A COMPARATIVE STUDY

OF TWO

TURKISH VILLAGES

ESERPEK A

CONTAINS

PULLOUTS

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ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Some social changes are deliberately imposed by politically superior outside agencies, others result from the indirect influences of outside institutions.

Although it is technically possible to claim that all cultural exchange is two-way, in general, more developed centres are the centres from which diffusion emanates. The nature of the contact is usually determined by the socio-economic levels of the social areas involved.

In a changing society the old people oppose changes in norms and values, and at the same time they initiate such changes by welcoming changes in economic structure which promote their wealth.

CHAPTER I: KOCAELI

Kocaeli is one of the north western of Turkey's 67 provinces. Its population is 317,662, and is heterogeneous.

The economic structure presents great variety. Industry in the area has recently expanded greatly. Tourism is also developing.

CHAPTER III: COUNTY AND VILLAGE: DELIHASANLAR

Delihasanlar is in the county of Kandira in the north of Kocaeli.

It has no all-weather road and in winter is isolated. It produces grain, and is relatively self-sufficient. Farming techniques are primitive and the soil is poor. Despite its isolation, the village is a part of the wider society and the villagers have links with the outside world through kinship and marketing.

CHAPTER IV: COUNTY AND VILLAGE: TAVŞANCIL

Tavşancil lies on the coast, in the west of the province between its county town Gebze and Izmit. The main road from Istanbul to Izmit and on to Ankara runs through it. It is close to urban areas. Viticulture, which has been the main economic activity of the village for the last 150 years, is being replaced by employment in industry. The level of income is high. Consumption goods are imported from urban areas. The villagers have close and overlapping contacts with the wider society.

CHAPTER V: HOUSEHOLD

The household is a socio-economic group of kin who share a common residence. In both villages it is patrilocal. In Delihasanlar, the majority of households are joint; nuclear households are the remnants of joint units and aim to become joint in future. In Tavşancil, the majority of households are nuclear though some of them are dependent on a large joint unit, or remnants of it. There are also quite a number of

fragmentary household which are absent in Delihasanlar.

CHAPTER VI: FAMILY CYCLE

In Delihasanlar, elopement has been recognized by the people as a way of marriage though arranged marriages still exist. In Tavşancil comparatively more permissive courtship is accepted as a norm, although some people prefer arranged marriages. In both research villages, the feelings of the young people are taken into consideration in marriage, though the parents may sometimes object to the choice of their children on the grounds of unsuitability. It is the parents' duty to arrange the wedding and the welfare of their children's future households. Wedding is a communal entertainment in Delihasanlar whilst in Tavşancil only those who are invited can join a wedding party. Religious marriage is more important for the people of Delihasanlar though they also go through civil marriage. The people of Tavşancil, on the other hand, rarely require religious marriage. Divorce is almost unknown in Delihasanlar; in Tavşancil disapproval is much less strong and there are a number of divorced people.

CHAPTER VII: KINSHIP

In neither village are there lineage groups. In Delihasanlar the father-son tie is vital for the survival of the joint household. In Tavşancil the mother-daughter relationship gains more importance after the marriage of the daughter. Amongst others, the nuclear household

structure seems to be an important factor in close mother-married daughter relation.

CHAPTER VIII: DIVISION OF LABOUR

In Delihasanlar, village solidarity is maintained by isolation, lack of economic diversification, sex and age segregation and over-lapping kinship ties. The economic structure of the village - no-one comes to the village to work, and few go away to work - increases the interdependence between the members of a joint household and necessitates the internal division of labour. The allocation of tasks decreases potential conflict and help to maintain the joint household structure. In Tavşancil village solidarity is decreasing as a result of increasing economic diversification in the village and integration into the wider society. The changing economic structure of the village lessens the interdependence among the members of a joint household. While the interdependence between a man and his wife is becoming more significant, the lack of division of labour between disputing parties makes the conflict between them open and leads to household fission.

CHAPTER IX: CONTRASTS

Delihasanlar is a relatively isolated, grain growing and self-sufficient village. Tavşancil has access to urban areas and industrial sites and half of its male population work in industry. The Institutions, norms and values in Delihasanlar have remained almost unchanged. The

villagers accept the existing norms and values as they are imposed by their society. In Tavşancil, as a result of close contact with the wider society, the people have started to question the validity of the old norms and values and rapid economic and social changes do occur in the village. Formal social control, that is the social control institutions of the wider society are widely used in Tavşancil, whilst informal social control has become less effective. On the other hand, outside social control institutions are rarely used in Delihasanlar, whilst the informal social control in the village is very effective.

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PREFACE

Many of my urban friends and acquaintances express surprise at the idea of living for months in a remote, or even a suburban, village; to them it appears a hard if not an impossible undertaking. Yet partly because of my previous research work in villages, partly because of the familiarity of a common national culture, I found little difficulty in adjusting to the day-to-day life of the village, and little emotional upheaval during the research.

I am most grateful to the Turkish Government, specifically to the Ministry of National Education, for giving me the grant for five years for my Ph.D. study in Great Britain. My major debt of gratitude is to Professor P. Stirling, who welcomed me into the University of Kent in October 1965, gave me encouragement in my plans, supported me with professional guidance, read the manuscript with great patience and made many helpful suggestions. I should also like to thank warmly Celia Davies, my colleague and close friend, who read the chapters carefully and corrected errors in my English.

I am thankful to Arslan Başarir, of the Ministry of the Interior, Nermin Abadan, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Ankara, Sebati Ileri in the Ministry of National Education and all the others in the same department for giving me help in my pre-research work in Ankara.

I am grateful to Turgut Necmi Beygo, the Assistant Governor of

Kocaeli at that time; Sabri Yahşi the Director of Education, and Nazmi Verdigel, the sub-governor of Kandira at that time, for their help and concern about my personal comfort in the villages.

