illness was approaching them, they had no plan. “Our utmost motivation was to leave Istanbul, we said *kervan yolda düzülür*¹¹, it was dangerous to stay there”:

“There was something like this when we were settling here, we started off... Make it up as you go along. We had few ideas, but we had a lot of feelings about what we wanted to do, we went after that a little.”¹²

Ömer defines the feelings they had as “remaining clean during this contagious illness to keep on fighting against it”:

“If we continue to be trapped [in Istanbul], we will start to change. And this way... And I said the thing behind it over and over again, this disease situation is unavoidable and it will continue to spread after we cannot get rid of it, and if we want to share these values we have, somebody needs to stay clean. To fight against this in Istanbul, there is one leg to struggle, but there is another leg, that is to really be able to stay. Frankly, we chose that way. If we can fight from here, we are fighting like this.”¹³

According to Ömer, “staying clean” refers to not deceiving and betraying anyone for any reason and helping others without expecting something in return. “I want to keep on loving this world and its people.”

Elif’s story also has some particularities through which we can trace the response against the blasé attitude. Elif is in her late 30s, and she was born and raised in Izmir. After completing high school, she moved to Istanbul in the late 1990s to study mathematics at undergraduate level. “I was in love with the city,” Elif told me, to express her amazement with Istanbul and her decision to move to Istanbul:

¹¹“Make it up as you go along”

¹²“ Biz buraya yerleşirken şöyle bi şey vardı, kervan yolda düzülür diye çıktık yola. Fikrimiz azdı ama duygumuz çoktu yapmak istediğimiz şeye dair, biraz onun peşinden gittik.”

¹³“[İstanbul’da] kısılp kalmaya devam edersek değişmeye başlayacağız. Ve bu tarafa doğru... Ve arkasında da şeyi söyledim defalarca, bu hastalık durumu önüne geçilmez vaziyette ve kurtulamadıktan sonra bu yayılmaya devam edecek ve eğer bir gün bu sahip olduğumuz değerleri paylaşmak istersek birilerinin temiz kalması gerekiyor. İstanbul’da bununla mücadele etmek, mücadele etmenin bir ayağı ama başka bir ayağı daha var, o da gerçekten kalabilmeyi başarmak. Biz de o yolu seçtik açıkçası. Biz de buradan bir mücadele edebiliyorsak şayet, böyle mücadele ediyoruz.”

“In our time, Izmir was a [culturally] hunger story. We were waiting for the summer to come, the Izmir fair to open, let the Dormen come and watch a good play. There were city theaters, yes, but they were not enough, concerts were far away. I’m talking about the Izmir of the 90s. Yes, [Izmir] is very modern, very libertarian, very comfortable, but it was not enough. You may not realize that you are in the wrong bar for hours. People are the same, the music is the same, the price of beer is the same. Everything is the same and it is in a certain prototype, but when you enter Beyoğlu there are places where you can drink tea for 1 Lira or for 15 Liras. That’s colorfulness. . . I’m not talking about today’s Beyoğlu, of course, I’m talking about the Beyoğlu of the 90s.”¹⁴

What Elif understands by Istanbul’s colorfulness is that it refers to the number of options available to the people in the city. Upon graduating from university, Elif started to work for a bank in Istanbul as a finance analyst. However, she was not content with the fact that the finance sector reduces her relationship with her advisees into those of economic that includes deceit and targeting only maximum sell of investment:

“I couldn’t be happy in finance. It has been very difficult for me: You know the sales techniques. Finance does not sell something [business] to somebody. You are a financial advisor, you sell bonds, you sell stocks, but ultimately you sell. You know the real situation of international markets, if you try to teach someone the market, he can’t sell. For example, 20 years ago [someone] scored a goal in foreign currency and said that they will invest in the Turkish lira, but that is a period when you should definitely not invest in the Turkish lira. Now, if you try to explain this to that person, you will lose the sale because you conflict with that person’s credit history.], “You are definitely on the right track” and you have to direct it to [Turkish lira]. You are selling, then what happens, you cannot sleep in your bed at night because you know the truth. Finally, I said that I could not be involved in this business. The mechanism in the finance disturbed and bothered me. It even made me sick.”¹⁵

¹⁴“Bizim dönemimizde İzmir [kültürel açıdan] bir açlık hikayesiydi. Yaz gelsin, İzmir fuarı açılsın, Dormenler gelsin de iyi oyun izleyelim diye beklerdik. Şehir tiyatroları evet vardı ama yeterli değildi, konserler uzaktı. 90’ların İzmir’inden bahsediyorum. Evet, [İzmir] çok modern, çok özgürlükçü, çok rahat ama işte yetmiyordu. İstanbul’a 1999’da gittiğimde yolumdaki arnavut taşlarının hepsini eğilip teker teker öperdim. İstanbul’da her şey çok renkliydi. Mesela İzmir’de Kordon’da yanlış bir bara otursan, yanlış bir barda olduğunu saatlerce fark etmeyebilirsin. İnsanlar aynıdır, müzik aynıdır, biranın fiyatı aynıdır. Her şey aynıdır ve belirli bir prototip içindedir ama Beyoğlu’na girdiğinde 1 Lira’ya da çay içebileceğin yer de vardır, 15 Lira’ya içebileceğin de. Yani o işte renklilik... Şu anın Beyoğlu’ndan bahsetmiyorum elbette, 90’ların Beyoğlu’sundan bahsediyorum.”

¹⁵“Finansta mutlu olamadım. Şu beni çok zorladı: Satış tekniklerini biliyorsun. Finans birilerine bir şeyleri satma [iş]. Sen finansal danışmansın, bono satıyorsun, hisse senedi satıyorsun ama sonuçta satıyorsun. Uluslararası piyasaların gerçek durumunu biliyorsun, birine piyasayı öğretmeye kalkarsan o satış yapamaz.

When Elif decided that the finance sector had been no good to her health, she decided to resign and move onto the communication and advertisement sector where she believed 'she paid her debt to Istanbul' when she became the communication director of one of the most significant events of Istanbul in 2010:

"I paid [my debt] in the industry. I paid my debt to Istanbul in 2010. I paid off the love I had for the city back there, if I remember correctly, with almost 560 projects, thousands of activities in a year ... I worked 18 hours a day, 7 days a week for a year and a half."¹⁶

When the event in 2010 ended and Elif returned to her working routine at the office, she started to find her job dull and lacking excitement as the event demonstrated that another possibility could be possible:

"Especially the year 2010 was my turning point ... It is always that labor/reward story. [In 2010] my job was my life, every morning in my bed we would look at what columnist wrote what, who cursed us and would make a press release for half an hour. I was busy with these analyzes and invitations, but when those people who came to Rumeli Open Air in the evening got their applause, there was also the pleasure of standing behind and watching what was going on. ... For example, the more I think, my heart still beats fast. It is then the business stops being a business. It is still a business, yes, yet it is then you don't do everything [as business] very fondly."¹⁷

In Elif's narrative, it is clear that after her experience as a director of a cultural event in Istanbul in 2010, she becomes suspicious regarding her life and work in Istanbul as they only offer a routine to her, giving her less room to express herself

Mesela 20 yıl önce [biri] dövizden gol yemiştir ve ben Türk lirasına yatırım yapacağım diyordur ama o dönem aslında kesinlikle Türk lirasına yatırım yapılmaması gereken bir dönemdir. Şimdi sen bunu o kişiye anlatmaya kalkarsan satışı kaybedersin çünkü o kişinin kredi geçmişiyle çatışırısın. [Onun yerine], 'Kesinlikle doğru yoldasın' deyip [Türk lirasına] yönlendirmen lazım. Satışı yapıyorsun, o zaman ne oluyor, gece yatağında uyuyamıyorsun çünkü işin aslını biliyorsun. En sonunda da ben bu işin içerisinde olamayacağım dedim. Finansın içindeki mekanizma beni rahatsız etti. Ruhsal olarak rahatsız etti. Hatta hasta bile etti."

¹⁶"[Borcumu] sektörde ödedim ben. İstanbul'a borcumu 2010'da ödedim. O aşkımın karşılığını ben oraya verdim ki bir yıl içerisinde yanlış hatırlamıyorsam 560 küsur proje, binlerce etkinlik... Bir buçuk yıl haftanın 7 günü günde 18 saat çalıştım."

¹⁷"Özellikle 2010 zamanı benim kırılmam... Hep o emek/karşılık hikayesi işte. [2010'da] İşim hayatımdı, her sabah yatağımda bugün hangi köşe yazarı ne yazmış, kim bize sövmüş diye bakıp yarım saate basın açıklaması yapardık. Bütün gün boyunca medya analizleriyle, davetleriyle uğraşırdım ama akşam Rumeli Açık hava'ya gelen o insanlar alkışı koparttığına arkada durup onu izlemenin keyfi de vardı. ... Düşündükçe hala kalbim atar. İşte o zaman iş, iş olmaktan çıkıyor. İş mi evet iş, ama sonrasında her şeyi de çok severek yapmıyorsun."

and her interests. As a result, she started to contemplate on her life and work in Istanbul.

While her concerns about her job after the cultural event in which she is engaged in Istanbul, Elif's boss fires her, which she describes as follows: "You study high school, go to university, specialize in mathematics and finance, but some impertinent people can cancel your contract in a minute, no one asks you if you have debts, credit cards or if you live alone as a woman in Istanbul," referring to the fact that her experience, personality, and efforts have become invisible and dispensable through the power relations in the sector. After this experience, she starts working as a waitress at a cafe where she frequently hangs out with her friends: "It was tough, imagine working as a waitress after being a director. Life carried me to a point where I was able to choose not to go back to the sector again."

Like other lifestyle migrants, Elif's decision to leave Istanbul for Geyikbayiri (Antalya) was instantaneous:

"I made a decision at once. I messed up the whole house. I gave away all my belongings. There are two small suitcases left, one for a summer and one for winter. Imagine how my wardrobe was loaded back then. I had a dressing room bigger than my bedroom. Reception costumes, this and that... Those shoes ... I called 10 women to my house, I gave each of them a bag, an oversized garbage bag. I told them to take whatever they needed. When leaving the house, one came up to me and said 'my iron is broken,' and asked if she could have that iron too, and I said just take it. It was also gone like that."¹⁸

While she works in Geyikbayiri to be responsible for a camping area, she becomes disappointed in the working conditions, and decides to leave Geyikbakiri. While looking for another place to live, she visits a friend of hers in Datça. Later on, as she also has some ideas to turn into a book, but she does not have a job, money, or friends, she decides to stay at her friend's as a visitor in Datça in 2013. She starts to work as a waitress at a pizza house in order to support herself financially to be able to start writing her book. For this, we can say that her coming to Datça is thanks to her friends when she has been looking for a place to escape Istanbul as a response to what Istanbul has been imposing her regarding the blasé attitude.

¹⁸"Bir anda karar verdim. Bütün evi dağıttım. Bütün eşyalarımı dağıttım. İki tane küçük valiz kaldı, bir yazlık bir kışlık. Bir de benim gardobumu düşünsene. Yatak odamdan büyük giyinme odam vardı. Resepsiyon kostümleri, şunlar bunlar, ayakkabılar... 10 tane hatunu çağırdım eve, hepsinin eline birer poşet verdim, battal boy çöp poşeti. Kimin neye ihtiyacı varsa alsın dedim. En son biri evden çıkarken benim ütüm bozulmuştu şu ütüyü de alabilir miyim dedi, al al al dedim, [ütü de] gitti."

In this chapter, I have analyzed the reasons and motivations of the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation. “Why and how did they decide to leave big cities for Datça” has been my question to be answered through their narratives. Undoubtedly, their narratives of “escape” are connected to various external forces that encouraged them to go back to their life choices and decisions. Following Giddens’ explanations, I have framed it as self-reflexivity and the globalized character of modernity that produced new uncertainties and risks. While analyzing these notions among them, I have also discussed Simmel’s blasé attitude, and I argue that the migration to Datça can also be understood as a response to the blasé. Understandably, the members of the post-80s left the cities they spent most of their life becoming a migrant in Datça, a seasonal/coastal town on the Aegean coast in Turkey. What did they experience upon migrating to Datça? How did they establish a life for themselves? Did they encounter any challenges? In the next chapter, I move onto the acclimatization processes and means of getting by in Datça by offering an analysis through symbolic and social boundaries and economic, social, and cultural capitals of the lifestyle migrants in Datça.

3. ACCLIMATIZATION PROCESSES AND MEANS OF GETTING BY IN DATÇA

This chapter attempts to understand acclimatization processes and means of getting by in Datça through the narratives of lifestyle migrants. According to Lamont and Molnar, “symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality” whereas “social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences manifested equal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities” (Lamont and Molnár 2002, 167). However, Lamont and Molnar caution us not to think of these terms as entirely separate entities. Instead, symbolic and social boundaries co-exist and feed into each other (Ibid, 169).

I find these definitions very useful for this chapter to understand the construction and regulation of a sense of home, social relationships, and means of getting by in Datça. During my fieldwork in Datça, one of the first boundaries I encountered was between locals and migrants. Locals are called *yerliler*, a direct translation of “locals” in Turkish. However, migrants who choose to live in Datça are *yerleşikler* or *dışarlıklılar*, meaning “settled” or “outsider” in English, respectively. This boundary manifests itself in everyday language in Datça, and it includes complex processes of interaction and experience.

Moreover, it stands out as a means of “distinction” bringing several compositions of cultural, social, and economic capitals into play in different fields, such as work, education, and network. According to Bourdieu, three forms of capital are the fundamental roots of the preconditions of one’s transformation in a field. These are economic, cultural, and social capital. Economic capital includes all that can be immediately and directly turned into money, and it demonstrates itself in its institutional form as “property”; cultural capital is closely related to economic capital, and it is embodied in education. Lastly, social capital refers to one’s networks or connections (Bourdieu 1986, 16).

In this chapter, I aim to use symbolic and social boundaries and Bourdieu's capitals to analyze acclimatization processes and means of getting by in Datça to argue that the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in Datça constitute a generation unit. Firstly, I discuss home-building practices with possessions and intimate relationships and then move onto how lifestyle migrants perceive and narrate locals. Following the symbolic and social boundaries between locals and lifestyle migrants, I analyze the sense of solidarity among lifestyle migrants in Datça.

Later on, I finally analyze how lifestyle migrants make use of their capitals to make a living in Datça. Undoubtedly, living in Datça requires a composition of different capitals that they have accumulated in big cities and potentially expanded in Datça, or as Ömer defines it, it is required to "be unusual" especially compared to those with whom they share more or less the same habitus in big cities. As part of the composition of capitals among the lifestyle migrants of the post-1980s generation, then, I find out that living in Datça brings the notion of entrepreneurship that contributes to the gentrification and urbanization of Datça.

3.1 Home-building, Possessions and Intimate Relationships

3.1.1 Home-building and Possessions

Meryem and I agreed to meet for breakfast at her place early in the morning. Meryem lives a little bit far away from the center of Datça, approximately 20 minutes on foot. She has a flat with a little garden at a newly constructed gated community. Its living room and kitchen were merged, so we were able to talk while Meryem prepared breakfast. On our interview day, Meryem's partner, Şafak, was also with us. Even though Şafak lives in Izmir, he regularly comes to Datça to visit Meryem.

When I arrived at Meryem's place, she welcomed me from the garden. Then, she immediately moved towards her kitchen after picking up some fresh herbs from her garden, telling me that she was going to use them for breakfast. While getting the ingredients ready to make some pitas for us, she started to tell her story: "I have always loved spending time at the kitchen, but [the cooking] was thanks to my ex-husband. He was engaged in the food sector".

During her preparations for breakfast, Meryem did not follow a line of thought in terms of her life story. Instead, she told me some anecdotes and facts about her background and daily life in Datça. “Bazaar in Datça... is very expensive. Imagine, a villager asks for 5 TL for a bundle of purslane! It is the mindset of small towns. Let’s make it 2 TL so that everyone can eat, shall you?” putting *pitas* on the pan.

She had already told me that she was a newcomer in Datça and had been living there for almost five months. I asked her how her daily life had been going so far in Datça. Meryem lowered the tone of her voice, “I do not... think I have gotten used to living here...”. She continued: “My home back in Kuzguncuk [Istanbul]... I still miss it so much. I have not been able to call this place’ home’ yet. It [her home in Kuzguncuk] was a beautiful house. Anyway, we will talk. *Pitas* are ready, come to the table!”.

After we had our breakfast, we stayed seated around the breakfast table for the interview. Nevertheless, this time coffee accompanied us, not *pitas*. During our interview, Meryem elaborated more on her feelings about Istanbul:

“I did not feel anything when I first arrived, but after a full month, I returned to Istanbul for the TÜYAP book fair and Istanbul looked very bad to me, it was very rainy and muddy, it had such a cold weather, I stayed in Kuzguncuk at a sister/brother’s place I love very much, but Kuzguncuk, it seemed like a liar to me for some reason.”¹

Here, Meryem describes her first encounter with Istanbul and Kuzguncuk a month after she moved to Datça. It was winter, and she wanted to visit the annually held book fair in Istanbul. She continued:

“One month later, it is actually nothing but for example, the people I have always seen were very ordinary when I did something. I felt very sorry about that, I waited for something like ‘dear, welcome’ or, for example, there were cafes I always went to, after that there were a lot of people that I sat and chatted with, there were even those who said things like “oh, you couldn’t do it, right, you came back just like that.” I said ‘no, I came for the book fair’, after that it all looked very bad to my eyes, those streets, Istanbul, traffic, Beyoğlu, that TÜYAP book fair, that road, the never-ending metrobus route... No matter how much

¹“İlk geldiğimde hiçbir şey hissetmedim ama bir tam bir ay sonra TÜYAP fuarı için İstanbul’a döndüm ve İstanbul bana çok kötü göründü, çok yağmurlu ve çamurlu böyle soğuk bi havası vardı zaten, Kuzguncuk’ta çok sevdiğim bi kardeşimde kaldım ama Kuzguncuk bana çok yalancı göründü nedense.”

you complain about these [when you live in Istanbul], you tend to accept everything quickly. When you go outside of Istanbul, you cannot accept them, it even makes you furious. But there are things I miss a lot in Istanbul. For one thing, I miss the house I left. I miss some memories in the house I left. I really miss some parts of my house. [The house] had a balcony, it was a balcony that I designed completely myself. It was a balcony with nothing, no sun. We were lighting lanterns day and night on that balcony, we were taking our book and reading during the day, we were having our breakfast, you know it was a balcony like that.”²

One of the most unforgettable moments during my interview with Meryem happened upon this account [above]. She got quite emotional when she put an end to her sentences about the balcony at her home in Kuzguncuk. Her eyes got wet, and she needed to wipe the tears off from her eyes, and then she gave me a huge smile, telling me that she was feeling all right, and we could continue our interview. Why did narrating the balcony and her first encounter with her acquaintances and friends after a month in Datça move her enough to fill her eyes with tears? What was touching to her in remembering those memories?