My gratitude to Hasan Yaşar, the headman of Delihasanlar, and his wife, Tenzile Yaşar, is limitless, who not only helped me in getting to know the people, but also provided me with accommodation and food, and accepted me as one of their family. Without their hospitality, I could not have carried on the research in Delihasanlar; it was impossible otherwise to find food or accommodation in the village.

I am thankful to Mehmet Günel, the retired schoolmaster of Tavşancil, who provided me with accommodation. Without his kind offer I would not have been able to stay in the village. I also should like to thank Emine Ataman, the schoolteacher of Tavşancil, who not only helped me to find a permanent place to stay, but also introduced me to many villagers and offered her warm friendship during my stay in the village. I am most grateful to Seval Yilmaz, who gave me her time and accompanied me in my interviews. Without her help I would not have been able to obtain half of my data. Her very close friendship made my stay in Tavşancil very pleasant and enjoyable.

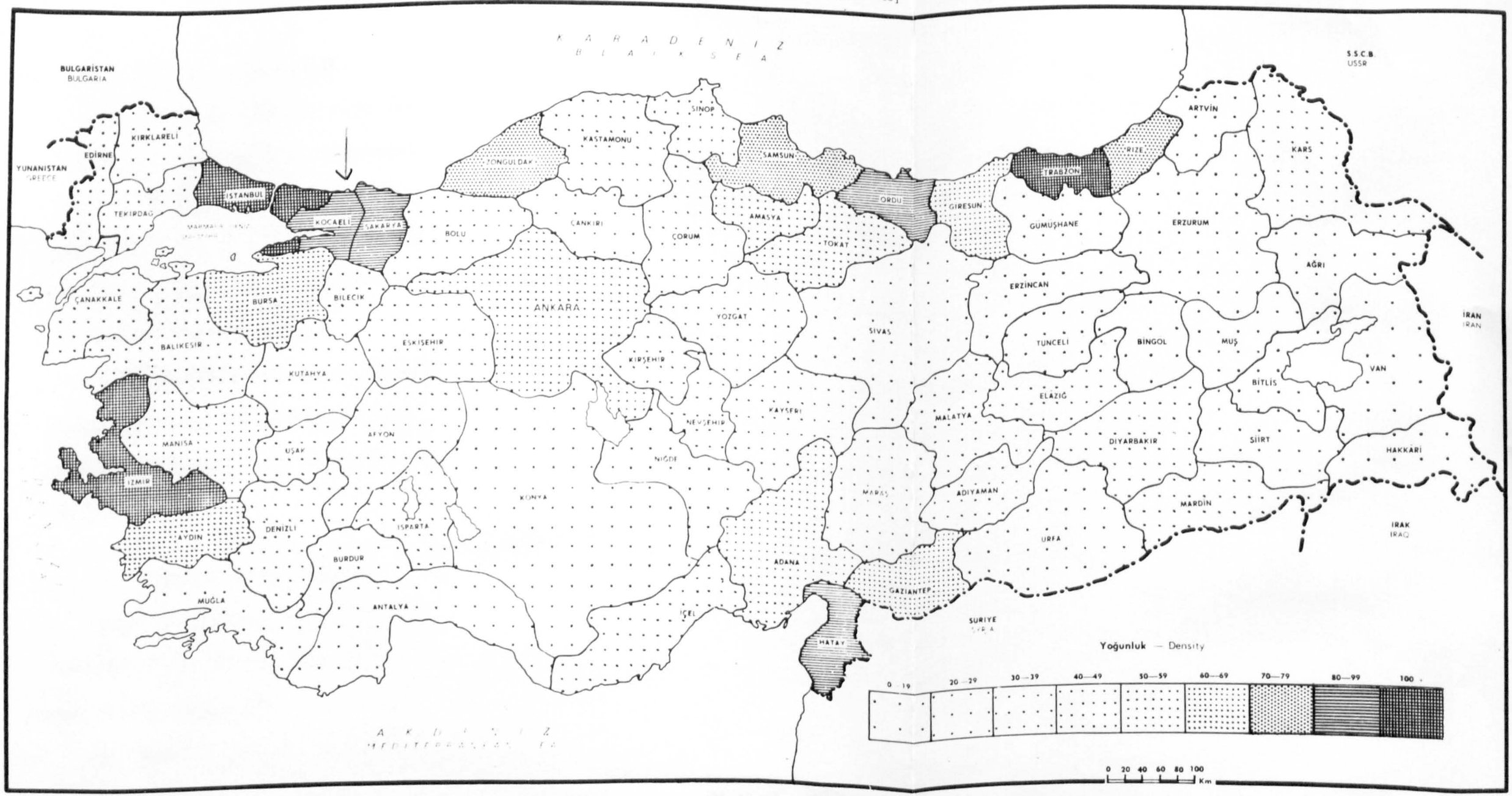
But my greatest debt, plainly, is to the people of Delihasanlar and Tavsancil, who made me welcome, supported me in every slight difficulty I had, and most of all offered their hospitality and warm friendship. Without their affection and concern, life would have been unbearable. I wish I could name them all here, to thank them

personally. They, however, are all friends I shall always remember with pleasure and gratitude.

FIG. 1.

ILLERE GÖRE NÜFUS YOĞUNLUĞU — POPULATION DENSITY BY PROVINCE

[1965 Genel Nüfus Sayımı — Population Census 1965]



NOT : Yoğunlukların hesaplanmasında ölçülebilen göllerin yüzölçümleri kapsanılmamıştır

Sınıf aralıkları çokluk dağılımının gösterdiği eğilime göre saptanmıştır

NOTE. LAKES OF WHICH THE SURFACE AREAS ARE MEASURED HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED IN THE CALCULATION OF POPULATION DENSITIES. CLASS INTERVALS ARE DETERMINED ACCORDING TO THE TREND TO THE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION.

MAP of TURKEY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Setting up the problem:

The central issue of this thesis is "social change", - a common concern for most social scientists, since all societies change. I do not, however, attempt the analysis of social change in general. Instead I try to illustrate the importance of the most vital variables in social change in a specific social context in two Turkish villages in the province of Kocaeli (p.16).

I distinguish two kinds of major social changes though any absolute distinction between them would be unrealistic since they are closely linked to each other and one may follow the other or vice versa.

1. Planned Social Change:

This is a process which is organized and imposed by social forces outside a specific social context. Two kinds of planned social change can be distinguished.

A. Radical social change:

This usually takes place after a revolution or drastic political and ideological changes in a country, where new governments introduce a number of radical reforms, usually aimed to lessen the socio-economic gap between the developed areas of the world and their relatively under-

underdeveloped countries. This kind of change is global, covering many aspects of social life from political institutions to basic institutions of the society, such as the family. Sweeping changes in the institutions of a social area are forced by a small group of people in power on, sometimes, an unwilling public. Reforms introduced by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey after the War of Independence (Armstrong, 1932 , Irfan and Margret Orga 1962) and drastic changes in Communist China or in other socialist countries (Yang 1959, Worsley 1964) are changes of this kind.

B. Various development schemes:

Though these schemes are planned and imposed by outside social agents (governments) to increase the economic power of an under-developed area, they do not have to be accepted by the public at large. They are intended to contribute to the economic development of the country (Wilson 1956). Many such programmes are organised to meet immediate needs (Chambers 1969) and some cases, the acceptance of innovations may take a long time.

Some of these schemes are comprising changes in various basic social institutions, such as education, family planning, recreation, and economic organisation. Community Development Programmes in India are a good example of this kind of development scheme (Dube 1958). Some of the other development schemes, on the other hand, concentrate on development in one aspect of society, such as road building, schemes

or improvements in agriculture as in Greece.[1]

In addition to various development schemes, each ministry or governmental unit tries to introduce new techniques and methods to enable the public to improve their potential economic capacities. Birth control programmes and agricultural aids in the villages in Turkey are examples of these kinds of governmental activities. However, these ministerial programmes are usually independent of each other. Two factors lessen the chance of success for these programmes; firstly, the absence of interministerial communication and of a clearly defined overall goal: secondly, the common unwillingness of the public to co-operate with bureaucrats.

2. Spontaneous Social Change:

Under relatively stable political regimes, especially in developing countries, many changes are initiated in society because its members who show discontent with the existing situation foresee profitable consequences. In such a case the interference of outside forces has only indirect effects since they do not deliberately impose these changes though they may be aware of the probable and intended consequences of the new institutions they start. (Epstein 1962, p.3)

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[1] From personal observations 1963

Thus dissatisfaction with the existing socio-economic order seems to be the most important factor in initiating spontaneous social change. What causes discontent among the members of a society? People are not dissatisfied unless they know or believe there to be possible alternatives. Within any one society individuals may feel discontent, for example, as a result of a relatively unequal distribution of wealth. In such cases people may use traditional means to cope with their problems. But since the reference group or groups are within the society, the action they take is limited and does not result in a change of the social system as a whole; any change which occurs is too slow to be noticed (Mair, 1969).

It would be far from reality to assume the existence of a social area which is completely cut off from the outside world. It is the degree of social links with the outside world which determines whether discontent will result merely in internal changes of status in the village or whether it will result in wider changes.

Hence awareness is the first step towards dissatisfaction with the existing socio-economic order which leads the people to change their style of life (p.200). For this more total kind of change the reference group or groups are not within the social system but outside it and their effects are in the direction of changing the social system as a whole. Such awareness can only be achieved by social contact between different societies. However, even intense interaction between two closely similar societies does not result in noticeable change. Inter-

action between social systems at different development levels normally arouse much stronger discontent which leads to much more conspicuous social change. Though any cultural value-object moves either directly by the agency of a human being or by the man-made means of contact and communication and spreads horizontally from place to place, group to group in social space or circulates vertically from one stratum of society to another almost always in two-way exchange, in general more civilized centres are the centres from which the diffusion of the new and finished products emanates. (Sorokin 1959) Hence the nature of contact which is necessary for change is determined by the socio-economic levels of the social areas in interaction.

Though I am not directly concerned with development, the "change" I am interested in is in the direction of development, acceptance of techniques, norms and values of more developed areas by less developed areas. Although change does not necessarily mean development, it is very difficult to make a sharp distinction between them, as many social scientists use both to refer to the same thing, (Epstein 1962, Stacey 1960, Marris 1961, Kolars 1963, Moore 1963, Rao 1966, Wilsons 1945) since the exchange between developed and underdeveloped areas is unequal and as a result of the possession of sources, power, and prestige in developed areas, they seem to have more to offer in exchange. (Blau 1964, Stirling 1965) The unequal social, political and economic exchange between Britain and India is an example. (Bottomore 1962)

I will not go into detail to define "developed" and "underdeveloped",

since both are relative. A developed area in Turkey, for instance, may not have the characteristics of a developed area in Britain. Or various so-called developed areas in the same country may differ in the direction of their development. We can talk about "levels" of development by relating one social area to another. In this study, I am studying the two villages in relation to the developed areas of Turkey though they, of course, share many of the characteristics of "development"; - such as industrialization, a higher rate of urbanization, a higher rate of literacy, and higher rate of occupational differentiation and socio-economic mobility.

Social interaction and the intensity of impersonal social relations between a developed and an underdevloped area seem to be the key factor in facilitating awareness, causing discontent and leading to social change in an underdeveloped society. Interaction between social areas is maintained by means of communication, which has been used in a very general sense in this study. Unless various means of communication are present together, the effects will be minimal. Even if they are not the most important factor, roads seem to be a first step. Of course unless these are complemented by the other means of communication and by other factors, such as industrialization and urbanization, roads alone cannot determine the direction and the speed of social change.