It would be better to start with a brief definition of what home means. Home can refer to a material place of living as well as to an idealized space. It should be noted that the concept of home can carry the baggage of emotional bonding and feelings (Cieraad 2010). In this section, I aim to dwell on how the concept of home with its various meanings is intertwined in the narratives of lifestyle migrants in Datça. I argue that the home-building practices of lifestyle migrants are accompanied by the process of acclimatization and adaptation to Datça, and it highlights an emphasis on home-building, be it constructing one’s physical place to live or creating a sense of feeling-at-home.

Ahmed (1999) opens her article with an intriguing and relevant question: “What does it mean to be at home?” (330). In her article, what she exceeds is “the Home” being constructed as a fixed and single space-bounded entity and the opposition of awayness or outside. She argues that stories of leaving/migration multiply the number of homes, and it is more than “fantasies of belonging”. According to Ahmed,

²“Bir ay sonra yani aslında hiçbir şey ama mesela her zaman gittiğim gördüğüm insanları şey yaptığım zaman çok sıradan davrandılar. Ona çok üzuldüm mesela yani şey bekledim aaa canım hoşgeldin falan bekledim mesela hep gittiğim kafeler, ondan sonra beraber oturup sohbet ettiğim bir sürü insan, hatta şey diyenler falan oldu, ya yapamadın di mi, geri döndün yaa gibi diyenler oldu böyle. Yoo falan dedim, fuar için geldim dedim, ondan sonra bana çok kötü göründü o sokaklar, İstanbul, trafik, Beyoğlu, o TÜYAP, o yol, git git bitmeyen metrobüs... İstanbul’un içindeyken her ne kadar şikayet etsen de her şeyi çok çabuk kabulleniyorsun. İstanbul’un dışındayken de gittiğinde bunları kabullenemiyorsun, hatta daha çok sinirlendiriyor seni. Ama İstanbul’da çok özlediğim şeyler var. Bir kere bıraktığım evi çok özliyorum. Bıraktığım evdeki bazı anları özliyorum. Evimin bazı yerlerini çok özliyorum. [Evin] bir balkonu vardı tamamen kendim dizayn ettiğim bi balkonu o. Hiçbir şeyi olmayan, güneş almayan bi balkonu. Gece gündüz fener yakıyorduk o balkonda, gündüzleri kitabımızı alıp okuyorduk, kahvaltımızı yapıyorduk, hani böyle bi balkonu.”

the feeling of being-at-home is generated through *sentimentalisation* and so it sets up “a space of belonging” (341). Furthermore, Ahmed connects this process of sentimentalization with “lived experiences”:

“... The immersion of a self in a locality is hence not simply about inhabiting an already constituted space (from which one can simply depart and remain the same). Rather, the locality intrudes into the senses: it defines what one smells, hears, touches, feels, remembers. The lived experience of being-at-home hence involves the enveloping of subjects in a space which is not simply outside them: being-at-home suggests that the subject and space leak into each other, *inhabit each other*.” (Ahmed 1999, 341)³.

Going back to Meryem’s narrative after taking into Ahmed’s account on sentimentalization and feeling/being-at-home provides much insight. Meryem’s remembrance of her house and her possessions back in Istanbul reminds her of the fact that Datça evokes a feeling of not-being-at-home. This feeling is also apparent in the following quotation in which she talks about how she has been thinking of renting out her house in Datça temporarily to visit other places:

“I have not embraced Datça since I came. I don’t see it as my home at all. For example, I have been cleaning constantly since I came, but look at the state of this house, everywhere is dirty. The house is constantly being cleaned but it cannot be clean. Everything seems to be in its proper place, but it just doesn’t happen. So now, I will rent out this house on Airbnb, and will make short trips here. For example, when someone comes here to stay, I will go somewhere else for a week. I will live a life like this for a while. I can completely leave [the house] and somebody can stay in it, it is not that important, I will just pack some of my precious belongings and put them in a suitcase, and put them in the warehouse that is at the back, and the guests will use the items in this closet ... I don’t care that much, but in Kuzguncuk, for example, it was not like this.”⁴

³Emphasis mine.

⁴“Ben Datça’yı sahiplenmedim geldiğimden beri. Hiç ama hiç evim falan olarak görmüyorum burayı. Mesela geldiğimden beri sürekli temizlik yapılıyor ama evin haline bak, her yer pis. Sürekli temizleniyor ama bir türlü temizlenmiyor ev. Her şey çok yerli yerinde gibi ama bir türlü olmuyor. Onun için şimdi Airbnb’den vereceğim evi, kısa kısa gitgeller yapacağım. Mesela bir hafta bir yere gideceğim biri geldiğinde. Biraz böyle bir hayat sürdüreceğim. Ben tamamen [evden] çıkıp birileri kalabilir, o kadar önemli değil, sadece benim için kıymetli bazı eşyalarımı toplayıp bir bavula koyup, arkada bir ardiye var oraya kapatıp, işte bu dolabın içindeki eşyaları falan onlar kullanacaklar... O kadar da önemsemiyorum ama Kuzguncuk’ta mesela böyle değildi.”

What is crucial in Meryem's narration is that even though the possessions she had back in Kuzguncuk are still with her in Datça, she feels that her possessions and home are not as clean as her former home back in Kuzguncuk, and she feels less attached to them so that she can share them with her Airbnb ⁵ guests.

Similar to Meryem, in our interview with Hülya and Ömer, possessions became a topic, and Hülya defined them as a means of "comfort" as part of the city life:

"When I first arrived, I actually had a hard time because we unknowingly develop so much attachment to our comfort zones that when you move from the city to the countryside, you face many addictions that you are not aware of. My conformist attitudes forced me so much during the first summer, but it was then I started to realize that I was actually where I needed to be. After realizing this [my attitude] diminished and I realized that I actually didn't need the things I thought I needed."⁶

Hülya thinks that we create our comfort zones in city life, which brings many possessions, and we feel attached to them. In Hülya's narrative, it is quite explicit when she remembers her struggle to adapt to a life in Datça without her possessions:

"When we first got here, the process went from me missing my belongings and wanting to see my surroundings greener, to saying somebody silence these crickets ... I am talking nonsense, but this is a process about adaptation. Now none of those things I miss are with me, and I realize that I don't really need them at all. Not achieving what I wanted [initially] was also very [challenging] for me. It made me feel that way back then, it drove me to a sense of deprivation."⁷

Hülya's acclimation to living in Datça had a turning point when she first experienced washing clothes by hand since the couple did not have a washing machine at their

⁵ Airbnb is a website via which individuals can temporarily rent their houses to third parties that do not wish to accommodate at mainstream hotels, www.airbnb.com.

⁶ "İlk geldiğimde ben zorlandım aslında çünkü farkında olmadan konfor alanlarımıza o kadar bağımlılık geliştiriyoruz ki şehirden kırsala göçtüğünüzde farkında olmadığınız birçok bağımlılığınızla yüzleşiyorsunuz. Beni ilk yaz çok fazla zorladı bu konformist tavırlarım ama sonra o yavaş yavaş aslında ihtiyacım olan yerde olduğumu fark etmeye başlamamla birlikte [bu tavırlarım] azaldı ve aslında ihtiyacım olduğunu zannettiğim şeylere hiç ihtiyacım olmadığını fark ettim."

⁷ "Buraya ilk geldiğimizde eşyalarımı özlemekten başlayıp etrafımı daha yeşil görmek isteyene kadar, işte biri bu cırcır böceklerini sustursun demeye kadar... Saçlamadım aslında ama bu bir süreç, uyumlanmakla ilgili. Şimdi o özlediğim eşyaların hiçbirini benimle değil ve aslında onlara hiç de ihtiyacım olmadığını fark ediyorum. [başlangıçta] istediğim şeye ulaşamamak da beni çok [zorladı]. O zamanlar böyle hissettirdi, yoksunluk duygusuna sürükledi beni."

first home in Datça. Its construction was left incomplete:

“For example, I had never done any laundry manually in my life [laughs]. When I got here, I started doing laundry manually, and it felt very harsh to me at first. But then I liked it very much. For example, we didn’t have a refrigerator, or the first house we settled in was much smaller, the construction was not complete.”⁸

As compared to Hülya’s struggle in Datça, not having a washing machine or a fridge, Ömer thinks he easily got used to living in Datça. To explain his adaptation and his partner’s struggles, Ömer made an interesting point about “making” and “destroying” home, which have been shaped by his lived experiences. The following quote from Ömer is in parallel with Ahmed’s (1999) definition of the multiplicity of home:

“Of course there are few [times when I have a hard time] but this is very normal, after all it is a new place even though I used to come here often. The whole paradigm changes when you start living in it, vacationing is one thing, spending 12 months here is another. It happened to me, but it wasn’t as hard as Hülya’s experience, so one of the reasons is that this is my fourth relocation. The fourth country, the fourth city, call it whatever you want... That’s why I have a certain practice, I have a practice of starting from scratch to settle in a new place, developing a belonging there, and my capacity for adaptation is high. That’s why I have not experienced as many hard things as Hülya has.”⁹

In Ömer’s case, it is clear that “making” and “destroying” a home make him acquire a particular “practice” that eased his acclimatization process.

For example, Ashi’s story includes a practice of building a place to be called home in Datça with her own hands:

⁸“Ben hayatımda hiç elimde çamaşır yıkamamıştım mesela [gülüyor]. Buraya gelince elimde çamaşır yıkamaya başladım ve bu, bana en başta çok sert geldi. Sonra çok sevdim ama. Buzdolabımız yoktu mesela veya ilk yerleştiğimiz ev çok daha küçüktü, inşaatı tamamlanmamıştı.”

⁹“Ufak tefek [zorlandığım zamanlar] tabii ki var ama bu çok normal sonuçta yeni bir yer her ne kadar sık sık geldiğim bir yer olsa da. Yaşamaya başladığımızda bütün paradigma değişiyor, tatil yapmak başka bir şey, burada 12 ayı geçirmek başka bir şey. Benim de oldu ama Hülya kadar sert olmadı, yani sebeplerinden bir tanesi de bu benim dördüncü yer değiştirdim. Dördüncü ülke, dördüncü şehir, ne dersiniz... O yüzden benim belli bir pratiğim var, sıfırdan yeni bir yere gidip yaşama, oraya aidiyet geliştirme pratiğim var ve uyum sağlama kapasitem yüksek. O yüzden Hülya kadar sert şeyler yaşamadım.”

“What will happen to us in this world, we have no home, we have no family ... We will not be left with anything. I learned that this is a learned concern in Datça. You can build a house even out of soil. Actually, you can build a house out of soil. I don’t say I am a saint or something, but with Datça this... Let’s say the process is complete. While some things used to remain as words, now I really feel them.”¹⁰

In Aslı’s quote, when she completes the construction of a place where she called home, she understands that having a lack of possession or property is a concern that has been taught to us and has shaped how we look at them. As she now has a place that she calls home, even though she does not have as many possessions as she had back in Istanbul, she feels content with it. Overall, Aslı expresses that her home building practice is a result of solidarity she has formed with the locals and other lifestyle migrants. Also, Aslı thinks that the years of her four-year journey have transformed her drastically:

“Building a house took me on a journey like this: First of all, living in so much deprivation ... Here in [Datça] my life has gone down to zero, you live without electricity, sometimes there is no water. You walk for miles, the car does not go up, the sea comes, the snake comes, the centipede comes... You see everything. Dealing with construction or suffering from it has made me more humble. Doing it with your own hands, working for yourself, being content with less... Just think about it, there is no water coming out of the faucets, it is such a big loss when you think about it. You understand how valuable water actually is. You become simpler.”¹¹

As I understand, her journey of building and completing her home have taught her to live with the lack of certain things compared to her “wealthy life” in Istanbul, including electricity and water. As a result of this, she learns how to do with less and realizes the importance of electricity or water taken for granted at her home in Istanbul. Building her home out of nothing shapes her acclimatization process as it makes her more humble and minimal compared to the abundance of services and

¹⁰“Biz bu dünyada ne olacağız, evimiz yok, ailemiz yok... Kimseden bir şey kalmayacak. Datça’da ben bunun öğrenilen bir kaygı olduğunu öğrendim. Topraktan bile ev yapabiliyorsun. Topraktan bile ev yapabiliyorsun aslında. Erdim falan demiyorum ama Datça’yla bu süreç tamamlandı diyelim. Bazı şeyler laftayken şimdi gerçekten de onları hissediyorum.”

¹¹“Ev yapmak beni şöyle bir yolculuğa çıkardı. Birincisi o kadar yoklukla yaşama... Burada [Datça’da] sıfıra indi hayatım, elektriksiz yaşıyorsun, yeri geliyor su yok. Kilometrelerce yürüyorsun, araba çıkmıyor, deniz geliyor, yılan geliyor, çıyan geliyor... Her şeyi görüyorsun. Beni daha mütevazı yaptı inşaatla uğraşmak ya da onun çilesini çekmek. Kendi tırnağınla yapmak, kendin için çalışmak, daha azla yetinmek... Düşünsene su akıyor, aslında o kadar büyük bir kayıp ki su akmaması. O akan suyun ne kadar değerli olduğunu anlıyorsun. Sadeleşiyorsun.”

opportunities in city life.

As a result, I can tell that getting used to life in Datça goes hand in hand with creating/building a home in Datça by developing sentiments and attachments. Among these sentiments, feeling less attached to the possessions back in city life is an important manifestation of these acclimatization processes.

3.1.2 Intimate Relationships

“If you want to test your relationship, you should move to Datça,” says Ömer, laughing, as migrating to Datça requires a reorganization of the relationship with one’s intimate partner and life at home. During my fieldwork, I have had the chance to talk to a few informants about their intimate relationships. The issue of the regulation of relationship with their intimate partners has come out as a topic during my fieldwork, and I believe it deserves a place as part of their acclimatization processes. For example, Hülya, Arda’s partner, remembers the role of their relationship and how it helps her get used to living in Datça:

“The solidarity between ourselves is getting stronger because we feel the same. You do not feel lonely because it is really much more difficult to build a life on your own when you first come here. Supporting each other ... Arda was very supportive because I had more difficulties. Being alone is more difficult than being a couple ...”¹²

As Hülya mentions, migrating to and living in Datça as a couple in her case is relatively more comfortable as they can establish a form of solidarity and support out of their shared feelings. Parallel to being a couple in Datça, Elif narrates her experience with being single in her first years in Datça:

“Bars you go to in [Datça] are limited. The streets you walk through in Datça are limited ... If you don’t hang out in Şişli in Istanbul, you can hang out in Beşiktaş, the district changes, the people change ... This is what I notice when I first came here, for example: It is very difficult

¹²“Aynı duygularda olduğumuz için kendi aramızdaki dayanışma güçleniyor. Yalnız hissetmiyorsun çünkü ilk geldiğinde burada gerçekten kendi başına hayat kurmak çok daha zor. Birbirimize destek olmak... Ben daha çok zorlandığım için Arda çok destek oldu. Yalnız olmak çift olmaktan daha güç...”

to live alone ... Being a single woman, being a single man ... Even mosquitoes seem to be walking around in couples. Especially when it is winter, the sociability in the house becomes more and more meaningful. Being alone in Istanbul, for example, does not make you feel bad, but it does in Datça. Everyone is alone in Istanbul, but the people are not alone among themselves, but in Datça ... There was hardly some instances when I questioned why I did not have a boyfriend in Istanbul, but in Datça, it was not the case... Then I fell in love, and thank God, I have been in love for three years.”¹³

Elif compares Istanbul and Datça in terms of being single and comments that as Datça has a smaller scale and “being invisible“ may not always be the case, living in Datça as a single person is very challenging, and it urges her to question herself about why she does not have a partner in Datça, then she points out a turning point where she falls in love with someone in Datça.

However, Esra presents a counterpoint by explaining how she and her partner need to reorganize their household life in Datça compared to that of Istanbul:

“Actually, it is difficult to live a life together. Because we are both at home, we work from home, and we are together for a long time. We are together for 24 hours. Apart from that, Ali goes here and there during the day, but it more about finding the balance and energy of being together. It is harder than being alone, it is more difficult because if you are alone, you already have your own space and your system. In the city, you normally see each other in the evenings, you don’t see each other often. So you always have to do something together at home. You have to make decisions together, you have to be compatible. It is actually not that easy. You are rearranging the life system.”¹⁴

According to Esra, life in Datça requires to spend more time together than it does

¹³“Zaten [Datça’da] oturduğun, gittiğin bar belli. Geçtiğin sokak belli... İstanbul’da Şişli’de takılmazsın da gidersen Beşiktaş’ta takılırsın, alanın değişir, insanların değişir... Ben ilk geldiğimde şunu fark etmiştim mesela, burada yalnız yaşamak çok zor... Yalnız bir kadın, yalnız bir erkek olmak... Sivrisinekler bile çift geziyor gibi. Hele kış olduğunda o evin içerisindeki sosyallik de anlamlı, daha anlamlı olduğundan dolayı mesela İstanbul’da yalnızlık bu kadar koymaz da Datça’da koyar. İstanbul’da herkes yalnızdır ama yalnızlar kendi aralarında yalnız değildir ama Datça’da... İstanbul’da benim niye sevgilim yok dediğimi hatırlamam ama Datça’da... Sonra ben aşık oldum, üç yıldır da çok şükür aşığım.”