However without decent roads, (physical communication) the other means of communication cannot be introduced to an underdeveloped social area. For instance, most of the civil servants did not even know where

Delihasanlar (p. 33) was. As a result of this, one can hardly expect any outside intervention to improve agricultural techniques, or to introduce new agricultural products since communication is difficult and the demonstrations needed to persuade the inhabitants would be costly. On the other hand, various administrators visited Tavşancil (p. 70), the village within easy reach, frequently, and indeed the cash cropping of grapes had been introduced to the village some 150 years before. The importance of physical communication in the process of change leads Community Development planners often to start their programmes with the construction of roads. (Social Progress through Community Development 1955)

Even if the other means of communication find their way into a physically isolated community, which has very little direct contact with more developed areas, they become meaningless and are not fully used. For instance, Delihasanlar has had a primary school for 38 years (p. 53), and yet the literacy rate is low and the subjects taught at school are not learnt by the villagers since they have no practical use in their lives. The other means of communication, wireless, is possessed by half of the households but it does not serve the purpose since the villagers only listen to religious programmes or the "news from the villages" hour. Thus physical location of a society, i.e. its distance from more developed areas and the ease of access to these areas, plays an important role in change. The determinants of settlement, however, are accidental and vary from epoch to epoch and from society to

society. Discovery of a mineral near an isolated settlement may bring it into the middle of activities and may cause rapid changes in the social structure. Or historically important civilization centres may loose their importance over time, if they cease to develop.

Although it may sound as though the means of communication is the most important factor in the process of social change, it is not the only determinant of social change since a vast variety of social and cultural limitations and opportunities are involved. (Dahrendorf 1959) As Sorkin states, social change is inherent in the social system. The speed and degree of social change may vary between societies even when the same external factors are present. (Sorokin 1959) However, for the sake of simplicity, I excluded these complications and deliberately emphasized "communication", not as the most important factor in social change in general, but as an important explanatory variable for comparing socio-economic differences between these two Turkish villages.

Interaction between an underdeveloped and a developed area grows in two ways. First, people migrate from underdeveloped areas to developed areas for employment. Distance and lack of commuting facilities force the members of such a social area to change their place of residence. This kind of migration does not normally take place suddenly and usually follows seasonal migration, as it did in Delihasanlar (p.192). It enables the members of an underdeveloped area to come into direct contact with more developed areas and forces them to accept new norms and values of the more developed social areas, at least while they are

resident (Hart 1969). This kind of population movement does not normally result in far-reaching changes within the underdeveloped social area since the immigrants with permanent jobs in towns rarely go back to their villages to settle down, as Hart's data, as well as mine, suggest (Ibid.). Short visits to kin in the previous villages, on the other hand, does not affect the village way of life; visiting immigrants slip back into village norms and values during these visits (p. 193-4). Furthermore, population movement from rural to urban areas may result in over-population in towns and depopulation in the country and creates new economic and administrative problems.[1]

Secondly, face to face contact between developed and underdeveloped areas results through the expansion of developed areas towards underdeveloped areas, which enables people to take advantage of the new economic opportunities without a change of residence. Though it might be thought that social changes would occur more slowly in such communities since their members stay in their place of origin and local social control continues to operate (Epstein 1962) other factors affect the outcome, such as the nature of social context, the intensity of social relations between the developed and the underdeveloped areas, the socio-economic gap between them and the economic structure (Ibid.) For instance,

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1 A recent slum area problem in a big town in Turkey is the result of population fluctuations from rural to urban area (Hart 1969).

the emigrants of Delihasanlar now in urban areas have changed less than the inhabitants of Tavşancil (p. 207-8). Furthermore, it is more likely for a social area which is in a constant and direct relationship as a whole with a more developed area in everyday life to change more rapidly than a relatively isolated social area of which only a minority of the population move out of the settlement and live in more developed areas. The village Delihasanlar, for instance, was less affected by an urban way of life and the people seem more content with their level of income (in fact they did not require cash except for emergencies and certain social occasions) than the people of Tavsancil, who were too close to urban areas to be satisfied with limited incomes which would not enable them to increase their standard of life and answer their growing demands.

Thus a desire for better life seems to be an important motive in the first stages of the process of change. Unless the new economic opportunities are incompatible with the cultural and value system of an underdeveloped area, the people will take advantage of these opportunities to increase their standard of life even if they have been content with their previous economic level. Economic integration (working in industry, dealing with direct economic transactions with urban people and growing produce for urban areas) will force the people of underdeveloped areas to accept new norms and values for their economic survival and will increase their interest in the happenings of wider

society and will facilitate social integration.[1] Increasing wealth, on the other hand, will enable them to acquire new consumption goods, the products of more developed areas and to change their styles of their life. The first changes are structural and developed more rapidly since they are not seen as a threat to the value system of the area. However, an increasing level of income encourages the utilization of other means of communication such as wireless, movie going, or other cultural activities and higher education for children who initiate further changes in attitudes and values. (Koyano 1964) This second stage of change is, however, a much slower process and follows structural changes after a lag in time unless the society is undergoing radical and revolutionary reforms.

Though the people of underdeveloped areas accept structural or economic changes more easily (Ibid.), since these changes provide some comfort for them, and since it becomes a challenge in the society to prove one's status, (Johnson 1961) there is usually a resistance to changes in attitudes and values, particularly from the old members of such a community. The factors involved in this resistance are too complicated to expound here. However, the challenge between old and new values threatens the existing power structure and since age is an important variable in determining one's rank and social status in

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[1] To Ross all the changes are connected with economic conditions. (Ross 1959)

closed and underdeveloped communities, the vested interests of the old people seem to be the nucleus of resistance to social change. (Ibid.) Thus with the fear of losing power and status, the elderly members of such a society oppose the new values, whilst the younger generation, being the suppressed group of such social systems, accept the new norms and values more willingly, due to their improving knowledge, skills and increasing economic independence. (Young 1959) Hence, change in the value system and in basic social institutions such as the family gains more speed when the younger generation, who have been brought up in the midst of conflicting values and have made full use of the new means of communication such as education, become adult. However, it is not unrealistic to assume that when the young generation of these transitional periods grow older and maintain their social status in the new power structure, they will oppose new changes. All the social areas, developed or underdeveloped, are in a transitional period and subject to change which maintains the dynamics of the society. Thus the underdeveloped areas which are trying to reach the level of development of the developed areas of the world will always be left behind these developed areas which are themselves developing and changing constantly, though the socio-economic gap between these areas may be lessened by deliberate efforts and revolutionary changes which are out of the scope of this research.