¹⁴“Aslında bir arada olunan bir hayatı yaşamak daha zor. ... Çünkü biz ikimiz de evdeyiz, evden çalışıyoruz ve uzun zaman birlikteyiz. 24 saat birlikteyiz. Onun dışında gün içinde Ali oraya buraya gidiyor ama bu sürekli bir arada olmanın dengesini ve enerjisini bulmak çok daha zor. Yalnız olmaktan zor, daha zor çünkü yalnızsan zaten senin alanın ve senin sistemin. Normalde şehirde akşamları görüyorsun birbirini, çok az görüyorsun birbirini. Gün içinde düşünsene biz 24 saat birlikteyiz ve birbirine ayıracağın zamanın, bir araya gelişlerin sürekli bir karar mekanizması var. Yani evde hep bir arada bir şeyler yapmak zorundasın. Birlikte karar alınması gerekiyor, uyumlu olman gerekiyor. O da aslında o kadar kolay bir şey değil. Hayat sistemini tekrar düzenlemiş oluyorsun.”

in Istanbul; it necessitates a reorganization or creation of boundaries at home. However, this reorganization and creation of boundaries are not limited to private space. Related to this, in the next section, I will analyze how lifestyle migrants narrate their symbolic and social boundaries between locals and among them to continue to understand the lifestyle migrants in Datça from a generational perspective.

3.2 The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: Perception of Locals among Lifestyle Migrants

The way lifestyle migrants perceive and define locals regulate their relations with locals, and it reflects the gentrification process and property relations in Datça. As I mentioned above, those who were born and raised in Datça are called “locals” whereas those who decide to migrate to Datça are called “settled”¹⁵. During my fieldwork, my informants frequently mentioned this symbolic boundary between locals and migrants:

Cemre: “I noticed in the forum the other day that there is a distinction between locals and residents. You refer to yourself as residents.”

Çağlar: “We are the settled. It is hard to come together, to be honest. There is prejudice, of course. There is the prejudice inhabitants of Datça, that is to say, the locals have against the settlers, because a man just comes out of nowhere and tells them, ‘don’t kill animals, don’t cut the trees, do not do this, do not do that’. Whether it is right or wrong, it creates a sense of prejudice for them. For example, a man comes from outside and shouts at the old peasant woman at the market, asking if she added pesticide. That’s why the locals of this place have the prejudice ...”¹⁶

Çağlar believes that some locals have prejudices against migrants because migrants

¹⁵In Turkish, the dividing terms are used as follows: “yerli” for locals and “yerleşik” or “dışarıklı” for migrants.

¹⁶Cemre: “Geçen gün forumda da fark ettim ki yerliler ve yerleşikler diye bir ayrım var. Kendinizden yerleşikler olarak bahsediyorsunuz.”
Çağlar: “Biz yerleşik oluyoruz. Bir araya da gelmek zor ya. Önyargılar da var tabii. Datçalıların yani yerlilerin içinde yerleşiklere olan önyargılarda çünkü dışardan adam geliyor hayvanı öldürmeyin diyor, ağacı kesmeyin diyor, onu yapmayın, bunu yapmayın diyor. Doğru da olsa yanlış da olsa bir önyargı oluyor. Adam dışardan gelip sen ilaç mı kattın buna diye pazarda köylü teyzeye bağırıyor mesela. O yüzden buranın yerlileri, buralı onları da...”

tell them what to do or not to do. As migrants interfere with locals' regular practices, such as cutting trees, killing animals, or using agricultural pesticide, locals can get reactionary. However, Hakan thinks that the interference of migrants with the locals is, in fact, an intervention of locals' cycle of living:

“Because the village life here has its own cycle anyway. [The peasant] hunts, that tree becomes wood for him when it ages and is no longer productive for him or something, but those who come here are not able to empathize with this.”¹⁷

I believe it is essential to pay attention to the shift of Çağlar's and Hakan's discourses when they narrate locals. Çağlar narrates practices of locals as “cutting trees” or “killing animals,” whereas Hakan narrates them as “hunting” and “cutting firewoods” to get warm. Thus, this difference in discourses demonstrates the symbolic and social boundaries between locals and migrants. It would not be an exception to argue that formation of symbolic and social boundaries, or defining the 'Other' in the eyes of the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation constitute what “identity” corresponds to and makes them a specific generation unit. For example, Ömer and Hülya mention the extant symbolic boundaries between them and locals as follows:

Hülya: “[Villagers/locals] They are dealing with a lot of things, but it is not work in the sense we understand. It is very different for us as we come from a work culture like 9-6. It is more humane actually.”

Ömer: “Their [locals'] perceptions of time are definitely very different. It is with nature and wine. They apply the philosophy of 'let it go' in all areas of their lives. When we come from the metropolitan area, we work within very precise and limited systems under responsibilities, competencies, etc. There is nothing like that here. If not today, it could be tomorrow. If not tomorrow, it would be the next day, there is always time. That's why when people from outside start a business here, there is sometimes conflict between the employer and the employee.”¹⁸

¹⁷“Çünkü zaten köy yaşamının bi döngüsü var. [Köylü] avını yapacak, yaşı gelen ağacın artık onun için verimi düşünce o ağaç onun odunu olacak falan filan ama işte gelenler bununla pek empati yapamıyorlar yani.”

¹⁸Hülya: “[Köylüler/yerliler] Bir sürü şeyle uğraşıyorlar ama bizim anladığımız anlamda bi çalışma değil. Biz 9-6 gibi bir mesai kültüründen geldiğimiz bize göre çok daha farklı. Daha insani aslında.”
Ömer: “Zaman algıları kesinlikle çok farklı. [Yerlilerin zaman algıları] doğayla ve şarapla. 'Olu gide' felsefesini hayatlarının her alanında uyguluyorlar. Biz büyükşehirden gelince gelince sorumluluklar, yetkinlikler vesaire altında çok kesin ve sınırlı sistemlerin içerisinde çalışıyoruz. Burada öyle bir şey yok. Bugün olmuysa yarın olabilir. Yarın olmadıysa öbür gün olur, vakit bitmedi ya. O yüzden dışardan gelen insanlar burada iş kurduklarında işveren ve iş ilişkisi bazı zamanlar çatışmalı oluyor.”

Ömer and Hülya firstly describe how the perception of time is different between migrants from cities and locals. For them, the concept of time does not have a strict structure compared to that of city life. They also mention that locals in Datça have the “olu gide”¹⁹ philosophy that explains locals and migrants have different understandings in terms of time, relationships, and jobs. For this reason, Ömer narrates that the reconciliation of this differentiation “fails” from time to time, and it creates “conflicts.” As a tangible example, Ömer mentions that they have been “scammed” by locals:

“They call us migrants here. So our name is refugee here, I mean, not just me or Hülya, but those who come from outside are called migrants. [This] is not symbolic, but is rather a rigid border. I say this without hesitation and I don’t think I’m exaggerating. We’re really getting ripped off all the time. We do not speak with Datça dialect, it is obvious from our clothing that we are not from here. Everything is priced differently for us actually.”²⁰

According to Ömer, as lifestyle migrants are called “migrants” and are not perceived as locals, it also establishes social boundaries when it comes to their relationships with locals. What is more is the fact that Ömer associates “migrants” with “refugees”. We understand that Ömer already situates himself as someone who has to forcefully leave his place of origin due to life-threatening situations and seek refugee to somewhere else to be under the protection. For this, he is aware of the fact that what makes him “different” compared to locals: dialect, clothing, perception of time and work ethics, all of which have been constructed in the city. Moreover, Ömer believes that, as they reveal that they were not born and raised in Datça through speaking and clothing, every product is repriced for them, which he calls “getting scammed.”

What I realized during the conversations about how lifestyle migrants perceive locals and their relationships to them is that some of my informants have been seeking consent or acceptance from locals as part of their acclimatization process. By looking at examples, however, it turns out that “good” relations with locals are a necessary means of their acclimatization process in Datça, and it seems that the quality of

¹⁹“Olu gide” is in the distinct Turkish dialect in Datça which can be translated to English as “let it go” or “go with the flow.”

²⁰“Bize burada göçmen diyorlar. Yani bizim adımız mülteci burada, yani sadece ben veya Hülya değil, dışardan gelenlerin adı göçmen. [Bu] sembolik değil, bayağı katı bir sınır. Bunu çok çekinmeden söylüyorum ve abarttığımı da düşünmüyorum. Gerçekten sürekli kazıklanıyoruz. Datça ağzıyla konuşmuyoruz, giyim-kuşamımızdan buralı olmadığımız belli. Bizim için her şey farklı fiyatlandırılıyor aslında.”

good relations includes the deployment of some defining characteristics of locals such as clothing, salutation, and way of speaking and getting acceptance from them. I would like to start with Hülya as Hülya lives in a village (now, a neighborhood) of Datça where the majority of people are locals, and she tries to learn the local Turkish accent to improve her relationships with them and to blur these social boundaries. In our interview with Hülya, I asked her to tell me about her first encounter with locals. Hülya explains:

“The first encounter ... They are actually used to people who come from other places and migrate here because this is a place that has received migration since the 80s. Of course, because the relationships do not progress the same as everyone else, both the ones living here and the ones who migrated here were hurt along the way, there were ares in their relationships where they had conflicts and things they were not happy about. That’s why they approach migrants more cautiously, but when the immigrants insist on communicating, the locals’ stubbornness breaks down. We have a very good relationship now. I love the village I live in. The first encounter, as I said, took place with everyone looking at each other from afar. Now I’m learning to learn the accent.”²¹

As seen in Hülya’s quote above, since locals have been “hurt” in the past in their relationship with migrants, they approach migrants cautiously. Hülya has to overcome their “stubbornness” to establish a communication channel. In her case, it is to learn the Turkish accent of locals. It helps her to get used to living in Datça, having a sense of “locality” as part of her lifestyle migrant identity.

Sedef also believes that the acclimatization of herself and her children depends on “consent.” Firstly, Sedef mentions her children’s fears and concerns when they decide to migrate to Datça over not being accepted by locals. “*Burası onların çöplüğü, bizim değil*”²² says Sedef during our interview:

“I still don’t say I’m a native, for example. I said ‘I will be a local when you accept me’. This is really important. I am telling this to my children, too. ‘You came here from outside, I came here from outside. We cannot

²¹“İlk karşılaşma... Onlar aslında alışkınlar çünkü çok fazla dışardan gelip göçüp yerleşen insanlara çünkü 80’lerden beri göç alan bir yer burası. Tabii ilişkiler herkesle aynı ilerlemediği için, burdakilerin de canı yanmış, buraya gelenlerin de canı yanmış ilişkiler içerisinde hani böyle ters düştükleri mutlu olamadıkları alanlar olmuş. O yüzden daha temkinli yaklaşıyorlar göçmenlere ama iletişim kurmak için ısrar edince inatları kırılıyor. Şimdi çok güzel bir ilişkimiz var. Ben çok seviyorum yaşadığım köyü. İlk karşılaşma dediğim gibi herkesin birbirine uzaktan bakmasıyla gerçekleşti. Şimdi şiveyi öğrenmeye öğreniyorum.”

²²“Here is their place, not ours” in English.

force our lives to [the locals]. If we came here, we will follow the rules of this place, we will adapt ourselves according to this place”.²³

Since Sedef moved to Datça with her children, her children’s adaptation is quite essential. It is why she keeps mentioning her children and how they got to become part of the way of life in Datça and why having good relations with the locals in Datça is of concern for her children:

“[When we first came] they were distant. They were afraid that the locals would not accept us among them, but then they had one friend, three friends, five friends, and now they get along very well. Because as I said, I am the one who raised them and it is the locals of this place that are supposed to accept them.”²⁴

Similarly, Esra also says that the acceptance of locals is critical. In Esra’s case, because locals are open-minded and helpful, Esra has been able to build “good relations” with them:

“Actually, there are many of them in my neighborhood and we have very good relations with the locals. They never found our presence here strange, I mean you see us, there are the piercings, tattoos all over us ... None of them looked at us in a weird way once and nor did they ask what these all are. The people of this place are very open-minded. The locals are really really nice. They are both benevolent and open-minded, as I said. There are no sexist situations. It is a region where you can feel there is gender equality, in fact, it is a place where perhaps women can be a bit more dominant. Since it has been a touristic place for years, its people are very open-minded and relaxed.”²⁵

Here, it would be useful to mention the gendered aspect of acclimatization processes

²³“Ben hala kendime yerliyim demiyorum mesela. ‘Beni kabul ettiğiniz noktada yerli olacağım’ dedim. Bu çok önemli. Ben bunu çocuklarıma da söylüyorum. Siz buraya dışardan geldiniz, ben buraya dışardan geldim. Onlara [yerlilere] kendi hayatımızı kanallıze edemeyiz. Biz geldiysek buranın kurallarına biz uyaçağız, biz buraya kanallıze olacağız.”

²⁴“[ilk geldiğimizizde] mesafeliydiler. Bizleri aralarına kabul etmezlerse diye korkuyorlardı ama bir arkadaş, üç arkadaş, beş arkadaş derken artık çok iyiler. Çünkü dediğim gibi, onları yetiştiren benim ve onları buranın insanı kabul etmek zorunda.”

²⁵“Aslında var benim olduğum mahallede çok var ve yerlilerle ilişkilerimiz çok çok iyi. Bizi hiç garipsemediler yani bizi görüyorsun, işte piercingler her yerimizde dövmele falan... Hiçbir tanesi bi gün bize yan gözle bakmadı bu nedir diye sormadı. Çok açık kafalı insanlar, buranın yerlisi hakkaten çok çok iyi. Hem yardımseverler hem açık kafalılar dediğim gibi. Seksist durum yok. Kadın erkek eşitliğinin hissedildiği hatta kadınların belki bi tık daha baskın olabildiği bi bölge. Yıllardır turistik de olması dolayısıyla çok fikirli ve rahat bi halkı var.”

in Datça. What I realized during the field is the fact that the narratives of the female lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation rely much on “acceptance” from locals. They perceive as a means of becoming part of the life in Datça. It also includes making female local or lifestyle migrant friends, having casual conversations and deploying local way of speaking, clothing and understanding life. It is much prominent in Sedef’s narrative. As to remember, Sedef is a single mom with two children. According to her, getting consent from locals both for herself and her children is an inseparable part of being a female and single lifestyle migrant in Datça. Additionally, compared to Ömer’s narratives about locals and acclimatization to Datça, Hülya’s narratives invests more in “becoming like locals”, meaning that she pushes herself to speak like locals and to understand how locals understand their lives and deals with daily issues. For this, I can say that “becoming a lifestyle migrant” or lifestyle migrant identity does include local’s perspective when taking a gendered perspective.

Following more gendered perspectives, in Aslı’s case, locals were also very helpful to her during the construction of her house:

“We constructed it in 4 years. We did not mind whether it was summer or winter ... We do not know the conditions of Datça, its summer or winter, nor its unexpected weather conditions. We had a water source, then our water was cut, we had no roads ... We go to the mountains for 15-20 minutes every day, the items are on our backs. It is also possible to go by car, the villagers helped us go through their lands. It is a great struggle but the peasants treated us very nicely and they rushed to us at every moment of difficulty, they helped us with everything.”²⁶

However, Ömer believes that migrants are always in sight and should get used to being “viewed” by locals:

“Since we are outsiders, we attract attention, it is necessary to get used to this because everyone is looking at you. You are only invisible when you close the door of your house, except from that you are visible all the time, even when you think you are not. Someone sees you and it’s common for you to be the subject of conversation. Since there is little to talk about in small places, everyone talks very comfortably about each

²⁶“4 yılda yaptık. Yaz kış demeden... Şartlarını bilmiyoruz Datça’nın yazını kışını ve hiç beklenmedik hava şartları, su kaynağımız vardı, suyumuz kesildi, yolumuz yok... Her gün 15-20 dakika dağlara çıkıyoruz, eşyalar sırtımızda bugün itibarıyla işte arabayla da çıkılabilir, köylü yardım etti yol açtı bize kendi arazilerinden geçirip. Çok büyük mücadele ama köylü bize çok iyi davrandı ve her zorluk anımızda yanımıza koştular, her şeye yardımcı oldular. Arabamız bozursa hemen gelirler yardımcı olurlar.”

other, but it is not malignant gossip. There are really good idioms used in this region. Here is one, which says, 'think about something once, and they hear it from the great mountain'. This shows how common gossip actually is here.”²⁷

According to Ömer, the only space migrants are not “viewed” by locals is the private sphere. When migrants are out, they are always in sight and being “evaluated” by locals and migrants are part of everyday gossip in Datça. However, in our interview, Ömer repeated a few times the fact that gossiping is not “malign” in Datça. Instead, it is a part of locals’ everyday practices as they have particular understandings of relationships and time. For this, Ömer believes that migrants should create a balance in relationships with locals as the boundaries between private and public spheres in Datça are permeable:

“It is necessary to find a balance because the way people in the countryside interact is different than the ones in other cities. It is very different in the city, we have protection areas, we have private lives, but here the public-private, that is, the private space-public space, is very intertwined. It is necessary to be very careful about it when it first comes. The boundaries between people are very unclear here. For example, whenever they want, they can knock on your door at 11 o’clock at night, but they may just come to say hello, not for something urgent, like ‘I saw the light were on’ but the fact that my light is on does not mean we are open to the public ...”²⁸

“Finding a balance” seems to be a crucial part of the lifestyle migration identity and it requires negotiations about the bipolar division of public and private spheres. This can also be understood as a step to get used to living in Datça because lifestyle migrants are in constant interaction with locals. However, as Sedef mentions, locals perceive lifestyle migrants as “pompous” and those who enforce their own rules:

²⁷“Dışardan geldiğimiz için mecburen göz önündesiniz, ona alışmak gerekiyor çünkü herkes size bakıyor. Sadece evinizde kapınızı kapattığınızda görünmezsiniz bunun dışında görünmediğinizi düşündüğünüz her an görünüyorsunuz aslında. Birileri görüyor sizi ve sohbet konusu olmanız çok yaygın. Küçük yerlerde konuşacak konu da az olduğu için herkes birbiri hakkında çok rahat konuşur ama malign yani kötücül bir dedikodu değil. Çok güzel deyimler var bu bölgeye dair. Şey var, ‘Aklından geçir koca dağdan duysunlar’. O kadar çok yaygın yani dedikodu.”