All the social institutions in a society are closely related to one another, and change in one of them will be followed by a series of

changes in the others. (Kolars 1963) The family is one of the social areas subject to change and a good field for those who are interested in changes in attitudes; changes in the family will bring further changes in the other institutions of a society. I am not going into detail in analysing the importance of the family in various societies. Many other social scientists have already done so. (Leslie 1967, Yang 1959) I am, however, concerned to illustrate how in a particular social context, the relation between economic change and increasing manifest conflict results in disorder and changes in structure and kinship relations within the household.

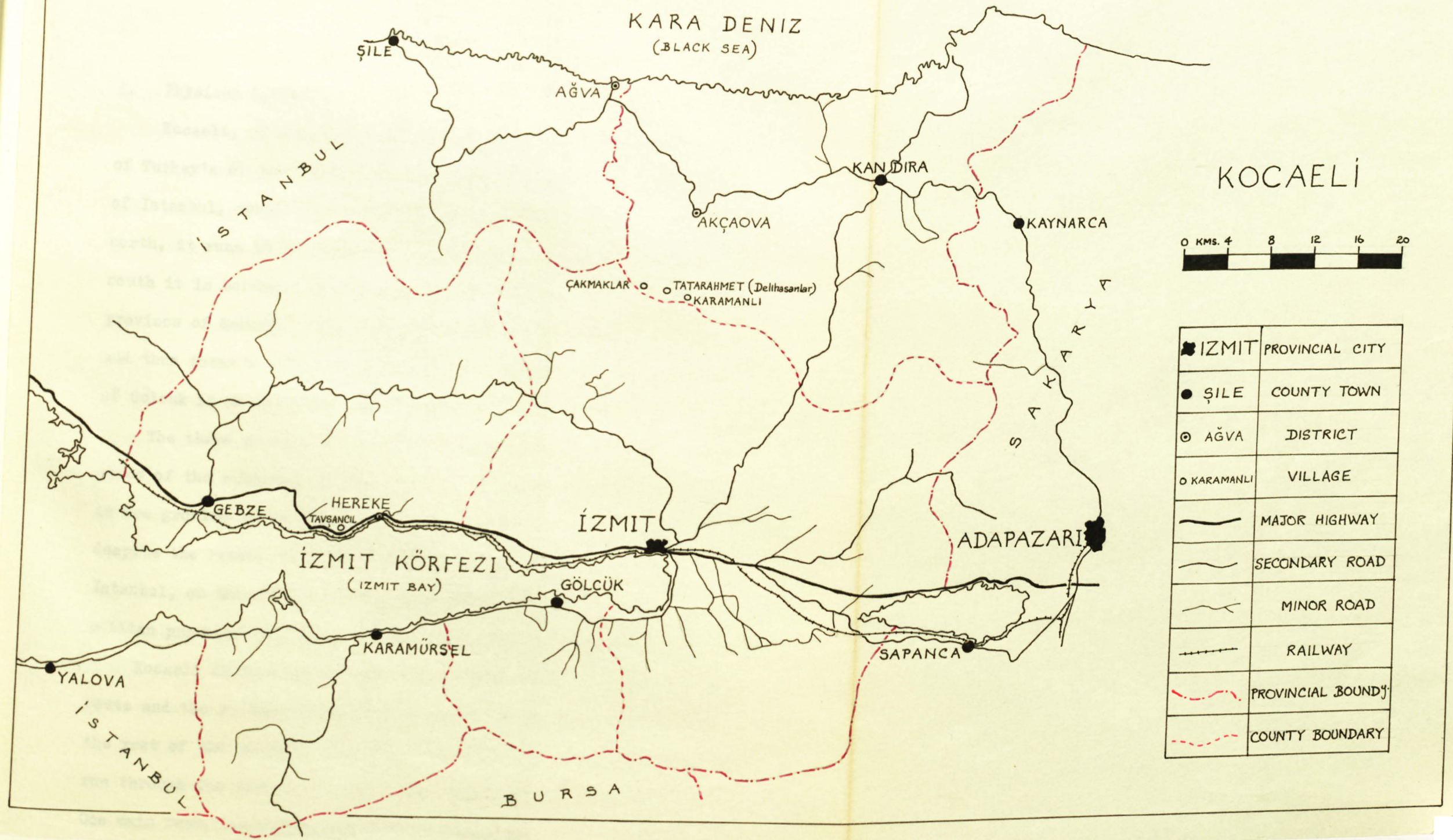
In fact it seems that the old members, particularly the household heads, who are against change and disorder in the household power structure, themselves initiate this change in household structure. Desire to increase economic capacity of the household leads them to make full use of the available manpower of the household and to encourage the young male members to become employed in economic institutions outside the household. This decreases the importance of the household, no longer the only economic "firm", - and lessens the interdependence between disputing parties, father-son, and results in open conflict. The household head usually does not foresee the inevitable consequences of economic independence of the young members of his household, and he wants them to continue to be subject to his authority though he persuades them to contribute by their earnings to the household economy.

Economic acquisitions may enable a household head to acquire higher education for his sons as this increases his prestige (p.194). However, he does not see the threat to his authority as a result of his action which enables the young members of his household to come into contact with new skills, ideas and values which are in conflict with his. Furthermore, the young members do not turn to him to learn new skills, they become independent and learn these skills from outside institutions. This decreases his importance as being the only trainer for the young members and increases the conflict between him and his sons over the power position within the household. Thus it is the household head who provides the basis for conflict, disorder and change within the household, without being aware of the consequences, since he is only concerned with the welfare and the prestige of his household. He regrets the changes in the community as well as in his household, which he believes, cause disorder because of the behaviour of the young generation. One can often hear the complaints of the old people of Tavsancil, who talk about the good old days, when the young people respected their elders and things were in order, and about the bad manners of young people who, as they believe, have been affected by the bad influences of urban areas and education.