²⁸“Bir denge kurmak gerekiyor çünkü kırsaldaki insanların ilişkilene biçimleriyle başka kentlerdeki insanların ilişki biçimleri farklı. Kentte çok başka, kentte bizim mesafelerimiz var, koruma alanlarımız var, özel hayatımız var ama burada public-private yani özel alan-kamusal alan birbirine çok geçmiş vaziyette. İlk geldiğinde o konuda çok dikkatli olmak gerekiyor. Kişiler arasındaki sınırlar çok belirsiz burada. Mesela istedikleri zaman, işte gecenin 12’sinde 11’inde kapınızı çalıp gelebiliyorlar ama sadece merhaba demeye de gelmiş olabiliyor, acil bir şey için değil, ‘ışığı gördüm geldim’ şeklinde ama ışığın açık olması kamuya açıkız anlamına gelmiyor...”

"I catch [the locals] while having conservation. They see people coming from outside pedantic. As I said, they see them as people who trying to enforce their own rules instantly. They say it themselves. He says he came from outside, they are trying to banish the ones already living here. To me, this is wrong. I know that craftsmen have to earn money here. Trades have to be won. If I, especially as an outsider, do not side with the shopkeepers, they would never do the same for me. Conversing with the locals seems easy, but as I said, it is very difficult, really difficult. They pretend to accept you, but in fact, they do not".²⁹

Negotiation and rethinking relationships with locals is always in making. It also includes different perspectives and approaches among the lifestyle migrants. For instance, Ömer and Sedef narrate that lifestyle migrants should reconsider their approaches when interacting with locals. Another perspective comes from Meryem. Meryem narrates that migrants should approach locals, not as teachers or mentors, but so as to "convince" locals that they would make a profit out of collaboration:

"The locals here are [prejudiced]. It is necessary to know how to approach these people. It is not as if you are teaching something to those people because they do not like it at all, you come from the somewhere else and try to banish the ones living here. And it is necessary to prove them that they will earn more money if you show them a better way. You will show that you will win, and he will believe it."³⁰

In Meryem's narrative, we can understand that overcoming symbolic and social boundaries are closely connected to create a win-win situation and non-hierarchical order. According to Ömer, "locals in Datça have drastically changed in the last 25 years as they have developed a particular relationship with money, in a negative way":

"I love the locals and villagers of Datça, but most of them have changed

²⁹"[Yerlilerin] Konuşma aralarında yakalıyorum. dışardan gelen insanları daha ukala görüyorlar. Dedğim gibi anında kendi kurallarını uygulamaya çalışan insanlar olarak görüyorlar. Kendileri de söylüyorlar zaten, dışardan gelmiş diyor, dağdan gelmiş bağcıyı koymaya çalışıyorlar diyor. Bunlar bana göre hatalı şeyler. Ben burada biliyorum ki esnafın kazanması lazım. Esnaf kazanmak zorunda. Özellikle ben dışardan gelmiş biri olarak. Ben esnafı kollamazsam o hiçbir zaman beni kollamaz. Buranın yerlisiyle diyalog kolay gibi görünür ama dediğim gibi çok zor gerçekten çok zor. Seninle ayaküstü oo laylay lom yapıyorlar ama içine almıyor."

³⁰"[Önyargı] var buradaki köylülerde. Onun için nasıl yaklaşacağımı bilmek lazım o insanlara. O insanlara sanki bir şey öğretiyormuşsun gibi değil çünkü bu onların hiç hoşuna gitmiyor, dağdan geldin bağdakini kovuyorsun olaylarına giriyorlar. Bir şekilde örnek teşkil ederek onlara [bir şeyin] doğrusunu ve güzeline göstererek daha çok para kazanacaklarını, ki bu önemli, ispat etmek gerekiyor. Yani sen bu insanlara para kazandırırsan eğer onlar seni adam yerine koyarlar. Böyle bir ülkede yaşıyoruz biz. [Bir şeyi] öyle bir lanse edeceksin ki şu kadar parayı harcarsa ne kadar kazanacağını göstereceksin ve o da buna inanacak."

a lot in the last 25 years since I first met them. The people here also got to know money in a negative way. One of the things that takes place in our daily conversations is that we are getting scammed here. I didn't say anymore that I'm tired of saying [complaining] people. There is an idiom in Turkish saying 'not to pee on the injured finger'. So if something doesn't benefit [the locals] they won't do it, they have that attitude. If you are not very close to the locals, they will agree with you, speak to you, but will do nothing to solve the problem. I have trouble understanding it, I have difficulty, but when you look at it, this is the lesser of two evils. ”³¹

In Ömer's quote, we also understand how crucial it is to create a particular discourse that highlights an exchange or win-win situation. However, Çağlar thinks that it is challenging to establish since there is a lack of trust between migrants and locals:

“The villagers are a little like... “Come and do it, I have a field, come and do it,” for example. He doesn't say they will do it for you. He says you will do it, and they will help you because they want to see what you will do. Let's see what the outsiders will do ... We don't know anything, we don't even know how to hold an anchor, but you're trying to cut grass or something. Therefore, they are not faithful. It's classic, you go to the market, you say 'why does this have pesticide, don't you add it', and the guy says 'there is no pesticide' like that, but he added it.”³²

To clarify this lack of trust, Çağlar narrates his experience with locals as part of the project through which they introduce composting to locals:

“All of Datça's locals that are under the age of 30 or under 40 work in tourism, almost no young people work in their fields. There are always

³¹“Datça'nın yerlisini, köylüsünü çok seviyorum ama [onlarla] ilk karşılaştığımdan beri geçen 25 sene içerisinde onların büyük çoğunluğu da çok değişmiş. Buradaki insanlar da parayla kötü bir şekilde tanışmışlar. Günlük konuşmalarımızın içerisinde yer alan şeylerden bir tanesi de kazıklanıyoruz burada. Ben artık demedim ki demekten yoruldum [şikayet eden] insanlara. Türkçede bir deyim vardır, “yaralı parmağa işememek” diye. Yani bir faydası olmayacaksa [yerliler] onu yapmazlar, öyle bir tavırları var. Eğer çok yakın değilseniz o köylüyle, size hak verir, konuşur eder ama kılımı kıpırdatıp o sorunu çözmek için hiçbir şey yapmaz. Anlamakta güçlük çekiyorum, zorluk çekiyorum ama baktığımda kötünün iyisi bu.”

³²“Köylüler biraz... Gelin yapın, benim tarlam var gel yap diyor adam mesela. Ben sana yaparım demiyor. Sen yap, ben sana yardım ederim diyor çünkü görmek istiyor ne yapacağımızı. Dışardan gelen bakalım ne yapacak... Hiçbir şey bilmiyoruz yani, çapa bile nasıl tutulur bilmiyoruz ama ot biçmeye çalışıyorsun falan. Dolayısıyla inanç değiller. Klasiktir, pazara gidiyorsun 'niye ilaçlı bu, katmasana' diyorsun herif böyle 'ilaçsız' diyor ama ilaç katmış yani.”

old people [farming]. Young people are leaving Datça. They go to Bodrum or Marmaris because of tourism. So of course there is a difference. We saw examples as we lived here. For example, when Buğday Association had a compost project, we did it in a few villages in Datça. Trainers came from abroad, machines were donated to the villagers. We explained how they make compost and how to do organic agriculture. They think organic farming happens when you do nothing. We told them that when you prune trees, they can use the things that get into the air as fertilizer, but no one cares. Nobody does. The machine is just standing there. We made so many announcements, only 5 people came. 5 people. All of them are over 60 years old. And when you see all these ...”³³

In Çağlar’s narrative, his own experience of a project with locals reflects a generational dynamic. As young locals in Datça have been engaging with tourism more, they tend to either stay in Datça or leave for other districts of Muğla where tourism is more developed than that of Datça. Alternatively, if younger locals with whom lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation share the same generation as actuality, they prefer to stay in Datça, they are more into tourism. Thus, lifestyle migrants perceive this generation through the filter of a generational approach, and it becomes a constitutive part of the establishment of boundaries. Furthermore, locals are perceived as a group of indifferent people to learning and collaboration with lifestyle migrants.

Related to the gentrification and tourism potentials of Datça, Meryem also mentions the lack of trust, which creates an atmosphere where locals are impossible “to be conceived”:

“They want to make money out of tourism. But they never do this: Everyone uses social media, right? How to design a room using Pinterest, how to arrange it, how to make it. How to do organic farming, search, research, look, read. They absolutely and absolutely do not do this. These do it in Çeşme or Bodrum, but those who do it there are not locals. This place is 40 years behind compared to there. You go to visit a business, for example, they bring a meal in front of you, you order some food to share, but there are four people sitting at the table, and they bring four forks but only one serving plate. It don’t bring any herbs or

³³“Datça’nın yerlilerinin 30 yaşın ya da 40 yaşın altındakilerin hepsi turizmde çalışıyor, tarlasında çalışan genç neredeyse yok. Hep yaşlılar var [tarım yapan]. Gençler Datça’dan gidiyor. Turizm olduğu için de Bodrum’a veya Marmaris’e gidiyorlar. Dolayısıyla elbette bir fark oluyor. Burada yaşadıkça örneklerini gördük. Mesela Buğday Derneği’nin kompost projesi olduğu zaman, Datça’nın birkaç köyünde yaptık. Yurtdışından eğitimler geldi, köylülere makineler hibe edildi. Kompost nasıl yapılır, organik tarım nasıl yapılır anlattık. Onlar zannediyor ki hiçbir şey yapmadığın zaman organik tarım oluyor. Ağaçları budadığında havaya karışan şeyleri gübre olarak kullanabileceklerini falan anlattık ama hiçkimse umrunda değil ki. Hiçkimse yapmıyor. Makine orada duruyor. O kadar duyuru yaptık, 5 kişi gelmiş zaten sadece. 5 kişi. Onların da hepsi 60 yaşın üstünde. Bunları da gördükçe yani...”

anything. There are vineyards everywhere. You can go tell the villager that you just want to build a toilet for them and you don't ask for money in return, but they would says no, they would continue to use that hole, you cannot convince them ".³⁴

In Meryem's narrative, locals are positioned to be indifferent to change and to learning. It also refers to the symbolic and social boundaries of the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation as a generation unit. As these migrants differentiate from and compare themselves to locals, "locals" constitute a group of "Others". Also, the way they narrate their experience and perception of locals fits the frame of the Kemalist doxa. As I have mentioned at the very beginning, the Kemalist doxa intends to educate and modernize the Republic that includes different identities to create a sense of homogeneity among them that would be parallel with the Kemalist values. Thus, in this picture, younger generations that are again accepted as homogeneous, urban, and in favor of the Kemalist values are the ones that will continue the Kemalist modernization project. When we consider the fact that the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in Datça were raised and educated through the Kemalist doxa and their "roots" are in urban, their narratives about the locals in Datça are shaped accordingly. However, it hardly means that the narratives are in absolute homogeneity. Some narratives that I have explained above reflect some degree of understanding in terms of differences, which is again as a result of self-reflexivity, but at the same time, some narratives of these migrants reflect an attempt to "modernize," "educate," "convince" the locals, shaping their symbolic and social boundaries and forming their lifestyle migrant identity.

In the next section, I continue with the results of symbolic and social boundaries between lifestyle migrants and locals, and I focus on the sense of friendship and of solidarity among lifestyle migrants who belong to the same generation, sharing some commonalities in terms of (i) the reasons for migration (ii) home-building practices in Datça and (iii) social and symbolic boundaries with locals to argue that they form a generation unit within the post-80s generation. I also believe that their sense of solidarity manifests how the lifestyle migrant identity is constructed within itself out of the perception of locals.

³⁴"Turizmden kazanmak istiyorlar. Asla şunu yapmıyorlar ama... Sosyal medyayı herkes kullanıyor değil mi? Aç bak Instagram'dan ne bileyim Pinterest'ten bir oda nasıl dizayn edilir, nasıl düzenlenir, nasıl yapılır. Doğal tarım nasıl yapılır, ara, araştır, bak, oku. Bunu kesinlikle ve kesinlikle yapmıyorlar. Çeşme'de veya Bodrum'da bunlar yapılıyor ama orada yapanlar da oraların yerlisi değil. Burası oralara göre bir 40 yıl geride. Gidiyorsun mesela bir işletmeye, senin önüne bir yemek çıkarıyor, karışık diyorsun her yemekten bir çeşit ama 4 kişi oturuyorsun sofrada, dört çatal getiriyor ama sadece bir servis tabağı getiriyor. Yanına ne yeşillik getiriyor, ne bir şey. Her yer bağ bahçe burada. İşte gidersin köylüye dersin ki ben para istemiyorum sana tuvalet yaptıracağım, hayır der o deliği kullanmaya devam eder, onu ikna edemezsin."

3.3 Friendship and Solidarity among Lifestyle Migrants

In our conversation with Elif, she says: “You can divide Datça into three: locals, migrants, and tourists.” Starting from 2015, migration to Datça from cities has been on the rise, and the center of Datça makes up the majority of the migrant population. As Elif defines: “We are the majority of the minority and by ‘community’ I mean one that is made up of migrants,” indicating that lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation are mostly in relationship with other lifestyle migrants from their generation.

When Hülya migrated to Datça, she struggled a lot as she did not have any female friends from her generation:

Hülya:

“... For example, I remember that I cried a lot because I didn’t have any female friends, because the youngest woman here was 60 years old, probably.”³⁵

However, as Hülya started to visit the center of Datça more often and make friends from her generation, she became more comfortable. Similarly, after migrating to Datça, Zehra also mentions her friendships:

“... When we arrived, we were able to come together with people from our own class and culture, who were more urban. It might not have been like that. There have been good coincidences. There is also Datça’s karma. ... One of our climbing coaches was a friend of a very old friend of mine. .. They were in the same photo frame 10 years ago in Istanbul, they do not know each other, but they come to Datça and meet.”³⁶

In Zehra’s narrative, we also see that the commonalities with regards to experience,

³⁵“... Bir ara mesela hiç kadın arkadaşım yok diye çok ağladığımı hatırlıyorum çünkü en geç kadın burada herhalde 60 yaşında falandı. Datça’ya [merkeze] gidip geldikçe bu sefer orada arkadaşlar edinmeye başladım, o da beni rahatlatmaya başladı.”

³⁶“...Geldiğimizde daha kentli, kendi sınıfımızdan ve kültürümüzden insanlarla bir araya gelebildik. Böyle olmayabilirdi. Güzel tesadüfler oldu. Bir de Datça’nın karması var. ... Bizim tırmanış antrenörlerimizden bir tanesi benim çok eski bir arkadaşımın arkadaşı çıktı. ... İstanbul’da 10 yıl önce aynı fotoğraf karesindeler, tanışmıyorlar ama Datça’ya gelip tanışıyorlar.”

background, and culture create an environment of familiarity.

“We are organized,” says Hakan, referring to the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in Datça, “for example, Çağlar needs something in the field, if I am available, I go for help. Alternatively, when I need something, Çağlar shows up. We have a friend who owns a cafe, and he sometimes needs some help with the service, and one of us goes to his cafe to help him out. It is what I mean by being organized. Other than that, we do not have anything like ‘GÖÇMENDER’, [Çağlar and Hakan] laughing.

Hakan’s sentence, “We do not have anything like ‘GÖÇMENDER,’ is crucial to understand the sense of solidarity among lifestyle migrants in Datça. ‘GÖÇMENDER’ is a sarcastic abbreviation that Hakan uses to refer to a fictive foundation called ‘Göçmen Derneği’ (Association of Migrants). It explains that there is no official foundation or association formed by lifestyle migrants to get organized and create a space for “helping out” one another. However, it hardly means that there is no connection or solidarity among them. Preferably, the kind of solidarity is formed through informal networks of lifestyle migrants, and many activities of these networks rely on the use of internet.

Even though there is no official association or foundation dedicated to lifestyle migrants in Datça, Çağlar mentions that there have been some efforts to establish some:

“... We [established] a consumer solidarity group. We started here, about box systems, community-supported agriculture and so on. We started very seriously, we found some wheat producers in Bozburun, old seeds were found. ... A mill was found, and [Wheat] was turned into flour, distributed, payment received ... Another village was found in Muğla, other things were brought from there or something like that. We broke up after that. These works are usually called community or something, but whatever you do, the burden of holding its accounting, logistics, bringing it and delivering it to people falls into the shoulders of a few people. You start with 50 people, but you look behind you, 3-4 people are left, and after that 3-4 people continue this for weeks, the number decreases and disappears. ... Things like this have always been tried.”³⁷

³⁷“... Bir tüketici dayanışma grubu [kurduk]. Başladık işte, kutu sistemleri şunlar, toplum destekli tarım falan hep bunlarla ilgili. Çok ciddi bir şekilde başladık, Bozburun’da buğday üreten birilerini bulduk, eski atalık tohumlar bulundu. ... Değirmen bulundu [buğdaylar] un haline getirildi, dağıtıldı, paraları alındı... Muğla’da başka bir köy bulundu, oradan bir şeyler getirildi falan böyle bir başlangıç oldu. Ondan sonra dağıldık. Bu işler genelde topluluk falan deniyor ama ne yaparsan yap birkaç kişinin sırtına kalıyor işin yükü. Muhasebesi, lojistiği, onun bunun getirilip götürülmesi, insanlara teslim edilmesi. 50 kişi başlıyorsun ama arkana bir bakıyorsun 3-4 kişi kalmışsın ve o 3-4 kişi bunu haftalarca devam ettirdikten sonra böyle azalarak yok olan bir şey haline geliyor. ... Bu tip şeyler hep denendi.”