Thus, societies are dynamic entities and change continuously. The existence of certain factors at certain times fasten the process of change. Even in a small scale society some sections whose status

and power, or at least influence, are well defined and recognised by the existing system, oppose changes which may endanger their position in the society. It is, however, these people who provide the means for change, though they are unaware of the consequences.

FIG. 2.


KARA DENIZ
(BLACK SEA)
ŞILE
AĞVA
İSTANBUL
KANDIRA
AKÇAOVA
KAYNARCA
ÇAKMAKLAR
TATARAHMET (Delihasanlar)
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ADAPAZARI
İZMIT KÖRFEZI
(IZMIT BAY)
GÖLCÜK
KARAMÜRSEL
SAPANCA
YALOVA
İSTANBUL
BURSA
IZMIT PROVINCIAL CITY
ŞILE COUNTY TOWN
AĞVA DISTRICT
KARAMANLI VILLAGE
MAJOR HIGHWAY
SECONDARY ROAD
MINOR ROAD
RAILWAY
PROVINCIAL BOUNDY.
COUNTY BOUNDARY

CHAPTER II

KOCAELI

1. Physical Setting:

Kocaeli, of which Izmit is the capital, is one of the smallest of Turkey's 67 provinces. It lies immediately east of the province of Istanbul, round the eastern end of the Sea of Marmara. On the north, it runs 59 km. along the south coast of the Black Sea; on the south it is bordered by the province of Bursa and on the east by the province of Sakarya. The Sea of Marmara cuts the province in half and thus forms a natural harbour at its eastern end, where the town of Gölcük is an important naval base.

The three provinces which adjoin Kocaeli are highly developed areas of the country. Bursa, rich in agriculture and horticulture, is now growing as an industrial town. On the other hand, Sakarya, despite the recent industrial growth, remains largely agricultural. Istanbul, on the west, is the largest, most developed and most cosmopolitan province of Turkey and the commercial capital.

Kocaeli forms a bridge between Istanbul and Anatolia. The main route and the railway which link Istanbul and Europe to Ankara and the rest of the country, and indeed the countries of the Middle East, run through the province. It is also connected to Istanbul by sea. One main road, separates from the Istanbul-Ankara state highway, just

after the provincial capital Izmit, goes round the southern part of the bay and links Izmit to Bursa and to the other provinces in the western part of Turkey.

The ecology of the area is very varied, despite its smallness. The mountains, though not very high, (1600 m. is the highest peak) rise sharply from the coast; in places they permit reasonably wide settlements on the coast plain, on others the road and railway can barely make their way along a rocky coastline through tunnels and cuttings. Most of the settlements in the area are on hilly land which does not allow large scale settlements. Among the mountains, many villages are perched on small plateaus. On the north, the land descends again sharply to the Black Sea.

The mountains on the southern coast of the bay, "Izmit Körfezi" rise even more sharply and form the natural boundry between Kocaeli and the province of Bursa.

Temperature in Kocaeli is moderate all the year round, ranging from 13.9°C. to 39.4°C. Winter is short, from December until the end of March. Although it may snow occasionally, the snow usually melts within 8 or 9 days. Winter is the season for rain rather than snow. (Annual Statistics of Turkey 1965.)

In the mountains the very severe winter, however, starts as early as October and may last until the end of April, although broken by some dry and warm spells. The settlements usually tend to huddle on the southern slopes of the hills away from northerly winds.

In contrast to cooler weather on the heights, the summers on the coastal area are hotter. As the sea becomes narrower, towards the east end of the Bay it also becomes shallow. Sea breezes grow less, evaporation increases and humidity is often high and unpleasant.

Small mountain torrents, dry in summer, run turbulently in spring, after the snow on the heights has melted.

According to the villagers who live in one of the mountainous villages on the plateau, the mountains were covered by very thick forests in the past. To-day they are almost naked and the scattered small woods and bushes provide the timber and fire-wood for the villagers in the area. The villagers claim that when their nomad ancestors decided to settle down, they started to cut the trees in order to clear enough land for their villages and fields.

2. Social Composition:

A - Population:

According to the census of 1965, the population of the province is 335,518. Since then one of the counties has been transferred to a neighbouring province. Thus the population of Kocaeli in 1967, the year when the research started, is estimated as being approximately 317,662. As the reduced area is 3,626 sq. km., the density is 97 per sq. km. The 1965 census listed 54,957 people as having come from other provinces of the country and 25,580 as having immigrated from other countries (p. 21).

The distribution of the population in the area is as follows:

Table I

Counties	Urban population	Rural Population	Total
Izmit	89,547	75,338	164,885
Gölcük	21,544	17,360	38,904
Karamürsel	9,144	23,622	32,766
Gebze	9,269	24,405	33,674
Kandira	5,992	41,441	47,433
TOTAL	135,496	182,166	317,662

The official criteria used to define 'urban' areas results in the inclusion in the "urban" population of many small towns - local administrative centres for example - which are still largely agricultural and in sociological terms large villages. (p.32) Even the more urbanized towns, such as Izmit, contain people whose way of life is essentially rural. For the purposes of the census, these people are also classified under "Urban Population".

The steep hilly land of the province is not suitable for large-scale settlements. In the mountains, many settlements contain no more than 30 to 50 households, though they are still called village -(köy)(p. 35). Since it is very difficult to take public services to each of these small settlements and as they are normally quite near to each other (about 30 minutes walk), they are combined in groups of from 3 to 7, to form an administrative unit,(divan). Governmental services such as the school are concentrated in one village of the group. This arrangement obviously

raises political issues among the villages. Each wishes to be recognized as a social unit instead of being a member of a larger association. The villagers in Kocaeli, where the government survey was carried out, said that the village which was chosen as the administrative centre of the divan was favoured by the political party in power. This, however, is very difficult to check.