As I understand from Çağlar's quote above, getting organized around a formalized group requires much of their collective time and labor in terms of accountability and logistics. However, in time, members' enthusiasm and commitment diminish, and the group becomes less sustainable. I also see the similar dissolution of another group in Datça where parents get organized to help one another to take care of their children. Çağlar explains:

"8-10 family groups with children got along very well. Everyone had children, but everyone also had to work. For example, a house was rented in the center. One of the parents takes their children from school every day at noon and he/she cooks for them. They meet in the evening, they play. If someone needs help, they take an action together but it dissolved too, whether you like it or not."³⁸

This group of parents has dissolved again, like the Consumer Solidarity Group, as it, again, requires much of their time and dedication. What I see in Datça in terms of the solidarity among lifestyle migrants is that it includes temporary and exchangeable tasks that they do not have to demonstrate their dedication and spend much of their time and have a potential of bringing something in return. In this sense, Ömer thinks that it is because lifestyle migrants in Datça have similar patterns:

"... Places such as Fethiye and Datça actually correspond to specific groups of people. One who prefers Kaş cannot live in Datça. In other words, our reason for choosing this place creates a meaningful demographic group that brings us together as the people who chose this place, and the question is what this people need and what they want. Actually, we met many of our friends with whom we have a close relationship here, and they all pursue a similar pattern of relationship. So the mentality is let's be close but not get involved in our lives. Let's not be critical about why one of us does something, or why someone doesn't call you, or why one of us meets more frequently with someone else than with you... If we can support each other without all these, this is a good relationship. I wouldn't say we have achieved this right now, but we are experiencing something like this."³⁹

³⁸"Çocukları olan 8-10 aile grubu çok güzel kaynaştı. Herkesin çocuğu var ama herkesin işi gücü de var. Bir ev tutuldu mesela merkezde. Çocukları öğlen okuldan her gün bi veli yani ebeveyn alıyor ve onlara yemek yapıyor, akşam buluşuyor, oyun onanıyor. Birinin yardımı ihtiyacı varsa birlikte yapılıyor. O da dağıldı ister istemez."

³⁹"... Fethiye ve Datça gibi yerler aslında birtakım insanların grubuna denk düşüyor. Kaş'ı tercih eden Datça'da yaşayamıyor. Yani aslında burayı seçme sebebimiz bizi burayı seçen insanlar olarak bir araya

Ömer's narrative guides us to mention the generation unit out of the post-80s generation in Datça. According to him, lifestyle migrants in Datça create a "meaningful demographic group" because they share commonalities regarding the reasons and motivations to leave big cities and choose Datça. Following Ömer, lifestyle migrants in Datça form a degree of closeness with them, but at the same time, they do not intend to interfere with one another's lives or be critical about their life choices. It is important to note that not interfering with one another's lives is the opposite of what Ömer criticizes about locals in the previous section. For this, I find these commonalities vital because I believe it causes a rupture. However, it does not mean that all lifestyle migrants share the same opinion when it comes to the establishment of a sense of solidarity. For example, Meryem and Sedef prefer to stay out of the circle of lifestyle migrants even though they share similar patterns.

Meryem: "There have been many people who said, 'We are adding you to this group, we are adding you to that group.' I said, 'For example, don't. I put myself in the background, I step back. I can already see that the same people are always hanging out together at the same place. I am not. Sometimes I do not go when they call. We meet at a panel and they say 'Meryem, come with us, we will have a drink after the panel', I say 'no'."

Sedef: "If there is such a group, I do not want it. Because then you end up in the same place. Why did you come here then? If you are going to form a group within yourself, it means that you haven't detached yourself from some things both mentally and emotionally, you are revolving around the same people. In my opinion, you occupy this place. It's not for me. Istanbulites, let's create a group. Can there be such a thing? I have already escaped from the people of Istanbul. All this ego, and arrogance is Probably the result of [locals'] not accepting them or so they build a wall against them..."⁴⁰

As indicated above, Meryem arrived at Datça when she felt overwhelmed by her

getirdiğinde anlamlı bir demografik grup oluşturuyor ve onların neye ihtiyacı var, neyi istiyorlar sorusuna bakmak gerek. Aslında bizim de burada yakın ilişkide olduğumuz arkadaşlarımızın çoğuyla burada tanıştık ve hepsi benzer ilişkilene modeli peşindeler. Yani hem yakın olalım hem de kimsenin hayatına müdahil olmayalım. Eleştirel olmayalım, sen onu neden yaptın, sen beni neden aramadın, neden onunla çok görüşüyorsun... Bunlar olmadan birbirimize destek olabiliyorsak bu güzel bir birliktelik. Şu anda biz bunu başardık demeyeyim ama böyle bir şey deneyimliyoruz."

⁴⁰Meryem: "Beni 'seni şu gruba katıyoruz, bu gruba katıyoruz' diyenler çok oldu. Katmayın dedim mesela. Kendimi geri planda tutuyorum, çok geri planda tutuyorum. Ben zaten şunu görüyorum, hep aynı kişiler aynı kişilerle birlikte ve aynı yerdeler. Ben öyle değilim. Olmuyorum da zaten. Bazen çağırıldıklarında gitmiyorum. Bir panelde karşılaşıyoruz 'Meryem çıkışta bir şeyler içeceğiz gel hadi' diyorlar, 'yok' diyorum." Sedef: "Eğer varsa da ben istemem öyle bi grubu. O zaman işte yeni aynı yere geliyorsun. Neden geldin o zaman buraya? Sen kendi içinde bir grup kuracaksan, sen bir şeylerden hem kafa hem de gönül olarak kopmamışsın demektir ki aynı insanlar etrafında dönüyorsun. Bana göre sen burayı işgal ediyorsun. Bana ters. Haydi İstanbullular bir grup olalım. Olur mu böyle bir şey? Ben zaten İstanbul'daki insanlardan kaçtım. Muhtemelen [yerliler] onları kabul etmedikleri için veya yerlilere karşı kurdukları o duvarlar veya o ukalalıklar veyahah o egolar..."

already-established social relationships in Istanbul and lacked a sense of belonging to Datça. Sedef, another of my informants who escaped the city of Istanbul to get away from the mentality of Istanbul, also believes that receiving acceptance from locals will help her develop a sense of belonging to Datça as a single mom with two children. In their narratives, we see how symbolic and social boundaries among lifestyle migrants are, in fact, fragile and permissible, and is closely connected to their reasons and motivations to migrate to Datça and subjective understandings of these boundaries.

If we go back to the construction of the sense of solidarity of “helping out” through informal networks based on volunteering, Çağlar and Elif explain a network of exchange (*Takas Ağı*) and its purpose is to meet demands without leaving Datça for the nearest towns like Marmaris and Bodrum. Çağlar thinks that as Datça does not have a shopping mall and you cannot find things as quickly as one can in Marmaris or Bodrum, they often use this network of exchange, and he believes that lifestyle migrants in these towns are more “engaged with the system” as they have specific resources to meet their material necessities such as electronics and books. Elif defines this network as follows:

“We can meet many of our needs without leaving the peninsula. Last time I went to Çınarcık [a district of Yalova], I realized that [those there] go to Istanbul or Bursa for shopping. They cannot find a lot of things in Yalova. ... We can handle it without leaving, they [in Yalova] are constantly stuck in the traffic to buy something and I think they need to shop is a little higher. Second hand shopping here [in Datça] is a little more active.”⁴¹

Using secondhand products and fulfilling a necessity without leaving Datça and spending less money are two reasons behind this network. Elif moves on to explain an experience she had with the network exchange:

“In our house, the part of the coffee machine that comes inside and out was broken. It worked when you kept it steady with your hands, we used it for 6-7 months in its broken state ... We realized that we have an urgent payment, the electricity bill. How much is the electricity bill?...

⁴¹“Yarımada’nın içerisinde çıkmadan pek çok ihtiyacı çözebiliyoruz. Çınarcık’a [Yalova’nın bir ilçesi]son gittiğimde fark ettim ki [oradakiler] alışveriş yapmak için İstanbul’a ya da Bursa’ya gidiyor. Yalova bile demiyorum çünkü Yalova merkezde bile pek çok şeyi bulamıyorlar. ... Biz çıkmadan halledebiliyoruz, onlar [Yalova’dakiler] sürekli bir şey alma trafiğindeler ve onlarda biraz daha yeni alma ihtiyacı yüksek galiba. Bizim burada [Datça’da] 2. el kullanımlarımız biraz daha aktif.”

50 liras. You cannot buy a second hand machine for less than 350 liras. I offered [the coffee machine] for sale for '50 liras'. Among 7 people, Aysel bought it. Or, for example, we had an oven that used to be Serhat's, but its door was broken. The oven has no problems, it works fine, but it works when you push a chair against it or something. We live in the central district, I said those who need them to come and take it. Two days later an older woman came. She said there is a woman having financial difficulties, sometimes she could not even buy gas. She took it by thinking that at least she could cook some potatoes. ... [or] I wrote that [I was looking for] a second hand Kindle. Erdem saw it a year and a half later. He said, 'I don't use it at all, take it, it's yours.'⁴²

Another example comes from Aslı. While Aslı and his friend were trying to complete the construction of their houses, Aslı got to know other lifestyle migrants because they organized via WhatsApp:

"We created a group called xxxx on WhatsApp. A couple of times, there had been cooperations at the construction where most of the people I talked to all over Datça came."⁴³

However, the WhatsApp group did not dissolve after they completed the construction. Aslı continues:

"It was our construction that led to the creation of that group. People still text whenever someone needs help, and people go and help them and so on. For example, when someone has work needing to be done at their garden, they go, or if someone's roof is falling, everyone goes and help, etc. Someone has a tool missing, and they ask to borrow from someone. There are no locals in the group. All of them are like us. There must be around 50 people in the group."⁴⁴

⁴²"... Bizim evde kahve makinesinin şu girip çıkan yeri var ya, o kırılmıştı. Tutup taktığın zaman çalışıyordu, biz onu kırık haliyle 6-7 ay kullandık ... Baktık acil ödememiz ne var, elektrik faturası. Elektrik faturası ne kadar... 50 Lira. 2. el bir makineyi 350 liradan aşağı alamıyorsun. [Kahve makinesi için] '50 lira' dedim. 7 kişiden Aysel'e gitti. Ya da mesela bize Serhat'lardan gelen bir fırın vardı ama kapağı kırık. Fırının hiçbir şeyi yok, düzgün çalışıyor ama sandalye falan dayadığında çalışıyor. Merkez mahallesindeyiz ihtiyacı olan gelsin alsın dedim. İki gün sonra bir abla geldi. Bir kadın varmış maddi olarak zor durumdaymış, bazen tüp alamıyormuş. En azından şu fırını koyayım da fırının içine patates atarım diye düşünüp aldı götürdü. ... [Ya da] 2. el Kindle [aradığımı] yazmıştım ben. Bir buçuk yıl sonra Erdem görmüş. 'Hiç kullanmıyorum, al senin olsun' dedi."

⁴³"xxxx diye bir grup kurduk WhatsApp'ta. Birkaç kere bütün Datça'da yaşayan görüştüğüm insanların çoğunun geldiği böyle hani yardımlaşma da oldu bizim inşaatta."

⁴⁴"Bizim inşaat vesile oldu o grubu kurmak. Hala o grupta bir yardım ihtiyacı olduğunda yazıyorlar, yardıma gidiyor falan. Birinin bir bahçeyle işi olunca mesela gidiyorlar ya da işte birinin çatısı akıyor, herkes gidiyor falan. Birinin aleti eksik istiyor. birinin bi bahçeyle işi olunca mesela hadi gidiyolar ya da işte çatısı akıyor

It becomes apparent that some initiatives to establish formal organizations among lifestyle migrants have not worked out. However, loosely organized groups where lifestyle migrants can occasionally contribute to, like the examples of a WhatsApp group and *Takas Ağı*, seem to be still active. Among lifestyle migrants in Datça, it is essential to create a sense of solidarity among them as long as their experience of big cities, and expectations from Datça sharing the same generation contribute. In the next section, I will continue to look at the narratives of the lifestyle migrants, but at this time, I will focus on how they combine different capitals to create a composition to get by in Datça as I believe the means of getting by is another issue along with the sense of solidarity that differentiates the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation from locals and lifestyle migrants from former generations.

3.4 “Price of Living in Datça”: Means of Getting by and Composition of Capitals

I met Yusuf on my third day in Datça. I was going to attend a forum entitled “What kind of Datça do we want?” where locals and migrants gathered to discuss the transformation and undergoing changes in Datça. Apart from listening to participants about “what sort of Datça” they wanted, I expected to meet some other lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation. However, I ran into Yusuf. Yusuf is in his late 50s and has been living in Datça with his wife for more than ten years. He and his wife decided to migrate to Datça from Ankara after they got retired. With their savings and retirement pensions, they decided to buy land where they would not only grow their food to be self-sufficient but also provide some products to the market to make a living.

I explained why I came to Datça by giving details in terms of my research questions and informants. “I am looking for some young people doing agriculture,” I told him. “There is hardly anyone,” Yusuf replies. “I have been living here for more than ten years, and I have not met anyone from younger generations in agriculture.” I was surprised by his answer because before coming to Datça, I had planned to do some research on land use and engagement with agriculture. I asked him why younger generations were not part of the agricultural production in Datça. “When you talk about financial resources, people get allergic because people have romantic ideals,”

hadi gidiyor herkes falan. Grubun içinde yerli yok. Hepsi bizim gibi. ... 50 kişi falan vardır grupta.”

Yusuf told me, “they can tell you that money is not everything but at the end of the day, it is. Life in Datça has become very expensive, so have the land prices. When you take your first step to Datça to have a land for agricultural production, it will cost you at least 750.000 TL, and it will pay off in 30-40 years. However, we have friends in Çanakkale who own some lands, but the prices are much more reasonable.” At the end of our conversation with Yusuf, he recommended me to speak with Çağlar and Zeliha, who are the only couple he knew that owned a small land in Datça.

Çağlar and Zeliha have a small land that is 25 kilometers away from the center of Datça. On their land, they grow plants like olives and chamomile, which can be used in cosmetics and health products like balms and fly-repellents. They have been working with a small distributor in Istanbul, whom Çağlar calls *Safiye Abba*, and they also sell their products online. However, during our interview with Çağlar, he is reluctant to give more information about their land and products. “Zeliha and her partner are in charge of this. I have been just helping them when necessary. Zeliha would be your interlocutor about this.” However, Zeliha sent her apologies and could not join our interview as she was dealing with her business. However, Çağlar mentioned the target audience of their products in our interview:

“Actually, they prefer to keep [their customer base] limited, they don’t want to open up too much. They don’t want it to reach everyone, as I said, they [want to reach] people of a certain scale. People like us, I can say ... I am not sure how I can say it, but after they became known on Instagram, customers from irrelevant places began coming. They ship every corner of Turkey, to Artvin, for example ... I remember that they ship to Adıyaman for example, but more so to Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir.”⁴⁵

It is crucial to note that the products they produce in Datça target a small group of people that Çağlar defines as “people like [them]” who live in Istanbul, Ankara, or Izmir. Çağlar, apart from helping out this small business, works as a freelance translator to contribute to their living in Datça. He and Zeliha also have a house in Ankara that provides them a rental income. In other words, for them, to continue living in Datça depends on three channels: producing raw material, translation, and rent. Çağlar explains this by bringing in the concept of generation:

⁴⁵“Aslında bakarsan [müşteri kitlesini] kısıtlı tutmayı tercih ediyorlar, çok fazla açılmak istemiyorlar. Herkese de ulaşmasını istemiyorlar, dediğim gibi belli skalada insanlara [ulaşmak istiyorlar]. Daha bizim gibi olan insanlar diyebilirim... Nasıl diyebilirim bilmiyorum ama Instagram’da tanına tanına çok saçmasapan [ve] alakasız yerlerden de müşteriler gelmeye başladı. Türkiye’nin her yerine gönderiyor, Artvin’e gönderiyor... Adıyaman’a gönderdiğini hatırlıyorum mesela ama daha çok Ankara, İstanbul ve İzmir.”

“The situation of Yusuf and his family are very different. They came as retired people, they do not have ambitions like us. For example, I can say that will keep working and establish a training center, [I can say] I will do this job [I can say] but they have never been like that. For example, when we says ‘let’s do something together or give training’, Yusuf says, “No, don’t include me, I don’t need it, you hang out, I will support it.” They are tired. On the one hand, we are still young, we are in our 30s. We want want to achieve things, we want to change things, we want to earn money. I don’t know ... I have a friend in Spain. For example, it costs us 15-20 thousand TL to go there with Zeliha, including plane tickets, visas, etc. you don’t want to change your life standars on one hand, but you are trying to give up something, too. These are always such fluctuations.”⁴⁶

Çağlar succinctly summarizes the differences between lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation and those of older generations. He narrates that the post-80s generation in Datça has ideals and passions to come true, and they want to be successful and bring change in order to achieve so, they need to earn money and start initiatives. However, it is essential to note that making a living in Datça is quite challenging for this generation, as Ömer explains:

“Are we paying the price of living in Datça, we do. First of all, we cannot earn enough money. If you do not have savings, you can’t really live here. You will either need to have material savings or you need to have experience you can make money with. . We came here knowing that we would live comfortably in Datça, but we will not be rich either. We came here by taking that into account.”⁴⁷

According to Ömer, living in Datça depends on one’s economic capital or social and cultural capital that could be turned into economic capital. For this, the story of Çağlar and Zeliha is, in fact, not an exception. Lifestyle migrants from the post-80s generation in Datça have to come up with a composition of resources to sustain

⁴⁶“Yusufların durumu çok farklı. Onlar emekli olarak geldiler, bizim gibi hırsları yok. Ben mesela işte tutup eğitim merkezi kuracağım, şu işi yapacağım [diyebilirim] ama onlar hiçbir zaman öyle olmadılar. Biz kendi yağımızda, kendi ideallerimizle yapabileceklerimizin en iyisini yapalım ... Mesela Yusuf’a gel birlikte bir şeyler yapalım veya eğitim verelim dediğinde Yusuf ‘Yok ya beni karıştırmayın, benim ihtiyacım yok, siz takılın ben destek veririm’ falan diyor. Yorgunlukları var yani. Bir yandan biz hala genciz, 30’larımızdayız. Bir şeyler başarmak istiyoruz, bir şeyleri değiştirmek istiyoruz, para kazanmak istiyoruz. Ne bileyim... İspanya’da bir arkadaşım var mesela. Zeliha’yla beraber gidip gelmemiz 15-20 bin TL tutar, işte uçak biletler, vizeler vesaire. Dolayısıyla bir yandan da hayat standardını değiştirmek istemiyorsun ama bir şeylerden de vazgeçmeye çalışıyorsun. Bunlar hep böyle dalgalanmalar.”