B - Cultural Composition:

Several cultural groups in the area distinguish themselves though they regard themselves as Turks without qualification, and are regarded as respectable Turkish citizens by law. They all, except few as we will see below, speak Turkish as their mother tongue and all are the followers of the religion Islam. (Lewis 1961) Differentiation is by tradition of the country of origin. Their acceptance by the locals, who claim that their ancestors were the first settlers in the area or in the country, depends on the success of their integration.

The locals in the region, however, distinguish themselves, not only from those who have come to this country more recently, but also from each other, due to their respective localities (p.65). Thus it seems that the most important variable in the distinction of various sub-groups is place of origin.

Tartars, as they are called by the locals, are concentrated in the western part of the Province. They seem to be better integrated than other cultural groups and their cultural distinctiveness is dying out

because of continous intermarriage with the local people. They are not even mentioned as an entirely different social entity.

There are a number of people, especially in the southern part of Izmit Bay, who migrated from ex-Ottoman lands, like Bulgaria, Romania and Greece, as a result of population exchange policy between the Turkish Republic and these countries (Lados 1932). Some of these immigrants are the descendants of the Ottoman subjects who were settled in these captured lands for the sake of political domination over conquered groups within the Ottoman Empire. Others are the descendants of those who were converted into the Islam religion[1] after their land was captured by the Ottomans. In any case, whatever the origins of these people, being Muslim they were recognized as the potential citizens of the newly established Republic of Turkey and were returned by their respective governments.

They were given land and ready-made villages of their own, by the Turkish Government. They usually do not mix with the existing inhabitants of the area, even if they have to live with them in the same settlement.[2] Intermarriage between these groups occurs very rarely, and in most cases despite the wishes and the norms of the group. In spite of the length of

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[1]During the Ottoman Empire, religion was the most important factor for defining a citizen of the Empire. Nationality became important much later, towards the end of the Empire.(B. Lewis 1961; Cresay 1878)

[2]I have been in such a mixed village where each group has its own coffee-house and shop and reside in separated localities without having much interchange.

the time their settlement in the province, these immigrants are still called simply muhacir or göçmen (migrant) and not known by the country from which they emigrated.

On the northern coast of the province, by the Black Sea, the other cultural group of this area is called Laz. They are known as tough and quarrelsome people, with their own customs and rules and little respect for those of others. Their homicide rate is said to be very high; reflecting without doubt a tradition of feuding.

There are also Circassian communities particularly in the eastern part of the province. This cultural group practices its own customs and traditions. However, they do marry with the indigenous people and their customs and morals are highly regarded.

The other distinct cultural group in the area is the Georgians, who emigrated from Russia in the 1890's and who settled on the mountains on the southern part of the bay. These people are amongst the least integrated, still speaking a different language and sometimes being unable to speak or understand Turkish.[1]

Gipsies, as identified by the locals, are mainly concentrated in the provincial capital, Izmit, and in its various villages and are very much looked down upon by the rest of the population. Degrading qualities,

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1 In one of these villages, I had difficulty in communicating with the womenfolk and the children, who had not yet been to school.

like dirtiness and theft, are attributed to them and local people are afraid of them.[1]

It is impossible to give accurate population figures for these cultural groups. According to the 1965 population census, however, the 7% of the population of the province were born outside Turkey.

The differences between these cultural groups are relatively unimportant, as these migrants and the indigenous people believe that they all have common ancestors. Different cultural traits are explained by the effects of the local customs of their places of birth. At the village level, relative isolation decreases the chance of integration and increases the possibility of preservation of group customs and traditions. However, these different cultural groups do not operate as distinct political entities and they do not identify themselves with any other country outside Turkey. They are not completely closed cultural groups, as are Greek, Jewish and Armenian minorities in Istanbul, and their traditions are compatible with those of the wider society. The main consequence of these cultural differences seems to be that they establish solidarity within the respective social entity. This enables its members to identify themselves with a certain sub-group in a large social context.

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[1] When the gipsies came to either of the two research villages, the people usually locked their doors and tried not to be alone in the house because of the general fear of them, a fear related to the prevalence of hostile stories about gipsies.

The inhabitants of the province rarely make any comment on, or pass judgements about, the various groups, with the exception of gipsies. They only see the others as "different" and try to limit interrelations to formal transactions.

3. Administration

The country is divided into 67 provinces(Il), one of which is Kocaeli. Each province in turn is divided into a number of administrative counties(ilçe)according to its size and population. Each county and the provincial city are sub-divided into a number of districts(bucak)and villages (köy).

The orders of the central government are carried out through the channels of the administrative hierarchy, from top to bottom,

Table II

Central Government

Legislature (Parliament:Senate)	Executive (Prime Minister: Ministers and other General Directorates)	Judiciary (High Courts)

Provincial Government
Governor(vali) and the representatives (Directors(müdür) of various ministries

County Government
Subgovernor(Kaymakam) and the representatives of the Directorates in the Province

District
District official(bucak müdürü)

Village (p.32)
Headman(Muhtar) and the Council of elders

and the autonomy of each unit increases in inverse proportion to the distance from the top - distance both in its sociological meaning and in terms of physical isolation.

The Governor (vali) who is appointed by the council of Ministers upon recommendation of the Minister of Interior is the representative of the National Government in the Province and he is the head and the executive of the Provincial Government. (Başarir and Karaşar 1965)

Some Ministries of the central government, such as education, reconstruction, health, and agriculture, are represented by Directors at the provincial level, each appointed and controlled by his own Ministry.

At the county level, the Subgovernor (kaymakam) who is generally a university graduate in Political Science or Law and appointed by the Ministry of Interior, is the head of the office, and under the control of the Governor to whom he is responsible. (Ibid.) He controls the officials (memur) at the county level, who represent the Directorates of the Province. For these civil servants, a university degree is not necessary and the various technical colleges and secondary schools provide these kinds of personnel. They are usually locals.