⁴⁷“Datça’da yaşamın bedelini ödüyor muyuz, ödüyoruz. Yeterince para kazanamıyoruz bir kere. Belli bir birikiminiz yoksa burada yaşamak gerçekten yok. Ya maddi birikiminiz olacak ya da maddiyata döndüreceğiniz bir deneyiminiz olacak. Bizim [maddi] birikimimiz yok ama ben onu hareket ederek sağlayabiliyorum. Datça’da rahat yaşayacağımızı bilerek geldik ama zengin de olmayacağız. Bunu göze alarak geldik.”

their living as they lack supplementary means such as extensive lands and retirement income. In this section, I will elaborate more on these compositions, arguing that migrating and living in Datça require them to make use of their cultural, economic, and social capitals, and these compositions are very much intertwined with the concept of entrepreneurship.

As I have briefly mentioned what economic, social, and cultural capital correspond to at the beginning of this chapter, I would like to start providing some further theoretical details on them in order to connect it to the means of getting by among the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in Datça. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital exists in three forms. These are embodied, objectified, and institutionalized states of cultural capital. The embodied state of cultural capital refers to the accumulation of individuals over time and the “disposition of mind and body.” However, the objectified state demonstrates itself in an individual’s cultural possessions and goods such as books, pictures, and gadgets they own. Finally, the institutionalized state of cultural capital includes objectification and justification of one’s cultural capital through educational qualifications. What is more is that, as Bourdieu suggests, these states of cultural capitals are potentially converted into economic capital. It would also be good to note that Bourdieu argues that one’s defining habitus is made up of a composition of economic, cultural, and social capitals. Furthermore, he suggests that these three forms of capitals are closely inter-related and “convertible” into one another and “the convertibility of the different types of capital is the basis of the strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of capital (and the position occupied in social space) (Bourdieu 1986, 17-25).

Here, it would be beneficial to discuss Çağlar, Zeliha, Ömer, and Hülya make use of a composition of their economic, cultural, and social capitals. In Çağlar and Zeliha’s case, as I have mentioned in the first chapter, they traveled around Turkey. They went to Asia with Zeliha’s unemployment pay and rent income from their property in Ankara to learn more about permaculture, where Zeliha expanded her knowledge about aromatherapy oils. When they returned to Turkey, Zeliha also expanded her network through her friends to get more familiar with alternative medicine, and she learned how to produce balm and extract the oil and water of plants. When they purchased a small scale land in Datça, they started to turn it into a small business to convert it into economic capital. In order to do so, as I have quoted from Çağlar above, they take advantage of their social capital in Datça, Istanbul, and Ankara, and they aim to widen their social capital by introducing their products to people in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir with whom they share more or less the same accumulation of capitals.

To continue with Hülya and Ömer, Hülya gives yoga classes through which she shares her knowledge and experience with yoga with other lifestyle migrants. She started doing yoga while living in Istanbul due to her health problems, but later on, yoga turned out to be an inseparable part of her life, and she participated in certificate programs in Istanbul to become a trainer. Together with her partner, Ömer, they own a restaurant where Ömer is also the chef. Ömer started cooking when he was living in Canada, but then it turned into an occupation of his. He also works as a freelance industrial designer and occasionally visits Istanbul for design projects. Similar to Çağlar and Zeliha, Hülya and Ömer also have three resources to get by: yoga classes, seasonal restaurant, and freelance design.

When it comes to Ömer's restaurant, I also see a continuation with the story of Çağlar and Zeliha in terms of the convertibility of social and cultural capital into economic capital. Ömer rented a place with his business partners, where locals of Datça used to render plants but was later converted into a beef restaurant in the past. They took it over and renovated accordingly to open a restaurant that would potentially reflect their lifestyle. As Ömer recounts:

"It is a restaurant that is shaped directly according to our lives. Hülya and I are pescatarian, which is like vegetarian but we also eat fish. We haven't eaten red meat and chicken for 15 years. One of my conditions in the meetings we held with partners when I took over this place was to not keep it as it was, because its former owners were serving meat. That's because I cannot accept to sell something that I don't agree with morally just to make money. They also agreed. Since then, meat has been gotten rid of, some seafood has been introduced, but it is mainly a vegetarian restaurant. It is a vegetarian-pescatarian restaurant. There is also water, so there are 3 [drinks] served. Frankly, we did not put anything in the menu we don't use in our daily lives here. Credit cards are not accepted at the restaurant. In this time where everyone uses credit cards, this is actually not very practical commercially. Instead, we tell people that they can transfer the money to our bank if they don't have money with themselves at the moment. Whether their bill is 500 liras or 1000 liras, it doesn't matter. If they don't make the [payment / transfer], then it's not done. This is such a restaurant. It is sometimes difficult for new customers to grasp, but there are people who love it very much."⁴⁸

⁴⁸"Doğrudan bizim yaşamışımızın üzerine şekillenmiş bir restoran. Hülya ve ben pesketaryeniz, yani vejetaryenin sadece balık yiyen versiyonu. Kırmızı et ve tavuk yemiyoruz 15 yıldır. Devraldığımız restoran eskiden beri balık veya deniz mahsülü servis etmemiş ama iyi et yapan bir yermiş. Biz burayı devraldığımız zaman ortaklarla yaptığımız toplantılarda benim koşullarımdan bir tanesi de burayı var olduğu şekilde sürdürmemekti çünkü ahlaki olarak doğru bulup yemediğim bir şeyi para için satmayı kabul edemiyorum. 'Ben burayı ancak balık ve deniz ürünleri de verilen bir yer olursa düşünebilirim ama size uymuyorsa da ne yapalım, tanışmış olduk' şeklinde bir konuşmamız oldu. Onlar da kabul ettiler. O zamandan beri et kalktı, biraz deniz mahsülleri girdi ama ağırlıklı olarak vejetaryen bir restoran. Vejetaryen-pesketaryen

Ömer's restaurant provides much insight with regards to cultural capital. In his restaurant, Ömer refuses to cook and serve beef and chicken, and he believes it is ethically unacceptable to make money out of something he does not prefer to eat. Related to this, he does not serve any beverages except water and mineral water. Additionally, credit card is not accepted in his restaurant. By following Ömer's lifestyle and the ethos of the restaurant as a reflection of his cultural capital, it has quite a selective spectrum of costumers that mostly include tourists and other lifestyle migrants who, according to Ömer, "look at the same direction," referring to economic, social and cultural capitals:

"They mostly come to our restaurant through references or they come from social media. Either they hear about it from our friends and come or our old customers come. We hope that we will grow little by little like this, we want it to be a place that is shared by people who are similar. Just for this, some products are not on the menu. We are hoping to be such a family, frankly, we hope to be such a family. We want this place to be a place where people who look at the same direction meet."⁴⁹

It is crucial to note that the restaurant customer refers to a circle of references and friends as Ömer wishes to keep his restaurant as a gathering place for people 'looking in the same direction'. To refrain from 'random customers' whose cultural capitals differentiate from them, he is quite selective when it comes to the restaurant's menu. Moreover, Ömer calls his customers members of the 'family' that he hopes to expand in the future. I believe Ömer and Hülya's narratives, along with Zeliha and Çağlar's, demonstrate how social and cultural capital function when producing economic capital and stand out as a 'reference point' for them to set up their business.

We can also find a similar differentiation in Meryem's narrative. Meryem sells kombucha tea at a local bazaar in Datça, and by selling kombucha, Meryem can meet new people in Datça who are interested in her products. Meryem is also one of those

bir restoran. Restorantta gazoz satmıyoruz mesela, gazlı içecekler de satılmıyor. Sadece bira ve maden suyu var. Bir de normal su var, yani 3 [içecek] var. Biz kendi hayatımızda kullanmadığımız şeyleri buraya da sokmadık açıkçası. Restorantta kredi kartı geçmiyor. Herkesin kredi kartı kullandığı bu dönemde bu, ticari olarak çok pratik değil aslında. Onun yerine insanlara paranız yoksa havale yapın diyoruz. İsterse hesapları 500 Lira, isterse 1000 Lira olsun, önemli değil. [Ödemeyi/havaleyi] yapmazlarsa da yapmamış olurlar. Böyle bir restoran burası. Gelen müşteriler için de bazen zor oluyor kavraması ama sonuçta bunu çok seven insanlar var."

⁴⁹"Restorantımıza daha çok referansla geliniyor veya sosyal medya hesaplarından görüp geliyorlar. Ya arkadaşlarımızdan duyup geliyorlar ya da eski müşterilerimiz geliyor. Böyle azdan çoğalarak büyüyeceğiz ümidindeyiz, birbirine benzer insanların paylaştığı bir mekan olmasını istiyoruz. Sırf bunun için bazı ürünler yok mesela menüde. Rastgele gelip geçen oturmasın diye. Aralarından iyi insanları kaçıyorsunuzdur belki de. Böyle bir aile olma ümidindeyiz açıkçası burası müşteri de biz de yani herkes... Benzer yere bakan insanların bulunduğu bir yer olsun istiyoruz."

who turns her cultural capital into economic and social capital:

“I increase my interaction with people. Too many people come here and there have been very nice people I met there [in the market]. Not locals, more foreigners, coming from abroad and and settled in Datça, some Germans, some English ... My stand loves their attention very much. They are both knowledgeable, and their listening [styles] when I am telling them something are different. The locals come [to the market] and buy *tarhana*, olive oil, but they don’t come to my stand or look at what kombucca is. I can say that the others] are interested in my stand because their level of education is higher.”⁵⁰

In Meryem’s narrative, similar to other lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in Datça, we see a high emphasis on the relationship between cultural and social capital. By selling kombucha tea at a local bazaar, Meryem uses her cultural capital to produce economic capital and get to know more people who can potentially be interested in her product. Here, Meryem’s drawing on locals is crucial to understand how symbolic and social boundaries are interconnected with the composition of capital among lifestyle migrants in Datça.

I want to conclude this section with Esra’s story to demonstrate the connection and the convertibility of capital. Just as I have told Esra’s migration story in the first chapter, she studied architecture and is an architect, and she still practices her occupation in Datça. Esra and her business partner have an architecture studio whose customers are both from Datça and Istanbul. Esra explains her business and being an architect in Datça:

“Does the development and growth of Datça cause more construction to be done, yes it does. But if you ask where I stand among these, I am against this much construction. I am absolutely against people building houses just to come for a week or two. I always give an opinion against this. But if there is a zoning situation on the other hand, the building will of course be built in the open area. Our problem about how qualified these structures are. My goal here is that more qualified structures should be built, they should be built properly, and be more ecological ... Our aim is actually to build ecological structures in Datça

⁵⁰“İnsanlarla etkileşimi artırıyorum. Çok fazla kişi geliyor ve orada [pazarda] tanıştığım çok tatlı insanlar oldu. Yerliler değil, biraz daha işte yabancılar, ya yurtdışından gelip Datça’ya yerleşmiş, yarı Alman, yarı İngiliz... Onların ilgisini çok seviyor benim standım. Hem bilgileri var, hem onlara anlatınca dinleme [biçimleri] farklı. Yerli gidiyor [pazardan] tarhana alıyor, zeytinyağı alıyor ama bana gelip de kombuçaya nedir diye bakmıyor. Böyle bakıp geçiyor, sanki korkarak geçiyor. Sormuyor bile, bu nedir demiyor mesela ama [diğerlerinin] eğitim düzeyi daha yüksek olduğu için benim standımla ilgileniyorlar diyebilirim.”

and to make it widespread. We are doing some studies on this. We will plan some workshops. My goal is not to build a lot of structures, I mean my mentality prior to coming here was also returning to nature, to slow down, and calm down. I aim for the same thing in architecture. More concise, more natural, more environmentally friendly.”⁵¹

Esra is also one of those lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation who bring their cultural capital to Datça to make a living. Similarly, she has a particular approach to her occupation, that is, ecological architecture. Concerning her approach, she believes that as Datça has been getting urbanized and gentrified, an ecological perspective should be taken when constructing new buildings in Datça. Compared to the means of getting by that other lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation seem to acquire, Esra is a more direct example in order to understand how these lifestyle migrants contribute to the gentrification of Datça by bringing entrepreneurship by creating a composition of her baggage of cultural, social and economic capital that she accumulated in the city. As a result of this, we can understand how they appear to be a generation unit that has been differentiated from locals and tourists belonging more or less to the same generation, in terms of the composition of social, cultural, and economic capitals.

Before starting the next chapter, I would like to summarize what I have covered in this chapter. After I have outlined the reasons and motivations of the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in big cities and have taken their migration as a response to the modern in Turkey, in this chapter, I have aimed to analyze acclimatization processes, and means of getting by in Datça, two of which I believe make the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation stand out as a generation unit in Datça.

Firstly, I argue that the acclimatization processes of lifestyle migrants require a home-building practice and reorganization of current relationships or establishment of new ones with their possessions and intimate partners. Following this reorganization and establishment of new understandings in the private space, I have also looked at them in the public space. To understand how they perceive locals, I have used the concepts of symbolic and social boundaries. I argue that the lifestyle migrants

⁵¹“Datça’nın gelişip büyümesi daha çok inşaat yapılmasına sebep oluyor mu, oluyor ama bunların neresindeyim diye sorarsan, bu kadar yapılaşmanın olmasına karşıyım. En basitinden insanların sadece bir veya iki hafta gelmek için ev yaptırmalarına kesinlikle karşıyım. Buna hep karşı fikir veriyorum, ‘siz yaptırmasanız daha iyi olur’ diyorum ama bir yandan da bir imar durumu varsa, imara açık alanda yapı tabii ki yapılacak. Bizim derdimiz bizim bu yapıların nasıl yapılar olduğu. Datça çok fazla yapı yapılan ve bu yapılara çok fazla para harcanan ama ortaya da düzgün hiçbir şeyin çıkmadığı bir yer. Benim buradaki amacım nitelikli yapı yapabilmek, bir şeyler yapıyorsa düzgün yapılsın, daha ekolojik yapılsın... Bizim amacımız aslında Datça’da ekolojik yapı yapmak ve bunu yaygınlaştırmak. Bunun için de birtakım çalışmalar yapıyoruz. Birtakım workshoplar planlayacağız. Benim derdim birsürü yapı yapayım değil, zaten buraya gelmedeki kafa yapım doğaya dönmek, yavaşlamak ve sakinlemek. O yüzden mimarlıkta da aynı şeyi hedefliyorum. Daha az ve öz, daha doğa dostu, daha çevre dostu.”

of the post-80s generation perceive the locals in Datça as a continuation of the Kemalist doxa and the Kemalist modernization project in Turkey. After establishing these boundaries to differentiate themselves from locals, I evaluated the friendships and the sense of solidarity among this generation's lifestyle migrants. Here, I argue that they share commonalities in terms of habitus and capitals. Finally, I have continued to keep social, cultural, and economic capitals as analytical tools to understand how these migrants get by in Datça as they lack a retirement pension or large scale of lands in Turkey. For this, I propose that cultural capital is highly important to them as they can turn it into social and economic capital. To support my argument, I have taken the narratives of my informants that demonstrate how they carry their composition of capitals to Datça and establish some businesses to support themselves, resulting in their presence as a differentiated 'generation unit' in Datça.

The next chapter can be read as an attempt to sketch some consequences of the previous two chapters. Lifestyle migrants left cities for various reasons; they settled down in Datça, established their relationships, formed a sense of solidarity, and consolidated their means of getting by. Do their stories with Datça end there? What happens after they have brought out such particularities and lifestyles to Datça? Does Datça remain unchanged? How do lifestyle migrants perceive Datça after living there for some time?

4. CRITICAL PERCEPTION OF THE GENTRIFICATION IN DATÇA AND DATÇA AS A PLACE OF LEARNING

This chapter proposes an understanding of how current spatial and social changes in Datça since 2012 are perceived and narrated by lifestyle migrants and how this lifestyle migrant acknowledges “change” in their personal lives. Datça has been going through a process of gentrification due to the Metropolitan Law and the new lifestyle migration trend of urbanites to choose Datça as their place of living. These are closely connected as this migration trend leads to stratification between locals and lifestyle migrants, and lifestyle migrants bring specific changes to Datça, primarily through their cultural capitals, as I have tried to explain in the previous chapter. I take a look at different layers of change.

4.1 “We cannot tell other urbanites not to come, but..”: Critical Perception of Datça’s Gentrification Processes and New Migration Trend to Datça

As it is noted, gentrification has four layers that include “reinvestment of capital, social upgrading by an incoming middle class, landscape change and direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups” (Davidson and Lees 2005, cited in Başaran Uysal 2018, 102). In their case study in Adatepe and Yeşilyurt villages (in Çanakkale), Başaran Uysal (2018) acknowledge that state-led policies and transformations in small areas have led to a process of gentrification in the Northern Aegean region in Turkey. In their research, we understand that newcomers in Adatepe and Yeşilyurt villages have higher social, cultural, and economic capitals and are highly influential for changing the function of land use, increasing rent prices, and raising concerns in terms of natural and historic conservation in the region (118-120).

Following the Metropolitan Law of 2011, the status of Datça’s villages turned into

neighborhoods, and the role of the local municipality in Datça has decreased. The Muğla Metropolitan Municipality centralized decisions related to the landscape of Datça. When I was conducting my research in Datça, one of my interlocutors offered to drive me around Datça to see Datça's neighborhood and landscape. Our ride took almost three hours, where we visited all the neighborhoods and landscapes. When we drove through the seashore, as Arzu knows the current landscape of Datça and is very alert to detecting any changes, she realized that a new camping area had been built. She stopped and got out of the car to take a look at the construction of the camping area. "It must be new," she said. "They must be constructing it illegally. It has started to happen very frequently". She called a friend of hers to inform her about the construction and asked her if the construction was up to legal consents.

As I have mentioned in the second chapter, during my fieldwork in Datça, I was able to attend a public forum organized by the city council. It was called "What sort of Datça we want?" Both locals and lifestyle migrants were invited to discuss the ongoing changes in Datça. The forum was opened by a young local, introducing that the city council had invited different speakers from both locals and migrants, and the forum was an open space to discuss similar and contradictory ideas between these two "groups" of locals and migrants. At that forum, the mayor also told the crowd that Datça should be a place for unique and beautiful people to bring change and protect the environment they lived in. I also learned that the city of Datça has a population limit, accompanied by the slogan of "40.000 by 2040" since it can welcome up to 40.000 people.

"Our generation has created another group in the last three years," Esra said. "But this is the good part. What would we tell them not to come for? We escaped the city. Other people would also escape. People coming to Datça want to be beneficial to Datça and contribute to it. I see no problem with this. Nevertheless, the crowd threatens the region's under environmental conservation, and this should be prevented". Esra elaborates:

"[Datça] has become very crowded, it is terrible. Compared to its population at the time we came, there is a serious increase in migration from the cities. When we first came, the young population was very small, [locals] called us' children. For the last 3 years, there young population has incredibly risen, especially in the center of Datça. That is why something very interesting happened in Datça: the social environment has changed. There is no place to swim on the beaches, of course these are not nice things. The winters used to be very quiet in Datça, but now there is this festival, and that festival; there is a constant effort to socialize. But for example, there are 5 tour buses coming in. A mindset

to consume everything like this ... bad to see. There is a situation that is getting very bad in these respects.”¹

Esra believes that newcomers from big cities have contributed to the deterioration of life in Datça since they tend to 'consume' everything. As a clue of the deterioration of life in Datça, Esra mentions that a rally has been organized recently and it is uncompromising with the life in Datça:

“An off-road rally has been organized. Now, does it really make sense to have a rally in Datça? There is no need for it. Some people say that it is good, so other people hear about us, very nice [it is], it is as if we are advertising. Well, should your advertisement be how little you care about the nature and how you destroy it? I don't know, look at Simi across from here. Look at what kind of a path they follow, and then look what kind of a path you follow...”²

According to Esra, Datça should not be advertised through organizing a rally no matter how 'others' think that it is for the good of Datça since it destroys the natural environment in Datça. Elif is also one of those lifestyle migrants who critically engage in the gentrification in Datça. However, in her narrative, she highlights the economic consequences of the gentrification, that Datça is getting more and more expensive:

“There are many factors for this. First, excessive migration. Yes, those who come from Istanbul are saying that it is very cheap, very cheap. Oh, is it very cheap? So let's raise [prices] a little more. Apart from that, there is the following factor: Datça has not been a proper season in Datça for the last 3 years. No season. 5 years ago I had a waitress' salary of 1200 liras, plus 300 liras from tips. I did not even have hesitations about

¹“[Datça] çok kalabalıklaştı, korkunç. Bizim geldiğimize oranla çok ciddi göç aldı kentten. Biz ilk geldiğimizde genç nüfus çok azdı, [yerliler] bize 'çocuklar diye hitap ediyorlardı. Son 3 yıldır acayip bir genç nüfus var özellikle de Datça'nın merkezinde. O yüzden çok ilginç bir şey oldu Datça'da, sosyal ortam değişti. Bir yandan iyi bir şey, çünkü gerçekten duyarlı ve sofistike insanlar geliyor ama bir yandan da geldiği gibi kendine yer alıp, duvarla çevirip ev yaptıran insanlar da geliyor. Tatillerde kaldırımlardan geçemeyecek kadar kalabalık oluyor. Sahillerde denize girecek yer olmuyor, tabii bunlar hoş şeyler değil. Kışlar çok sakin geçerdi Datça'da ama şimdi yok şu festival bu festival, sürekli bir sosyallik. Bizim şehirden kaçtığımız şey bizi burada yormaya başladı. Şubat bizim badem çiçeği zamanımız ama mesela 5 tane tur otobüsü geliyor. Her şeyi böyle bir tüketme kafası... Şehirli insanın her şeyden yararlanma, her şeyi tüketme çabası ve ihtiyacının buraya da yansıdığını görmek kötü. Bu açılardan baya kötüye giden bir durum var.”

²“Bir off-road ralli yapıldı. Şimdi Datça'da ralli olacak iş mi? Olmayıversin. Bir kesim insanlar diyor ki ne güzel ismimiz duyuluyor, çok güzel [oluyor], reklamımız oluyor. Yahu senin reklamın doğanı nasıl hiç düşünmediğin ve katlettiğin mi olmalı? Ne bileyim, karşıdaki Simi'ye bak. Onlar nasıl bir yol izliyor, sen nasıl bir yol izliyorsun...”

the things I were going to buy. I could sit in a tavern and drink at least twice a month. I could do this with 1500 liras 5 years ago. Currently, our biggest luxury is beer.”³

What is essential in Elif’s narrative is that she proposes two factors that led Datça to become more expensive. One is the newcomers who believe that Datça is way cheaper, causing an increase in rental fees. Secondly, since tourism has been developing in Datça as a sector, it has become more fragile regarding the political and social dynamics in Turkey, and any challenge in the tourism sector affects the prices in Datça. Elif continues:

“What Datça has transformed into in the last 5 years disturbs me very much. Let me talk to you with numbers. 5 years ago I was paying 500 liras for the first house I rented, everyone asked me if I was crazy, that 500 liras are too much to pay for an empty house in Datça. And now, they knocked on our door when we were at our previous house and when the rent was 750 liras, and told us that starting in 15 days, we would be paying 900 liras. I said that if I were to pay 900 liras, I will not be paying it for this house, so I moved. Before we left, that house was rented for 1300 liras, a 1 + 1, 45 square meters house. If you add a little more money on that, you can live in Kadıköy.”⁴

Here, Elif again uses economic factors to compare Datça between 2014 and 2019. Newcomers in Datça create an increasing demand in terms of accommodation and rent, so the prices tend to go up. Çağlar has a similar story with accommodation in Datça:

“Datça is nonsense. The man just wants it. He says, for example, that he wants 5 thousand liras, he doesn’t give it even for a little cheaper. Worst case scenario is that the house leaves unrented, that man deals with agriculture anyway, the locals are already contractors. He has a

³“Bunun birçok faktörü var. Birinci, aşırı göç. Evet, İstanbul’dan gelenlerin çok ucuz çok ucuz diye konuşuyorlar. Aa çok mu ucuz? O zaman biraz daha yükseltelim. Bunun dışında da şu faktör var: Datça’da son 3 yıldır doğru düzgün sezon yok. 5 sene önce 1200 Lira garson maaşım vardı, 300 Lira da tip geliyordu. 1500 Lira param vardı. Tek başıma yaşıyordum. Ev kirası ödüyordum, 2 kedi 1 köpeğe bakıyorum, faturalarımı hallediyordum, hafta sonu 2 3 cin toniğim var. Eve bira bilmem ne alırken en ufak bir tereddütüm bile yoktu. Ayda en az 2 kere bir meyhaneye oturup içebiliyordum. Bunu 1500 Lira’ya yapıyordum 5 sene önce. Şu anda en büyük lüksümüz bira.”

⁴“Datça’nın 5 yıl içinde dönüştüğü şey beni çok rahatsız ediyor. Rakamlarla konuşayım sana. 5 yıl önce ilk tuttuğum eve 500 Lira veriyordum, herkes diyordu ki manyak mısın, Datça’da 500 Lira boş eve verilir mi? Şimdi Datça’da, işte o eski evimiz 750 Lira’yken kapıyı çaldılar, 15 gün sonra 900 ödeyeceksiniz dediler. Ben de 900 Lira ödeyeceksem bu eve ödemeyeceğim dedim ev değiştirdim. Biz daha çıkmadan o ev 1300 Lira’ya kiralandı, 1+1 45 metrekaare ev. Üstüne 300 Lira daha koysan Kadıköy’de oturursun.”

field and he can sell it if he wants to. He doesn't rent it, he does not need it. He is not bothered. It is a situation like that. We were living in a house, 35 square meters. The house was basically collapsing, it needed to be cared for a lot. The rent was going to be 600 liras in March.”⁵

Apart from the newcomers' tendency to move to Datça, Çağlar proposes that locals are well-situated in terms of economic conditions compared to lifestyle migrants, and they can ask for higher rental fees. Following Elif, as a result of the gentrification, Datça is no longer a town or village, yet it has become urbanized:

Elif: “This is not a town in my eyes, it is not a village anymore. It was a town 5 years ago. Now I feel like we are living in the city. Is it an Istanbul? No, but is it a city? Yes. What makes Datça so special is that we are actually an island. Is it country life we live here?. No, it's not.”⁶

No matter how the life in Datça has become expensive and that Datça has started to lose its characteristics that previously influenced the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation, the role of the sense of community and solidarity among them is an essential factor for Elif to continue to stay in Datça:

“[Datça] is very difficult to manage financially. It was easy 5 years ago, it is not anymore. We earn in Datça conditions and spend in Istanbul conditions. I do not know how smaller we can get. We have lost the social life we had outdoors. We are stuck in the house, but the community we are a part of is still beautiful.”⁷

In parallelism with the gentrification in Datça, the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation have also been experiencing the effects of the Metropolitan Law that I have previously mentioned. Zehra narrates these as follows:

⁵“Datça saçmasapan ya. Adam istiyor gayet. 5 bin lira istiyorum diyor mesela, daha da vermiyor ucuza. Duruyor işte en kötü dediğim gibi tarımla uğraşiyor, buranın yerlisi müteahhitlik yapıyor zaten. Tarlası var istese satar. Vermiyor kiraya yani, ihtiyacı yok. Tuzu kuru dediğimiz şey vardır ya, öyle bir durum. Biz bir eve çıkmıştık 35 metrekare. Sağı solu dökülüyordu, birsürü de ihtiyacı vardı. 600 Lira olacaktı Mart ayında kirası. Biz çıkacağız dedik ve Şubat'ta birileri tuttu 1250 Liradan.”

⁶Elif: “Burasi benim gözümede kasaba değil, köy değil artık. 5 yıl önce kasabaydı. Artık şehirde yaşıyoruz gibi hissediyorum. Bir İstanbul mu, değil ama şehir mi şehir. Datça'yı bu kadar özel kılan şey aslında bir ada olmamız. Burada yaşadığımız köy hayatı mı, hayır değil.”

⁷“Finansal olarak çok zor. 5 yıl önce kolaydı, artık değil. Datça koşullarında kazanıp İstanbul koşullarında harcıyoruz. Daha ne kadar küçülebiliriz bilmiyorum. Dışardaki sosyalliğimizi kaybetmiş durumdayız. Evlerin içerisinde tıkdık yani ama o community dediğimiz yani içinde bulunduğumuz cemiyet burayı hala güzel kılıyor.”

“The current population is now more than 20 thousand. The capacity of this place is around 30-35 thousand. Yesterday, the mayor also said that the maximum population this place can hold is 40 thousand. If we exceed 40 thousand, we are done fore. Infrastructure is not enough, there is constant congestion. They did not do it properly because everything is flimsy. Everything is like that in Turkey, Datça is a micro version of the macro. Just like how the roads built in macro were demolished, the trains got into accidents and so on, the same thing happens here. They said that they built a smart intersection, and they did, but there has been a lot of accidents there. They changed all the roads, it is the City Municipality and The Directorate of Highways that did this. There has been many accidents.”⁸

With the introduction of the Metropolitan Law, Datça is no longer behind the curtains, but it became a place where the Metropolitan Municipality and the Highways interfere with to bring change. As a result, Datça has started to produce risks that they already responded to in big cities by migrating to Datça. Elif explains:

“I say tell them that they shouldn’t come just because they think Datça is very beautiful. I say create your own Datça because we made a place with a population of 7000 to rise over 20.000. Infrastructure is insufficient, water is not enough, electricity constantly cuts off ... We have increased the population to 20.000. There is always a construction. 5 years ago, if you crossed the street, you wouldn’t have to look to the right and left, but now I have to leash my my dog when crossing, the cars go as if they are going to run over me. There is traffic, there are too many buildings...”⁹

Since the population of Datça has been increasing rapidly, it led to the insufficiency of certain services such as infrastructure, water, and electricity. Also, Elif narrates her criticism of the gentrification of Datça by mentioning the increase in construc-

⁸“20 binden fazla şu an nüfus. 30-35 bin civarı buranın limiti. Dün başkan da söyledi, 40 bin buranın nüfusu dedi. 40 bini geçsek gerçekten bittik. Altyapı yetmiyor, sürekli olarak tıkanıklık var. Adam gibi yapmamışlar çünkü derme çatma her şey. Türkiye’de her şey böyle, makronun mikro hali Datça. Makroda nasıl ki insanların yaptığı yollar yıkıldı, trenler kaza yaptı bilmem ne... Burada da aynı şey söz konusu. Akıllı kavşak yaptık diyorlar, yaptılar da gerçekten, orada birsürü kaza oldu. Bütün yolları değiştirdiler, bunu büyükşehir ve karayolları yaptı. Birsürü kaza yaşandı yani.”

⁹“Datça çok güzel, çok güzel deyip gelmeye kalkmayın diyorum. Kendi Datça’nızı yaratın diyorum çünkü 7.000 nüfuslu yeri 20.000 nüfusun üzerine çıkarttık. Altyapı yetersiz, su yetmiyor, elektrik sürekli patlıyor... 20.000’e çıktık nüfusu. Durmayan bir inşaat var. 5 sene bu kadar yoktu. 5 sene önce karşıdan karşıya geçersen sağına soluna bakmak zorunda kalmazdın ama şu anda köpeğimi karşıya geçirirken bağlamak zorundayım, beni ezecek gibi arabalar. Trafik var, binalar fazla...”

tion, traffic, and cars. Similar to this, Zehra also thinks that there is a massive difference between 2018 and 2019:

“[Datça] used to become less crowded. There is a huge difference between last year and this year. The population is gradually increasing, but health services are not provided because people do not take their residences here. Then they complain that there is still no health service...”¹⁰

Zehra also narrates that as the newcomers in Datça do not register their addresses, it causes an inadequacy in health services. In terms of the constructions, Çağlar thinks:

“This winter has passed by saying how many people are in Datça. There is no parking place, there is traffic ... There is a lot of moving and every moving person is busy with something. They are trying to make money, take over a business and so on.”¹¹

I believe it is crucial to note that the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation do not exclude themselves from the gentrification process of Datça. It is most explicit in the narratives of the population increase. It seems that the lifestyle migrants are aware that the more people 'like them' migrate to Datça, the more gentrified Datça becomes. This reflexivity of the lifestyle migrants also appears in their narratives of personal change. In the next section, I elaborate more on these narratives.

4.2 Revisiting Self-Reflexivity: Migration to Datça as Learning

According to Giddens, the self's change is explored and negotiated as part of the reflexive project of the self by connecting personal and social change. The reflexivity

¹⁰“[Datça] boşaluyordu. Geçen sene ve bu sene arasında dev fark var. Nüfus giderek artıyor ama insanlar ikametgahlarını buraya aldırmadığı için sağlık hizmeti gelmiyor. Sonra da sağlık hizmeti gelmedi diye çemkiriyorlar.”

¹¹“Bu kış ne kadar çok insan var Datça'da diye söylenmekle geçti. Park yeri bulunamıyor, trafik var... Çok taşınan var ve her taşınan bir şey yapıyor yani. Para kazanmaya çalışıyor, işletme devralıyor falan.”

of the self is continuous, as well as all-pervasive. At each moment, or at least at regular intervals, the individual is asked to conduct a self-interrogation in terms of what is happening (Giddens 1991, 33-75). This section is about the narratives of personal change among the lifestyle migrants in Datça. Do lifestyle migrants observe and experience any change in themselves? How do they narrate their change?

I would like to start with Aslı. After migrating to Datça, Aslı narrates that Datça has given her a space for freedom:

“[Datça] is a space for freedom. For self-confidence. I mean, even if you own nothing, the things we have learnt are also what we own. For example, having a feeling of goodness even when you don’t have a car, house, or job. So what we have learned is the feeling of being able to feel good even without a car, house or job. Being outside the system ... Even having a child is being inside the system when you think about it. We all have responsibilities in our lives. But the freedom to give up whatever you want, this is a feeling that cannot be exchanged for many things.”¹²

“Staying out of the system” as part of Aslı’s migration to Datça has taught her to let go of anything she wishes for, and it gives her the freedom of not being constrained and defined through possessions such as a house, car, or job. Also, Esra narrates her change after Datça:

“I am completely different. You start enjoying minimizing things here. There is an insatiable mass in the city. It is not like that in the village, for example, the clouds were very beautiful today, this is our reason to be happy today, or, for example I saw two very beautiful snails in the morning. I have a dog, I have cats. We are all together. My dog’s mischief fills up our day. We are closer to each other now, we are more concerned about our environment, so our life has become simpler, our mindset has become simpler and we have started to find our life more enjoyable.”¹³

¹²“[Datça] özgürlük alanı. Özgüven. Yani hiçbir şeye sahip olmasan da öğrendiklerimiz de öyle ya mesela araba, ev, iş olmadan da iyi hissedebilme duygusu. Sistemin dışında olmak... Düşündüğünde çocuk sahibi olmak bile sistemin içinde olmak. Hepimizin sorumlulukları var hayatımızda ama istediğin her şeyden vazgeçebilme özgürlüğü. Bu pek çok şeye değiştirilemeyecek bir his.”

¹³“Tamamen farklı [biriyim]. Bambaşka bir insanım, hakikaten öyle. Kafa yapım tamamen değişti, dünyaya bakış açım tamamen değişti. Konuşmam yavaşladı... Daha bir insan oldum diyeyim sana. Daha insan olduğumu hatırladım. *Less is more* kafası vardır ya, azalmanın, minimize etmenin keyfine varıyorsun burada. Doymayan bir kitle var şehirde. Köyde öyle değil mesela bulutlar çok güzeldi bugün, bugünkü mutluluğumuz bu ya da sabah meseal iki tane çok güzel salyangoz gördüm. Köpeğim var, kedilerim var. Onlarla bir aradayız. Köpeğimin yaptığı haylazlık bizim bütün günümüzü dolduruyor. Birbirimizle daha birlikteyiz, çevremizle daha ilgiliyiz yani hayatımız daha basitleşti, kafa yapımız basitleşti ve hayattan

Living a downsized life in Datça contributes to Esra's personal growth and makes her feel 'more human' when she compares herself with others in big cities. The more she experiences life in Datça, the more simplified her life becomes, and the more she is interested in her relationship with her cats, dog, and the environment. However, Esra also reflects that she did not reach the way of living she had wished when she decided to leave Istanbul:

"I am far from the idea I had when I first set out, but I live a life far from being dependent on anything. Actually, I feel like I live in a lighter, lightened version of my life in the city. Yes, we do not consume, we try to live as environmentally friendly as possible, we cook ourselves, we do everything we can make ourselves, we grow our own vegetables. We do not have such weird tastes as the ones in the city. We are much simpler people, but we continue to consume in some way. But did we minimize it? Yes, we did and I am very happy with it but I have not reached the stage where I intended when I started off my journey."¹⁴

According to her, her downsized life in Datça corresponds to a 'lighter' version of her life back in Istanbul. This 'lighter' version refers to being more environmentally-friendly, cooking for herself, growing her plants, and leaving the habits of the urbanized life behind, which she calls 'minimalism.' Another informant, Aslı, believes that her journey to migrate to Datça has made her more patient:

"First, I'm trying to learn to be a patient person. This construction process has taught me that I am very impatient, and the way I react to my roommate and other people and so. Everything taught me how to be more patient. For example, it taught me that to have a house, or even a cottage, you might need to wait for 4 years. It taught me that even putting two sacks together might take one day sometimes and ten days the next time."¹⁵

daha keyif alır hale geldik."

¹⁴"İlk yola çıktığım zamanki fikirden çok uzağım ama hiçbir şeye bağlı olmadaktan çok uzak bir hayat yaşıyorum burada. Aslında bakarsan şehirde yaşadığım hayatın lighlaştırılmış, hafifletilmiş versiyonunu yaşıyor gibiyim. Evet, tüketmiyoruz, mümkün olduğunca çevre dostu yaşamaya çalışıyoruz, yemeğimizi kendimiz yapıyoruz, yapabileceğimiz her şeyi kendimiz yapıyoruz, sebzemizi kendimiz yetiştiriyoruz. Şehirdeki gibi öyle güdük zevklerimiz yok. Çok daha basit insanlarız ama bir netice bir şekilde de olsa tüketmeye devam ediyoruz. Minimize ettik mi, ettik. Bundan da mutluyum ama ilk yola çıktığım noktada hala değilim."

¹⁵"Birincisi sabırlı bi insan olmayı öğrenmeye çalışıyorum. Çok sabırsız olduğumu öğretti ve bu inşaat süreci onun getirdiği zorluklar sonucu ev arkadaşına verdiğim tepkiler, insanlara verdiğim tepkiler falan. Her şey daha sabırlı olmamı öğretti. Mesela hani ev sahibi olmak için bile bi kulübeye sahip olmak için bile 4 sene beklemek gerekebileceğini öğretti. İşte iki çuvalı bir araya koyabilmek için bazen 1 bazen 10 gün gerekebileceğini öğretti."

Aşlı also thinks that Datça has taught her how to live a simpler life and how not be overwhelmed by her thoughts about her own belonging:

“I used to think a lot. What to do, what will I be ... In this simplicity, you learn to think less. You learn everything, you can dominate your brain as you want. Most people are surprised to hear that but I don’t have an idea about what I am going to do three days from now. I used to have no sense of belonging. I was also in a void and everything was also in a void. Now I have Datça where I belong and I can now say that, with the help of this feeling, I can do anything I want at any moment. 10 years ago, this [sense of belonging] did not exist. Now I learned not to think about anything. The more you think, the more concrete things you actually put in together and they become the thoughts you are trying to run away from. No need to be afraid, no need to run away. If something is in your mind you either solve it or you can’t solve it. You have two alternatives. While I used to [someone] who didn’t know what she was doing, now I don’t think much anymore.”¹⁶

What is apparent in Aşlı’s narrative is that she has developed a sense of belonging to Datça by constructing her house, and Datça has become a space for her that affected her questions, concerns, and fears regarding her belonging. Thanks to her migration to Datça, Aşlı now believes that she contemplates on her belonging less and less. However, some informants narrate that they do not have a sense of belonging in Datça. For example, no matter how much she loves her life in Datça, Esra relates that she can leave Datça anytime because Datça has taught her to get away from ‘attachments’:

“I don’t feel connected. To anywhere. I choose Datça often, but I don’t feel connected to here. I can go somewhere else. It was the opposite when I was in Istanbul, I used to feel like I couldn’t live anywhere other than Istanbul, that I loved [Istanbul] very much, I felt like it was my greatest source of inspiration.” Having gone through the point of breaking away from the city, I now have feel like I belong everywhere and nowhere at the same time. So it doesn’t matter, I can go to another country, to another city where I would be happy, I could be happy, somewhere suitable for

¹⁶“Eskiden çok düşünüyordum. Ne yapacağım, ne olacağım... Bu sadelikle beraber daha az düşünmeyi öğreniyorsun. Her şeyi öğreniyor insan ya, beynine istediğin gibi hükmedebiliyorsun. Çoğu kişi şaşırır ama ben üç gün sonra ne yapacağımdan emin değilim yani. Eskiden aidiyet hissim yoktu, içim de boşluktaydı ve her şey boşluktaydı yani. Şimdi ait olduğum Datça var ve o hisle her an her şeyi yapabilirim diyorum. 10 yıl önce bu [aidiyet hissi] yoktu. Ben nereye aidim, ne olacağım, kimim, ne olacak falan... Şimdi hiçbir şeyi düşünmemeyi öğrendim. Düşündükçe aslında ne kadar somut şey koyarsan onlar kaçmaya çalıştığın düşünceler oluyor. Korkmaya ne gerek var, kaçmaya ne gerek var. Bir şey aklındaysa ya çözersin ya da çözemezsin. İki alternatifin var. Eskiden çok daha şüursuz, ne yaptığını bilmeyen [biriye] şimdi artık çok düşünmüyorum.”

my mindset. So I don't feel [connected] at all. Life sounds too short to me to develop such attachments. You should try to feel and experience something different while you can. Belonging and being committing to something that much is a very restrictive thing. I think we are losing that as human beings.”¹⁷

“Identity is perhaps best understood as limited and temporary fixing for the individual of a particular mode of subjectivity as apparently what one *is*. ... [R]ole of identity is to curtail the plural possibilities of subjectivity inherent in the wider discursive field and to give individuals a singular sense of who they are where they belong,”(Weedon 2004, 20). This speaks to the lack of a sense of belonging among lifestyle migrants from the post-80s generation. I suggest that the formation of lifestyle migrant identity is closely tied to acclimatization processes, building a sense of home, creating a sense of solidarity and means of getting by. These three are among particularities of the post-80s generation who left Istanbul for Datça, which makes them constitute a generation unit. Another important aspect is the ephemeral nature of belonging to Datça. Even though lifestyle migrants tend to set up a new life for themselves in Datça, they do feel less attached to it because the goal leading them to Datça is “escape” from the city. The more lifestyle migrants escape and settle down in Datça, the more gentrified Datça becomes, and relationships of lifestyle migrants become more formalized and impersonal. Thus, we can say that the gentrification in Datça that has been fueled by the new migration flow of the post-80s generation creates a new blasé attitude¹⁸. As the blasé attitude is among the reasons for leaving Istanbul, when they sense that they are to become part of it, their belonging to Datça diminishes. In Aslı's narrative, we see that developing a sense of permanent belonging is tied to the city, not to become a lifestyle migrant in Datça. Rather, she perceives her migration in Datça as a means of self-discovery and learning who she is and where she does and does not belong. Esra elaborates:

“I am not saying [I am here for good]. It was more intense when we first arrived, we really fell in love with Datça and I think it is something we can never break away from. I still love it very much, but those feelings

¹⁷“Bağlı hissetmiyorum. Hiçbir yere hissetmiyorum. Datça'yı çok seciyorum ama bağlı hissetmiyorum. Başka bir yere de gidebilirim. İstanbul'dayken tam tersiydi, İstanbul'dan başka hiçbir yerde yaşayamam, [İstanbul'u] çok seviyorum, en büyük ilham kaynağım gibi hissediyordum. Şehirden kopma noktasına geldikten sonra her yerim ve hiçbir yer benim değil hissiyatım var. O yüzden hiç fark etmez, başka bir ülkeye de gidebilirim. Başka bir şehir de olur mutlu olabileceğim, kafa yapıma uygun. O yüzden hiç [bağlı] hissetmiyorum. Hayat böyle bağlılıklar geliştirmek için çok kısa geliyor bana. Başka bir şey hissedebilecekken ve deneyebilecekken denemelisin. Bu kadar bir şeye ait ve bağlı olmak çok kısıtlayıcı bir şey. İnsanoğlu olarak bundan kaybediyoruz bence.”

¹⁸Many thanks to Ayşecan Terzioğlu for her contribution to this idea

have slowed down. This is about calming down. I am not necessarily saying these about Datça because I am not a person who wants to be connected to somewhere. I don't feel like I belong anywhere. I'm very happy right now, but tomorrow I can change my minds. It's not a problem [for me]."¹⁹

As result of her experience in Datça and employing the identity of lifestyle migration, Esra acknowledges that she does not belong anywhere because Datça has taught her how to "slow down" her feelings. Esra's perception of Datça as a place of self learning and developing a temporal sense of belonging overlaps with that of Meryem:

"I might stay or or might not stay. I mean, something might happen, for example, I don't know, something happens in Greece, and I might think that there is a very suitable life over there. My priority is a place where I can take my cats to. If I have to leave them, then I won't go. For example, I might not go a place where there is a war. If it is a place that might compel me or shut me off, such as Afghanistan, I might not go to such a place. I may not go to somewhere where there is a disease..."²⁰

By looking at the narratives of the lifestyle migrants regarding their change after migrating to Datça, we can argue that lifestyle migrants rarely stop revisiting their life choices and the self to reflect on as they have managed to leave the city and found a place for themselves. Instead, Datça seems to be perceived by them as a place of self-discovery, and it is more apparent in their comparisons of themselves in the city and in Datça, as well as their sense of permanent and temporal belonging, in line with their lifestyle migration identity.

In this last chapter, I have analyzed two layers of change. As the first layer of change, I have focused on the narratives of the lifestyle migrants about the gentrification in Datça that has accelerated since 2012. In their narratives, I have observed that they are quite critical about the change in Datça and have a sense of awareness about their position in Datça. As the second layer of change, I elaborated more on the realm of personal change. While doing this, I have come to the point where

¹⁹"[Kahcıyım] demiyorum. İlk geldiğimizde daha yoğundu, Datça'ya hakikaten aşık olduk ve asla kopamayacağımız bir şey olarak düşünüyorum. Hala çok seviyorum ama o hislerim yavaşladı. Bu sakinleşmekle ilgili. İlla ki Datça için demiyorum çünkü ben bir yere bağlı olmak isteyen bir insan değilim. Kendimi hiçbir yere ait hissetmiyorum. Şu anda çok mutluyum ama yarın fikrim değişebilir. [Benim için] dert değil yani."

²⁰"Kalabilirim de kalmayabilirim de. Yani hani bir şey olur mesela, ne bileyim, Yunanistan'da bir şey olur, aa burada çok uygun bir hayat var derim. Benim için öncelik kedilerimi götürebileceğim bir yer olur. Onları bırakacaksam gitmem. Mesela savaşın olduğu bir yere gitmeyebilirim. Beni zorlayacak, kapatacak, Afganistan mesela, böyle bir bölgeye gitmeyebilirim. Hastalık olan bir yere gitmeyebilirim..."

I have started this thesis with self-reflexivity and I have argued that the lifestyle migrants continue to evaluate their life choices and experiences, their stories do not end, and their self is continuously in the process of reflexive negotiation. Finally, I have suggested that the lifestyle migrants sense of permanent belonging to Datça is in question and they tend to perceive Datça as a place for learning and experiment, rather than the place where they choose to stay for the rest of their lives.



5. CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of This Thesis

“People who fear the future attempt to ‘secure’ themselves – with money, property, health insurance, personal relationships, marriage contracts,” (Giddens 1991, 73). Throughout this thesis, I intended to explain newly-emerging lifestyle migration to Datça. To understand this, I have employed a generational perspective towards lifestyle migration, and I have conducted fieldwork in Datça and collected life-story interviews of the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation.

My aim throughout this thesis is to describe and analyze the lifestyle migration phenomenon of the post-80s generation in Turkey. Since 2013, younger generations’ decision to leave big cities for towns and villages have become more visible and discussed in the media. No matter how “new” it may seem for the case in Turkish, researchers have been discussing the concept of lifestyle migration since the 2000s. However, in the literature review I have proposed largely concentrates on retirees as a category of lifestyle migration. Additionally, the current literature tends to take lifestyle migration in the realm of international migration and to analyze it at international level. Thus, in my thesis, I have taken the lifestyle migration category in order to understand the current migration flow of the post-80s generation in Turkey. It requires two adaptations: (i) Introducing the concept of youth and generation and its role in lifestyle migration, (ii) lifestyle migration as an internal migration. For the former, I have benefit from the research on generations in Turkey and categorize these migrants as part of the post-80s generation in Turkey. It is because of the fact that most of my informants were born between the late 70s and the late 80s and they collectively experienced the 80s and 90s of Turkey. In order to dwell more in the generation category and specify it with lifestyle migration, I have used Mannheim’s “generation unit” concept. This concept has enabled me

to better understand and analyze why some members of the post-80s generation decide to leave big cities for Datça, how they set up their lives and they regulate their relationships. For this, I have divided this thesis in three chapters.

In the first chapter, I have discussed the reasons and motivations behind the migration of the post-80s generation in Datça. I have outlined the commonalities and differences in their reasons and motivations to leave big cities in Turkey as a “reflexive project of the self” and “the blasé attitude,” two analytical tools coined by Giddens and Simmel, respectively. In this chapter, I argue that while the decision to leave big cities might seem to be a snap decision, it is deeply connected with the lived experiences of the city and their sense of self-reflexivity. I also paid attention to the globalized character of the late modernism in order to connect their reasons and motivations with the risks and concerns raised around moral values, well-being, environment and consumerism.

In the second chapter, I have elaborated on the acclimatization processes and means of getting by among the lifestyle migrants in Datça to define them as a generation unit. Firstly, I have found out that the lifestyle migrants in Datça experience developing a sense of home. In order to develop this, they regulate their relationships with their possessions and intimate partners in the private sphere. Becoming familiar with Datça requires establishing symbolic and social boundaries with locals through which they acknowledge their position or form their lifestyle migration identity. As part of the formation of their lifestyle migrant identity, I have commented on the gendered aspect of it, that is, “seeking acceptance” and “making local and migrant friends” are inseparable part of female lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation. As part of this section, I also have argued that the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation have a generational perspective when narrating locals. I have found out that these lifestyle migrants carries a continuation of the Kemalist doxa when it comes to locals, meaning that they tend to “modernize” and “convince” them. When the Kemalist doxa is in the picture, we see a discontinuity in their self-reflexivity. After clarifying the boundaries between the locals and the lifestyle migrants, I have analyzed the sense of solidarity among the lifestyle migrants, and I have found out that there is also a generational aspect of it. Lifestyle migrants in Datça prefer to establish a network through which they help out one another. However, these networks are informal and ephemeral. They do not last over a long period of time and they are always in making in order to meet current and emerging demands. I believe these are the characteristics of how the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation constitute a generation unit in Datça.

What is more crucial in order to understand the sense of solidarity among them

is the fact that the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation in Datça share commonalities in terms of economic, social, and cultural capital, and these capitals create a sense of solidarity. Taking the capitals as a starting point, finally, in this chapter, I have taken a look at the means of getting by among the lifestyle migrants and have argued that coming up with a composition of different capitals is crucial for the lifestyle migrants. As they differentiate themselves by their cultural capital, I have paid particular attention to how they convert their cultural capital, along with social capital, into economic capital, and it has guided us to the notion of entrepreneurship among the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation that fuels the gentrification in Datça along with the Metropolitan Law.

In the third chapter, following the arguments in the second chapter, I aim to understand how two layers of change are related to the lifestyle migrants in Datça. The first layer has been the gentrification process of Datça. With their narratives, I have found that they are overly critical about the change in Datça, yet they also acknowledge their and newcomers' positions about the change in Datça. From my perspective, it creates a "vicious circle", meaning that where they start and end up contradicts with each other. These migrants intend to find a way to be less exposed to the city life and its risks. However, their entrepreneurial activities have been contributing to the gentrification of Datça, resulting in Datça's becoming "city-like". The second layer has been their own personal change. In their narratives, I have observed a sense of self-reflexivity and have concluded this chapter by proposing that Datça is not the final destination for the lifestyle migrants of the post-80s generation. Instead, Datça is perceived as a place of learning where they regularly revisit their choices and selves. Moreover, I have also paid attention to the fact that their sense of belonging to Datça is less permanent. Even though they have chosen to move to Datça as a self-conscious decision, they less embrace with a permanent life in Datça. For this, it becomes clear that these migrants do not acknowledge Datça as *the* place of settlement. Rather, they perceive it as *a* temporal destination over the course of their potential migration(s). Finally, what they value is actually what they have found out about themselves as the result of their migration to Datça, which I call "self-discovery" because of the fact that even though they leave Datça one day, their self-discovery there will follow them in their next destination.

5.2 Limitations and Further Research

This thesis has certain limitations by its topic and theoretical approach, and I believe it is crucial to indicate these for further research.

This thesis does not offer an analysis to include Datça as a whole. It only focuses on the narratives of lifestyle migrants who belong to the same generation, and I acknowledge that this thesis lacks the narratives of locals. Even though locals are one of the recurrent themes in the narratives of lifestyle migrants, for this thesis, I did not conduct interviews with them since I do not take a comparative approach, yet further research to provide locals' perspective would be beneficial.

Throughout this thesis, even though I have mentioned institutions and structures in Turkey, I have not provided an institutional analysis to analyze the gentrification of processes in Datça. What lacks in this thesis is an in-depth analysis of discourses of the institutions related to Datça's gentrification.

It would be valuable to repeat that I conducted my field study in June 2019 and wrote it up during the COVID-19 Pandemic. Thus, this thesis does not offer any analysis related to how the lifestyle migrants have perceived and experienced the pandemic in Datça and how has affected their relationship with Datça and their ephemeral sense of belonging to it.

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