Apart from this highly centralized governing body, every settlement with the population over 2,000 should have a municipality (belediye) (Yalçindağ) which consists of a mayor (belediye reisi) and a municipal council (belediye meclisi), elected every 4 years. The municipality has its own finances for local purposes. The Council appoints and pays local officials; but the municipality is under the general supervision of a

local representative of the central government.

Thus, the administrative division in Kocaeli is as follows:

Table III

Kocaeli (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Institute of Statistics 1965)

Counties	Number of Districts	Number of Villages
Provincial County Izmit	3	99
County Gölcük	1	23
" Karamürsel	-	49
" Gebze	2	27
" Kandira	2	69
TOTAL	8	267

4. Economic Structure

A - Agriculture:

Generally speaking, the hilly landscape does not permit large-scale farming. Irrigation is almost nil, partly due to the lack of the natural water resources.

All around the bay, on the coast where the soil is productive, fruit, vegetables, olives and grapes are the main economic products of the inhabitants. The principal markets are Istanbul and the provincial city, Izmit.

The peasants on the high plateaus grow grain, corn and flax, mostly for their own consumption. Tobacco growing is developing on the highlands of the southern part of the Bay. Nut growing is the characteristic of the villages on the northern part of the province.

Stock-farming is a complementary economic activity, particularly in the grain growing villages. Coastal villages also do some fishing.

B - Tourism:

Tourism is a new and developing economic activity in the coastal area. The available holiday resorts and the relative cheapness of rents attract less well-off holiday-makers. The area's popularity has been promoted, especially since 1960 (The Society of Tourism and Information 1965) by the special efforts of the local people and some of the administrators in organizing and advertising the tourist facilities in the province.

The boat services from Izmit to each little village on the southern coast of the Bay enable the holiday-makers to commute daily to work in Izmit or in Istanbul.

Lack of hotels for visitors in small villages[1] increases the face-to-face contact between the villagers and the holiday-makers, as the locals

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[1]This was the case in 1963 when I was in the area. By now, some hotels may have been built since tourism is more organized.

accommodate the visitors in their own houses, to the apparent profit of the indigenous people. However, some outsiders buy land and build summer bungalow, in which they intend to live permanently when they retire.

Tourism in the area enables the inhabitants to increase their income, and introduces changes in the economic and social structures of the region on the whole.

C - Industrialization:

The most significant development in the province is the recent and rapid industrial growth.

Industry was started in the area by the foundation of a factory for weaving cottons, woollens and carpets at Hereke in 1843 during the reign of Sultan Abdulmecid. It was transferred to the Sümmerbank (an economic state enterprise) as a result of Atatürk's policy of "étatism" during the republican era (Bonné 1948, p.107; Muhlis Ete 1951). The second industry to be established was the State paper factory founded in 1936 in the provincial town, Izmit, as part of the first five year plan, and taken over by the Ministry of Industry in 1955.

With the return to State planning in 1960, the growth of industrialization was accelerated. Today there are altogether 37 industrial establishments, including two automobile factories, within the province. According to the development plan in 1963-1967 the total industrial investments of Government and various state enterprises in

the area is T.L.57,428,000.

In 1960, 27.7% of the industrial labour force of the whole country was concentrated in the eastern part of Marmara region. According to the predictions derived from 1960 - 1965, first 5 Year Plan, this will reach 32% in 1970 and 34% in 1980. It has also been estimated that the total population of Kocaeli will exceed 400,000 in 1980 and the province will be completely industrialized. Its population has already more than doubled in the last decade and according to the Checchi and Company survey in Turkey in 1962, Izmit and Adapazari are two of the fastest growing cities in Turkey. According to the Plan forecasts, up to 1970, half of the investments in industry will be invested in the East Marmara region.

There are, of course, very important and rational reasons, which secure the priority of the province in industrial development and attract both state and private enterpreneuers to choose the area for their capital investments.

The existence of almost all possible communication facilities - state highways, railways and communication by sea - makes the transportation of raw material and the products of the factories to the main commercial centres and the markets of the country easy. For example, a number of refineries have started on the north coast of Izmit Bay, as petrol, raw and refined, can be transported by tanker. The Eastern Marmara Planning Commission, predicts that Izmit will develop into one of the most important trading harbours of Turkey.

Istanbul has attracted a very large share of Turkish industry for a number of reasons. Recently, however, the shortage of sites for industry and rising costs have led some enterpreneurs to look for new and cheaper areas close to Istanbul. This would have the advantage that they can still reside in Istanbul and keep their management headquarters there for personal or other reasons without losing direct control in the work-shop. The conditions in Kocaeli are seen to be as favourable as those of Istanbul itself and recent industrial development in the area is therefore partly an overflow from Istanbul. This is why most of the recent industrial sites can be found on the western part of Kocaeli, the closest to Istanbul.

The existence of some of the basic elements of industrialization, such as road, harbour facilities and physical setting of the area, explains the process of rapid industrial development in Kocaeli.

Industrialization in the area has two immediate economic results for the villages. First, the sharp rise in land values has enabled some of the village landowners to become suddenly rich. Some villagers had land on either side of the Istanbul-Izmit highway which they sold for sums from 50,000 T.L. to 1,000,000 T.L. Many invested the money locally, although a few preferred to invest in Istanbul or Izmit and moved away.

Secondly, industrialization provided skilled and unskilled jobs for the rural population on a fairly large scale. (p.68) For the neighbouring villages, closeness to the industrial sites and the ease of transport prevent depopulation through migration to town. Those who did not need

to move from their own villages could add their wages to income from their land, and thus had a surplus of spending power for the purchase of the amenities of modern industrial life.

The wealth in the area promoted further social changes which I discuss later (p.14-5).

Thus, many of the rural settlements in the area are on their way to becoming urbanized. The nature of their work (according to the retired schoolmaster in Tavşancil, almost every household in the area, has at least one member working in industry) as well as their urbanized outlook makes it necessary to consider them as an urban population, in spite of their residence in villages; indeed, it is difficult to draw a line between "rural" and "urban" in these mixed areas. (Frankenberg 1966)

FIG. 3

Public Buildings

Houses

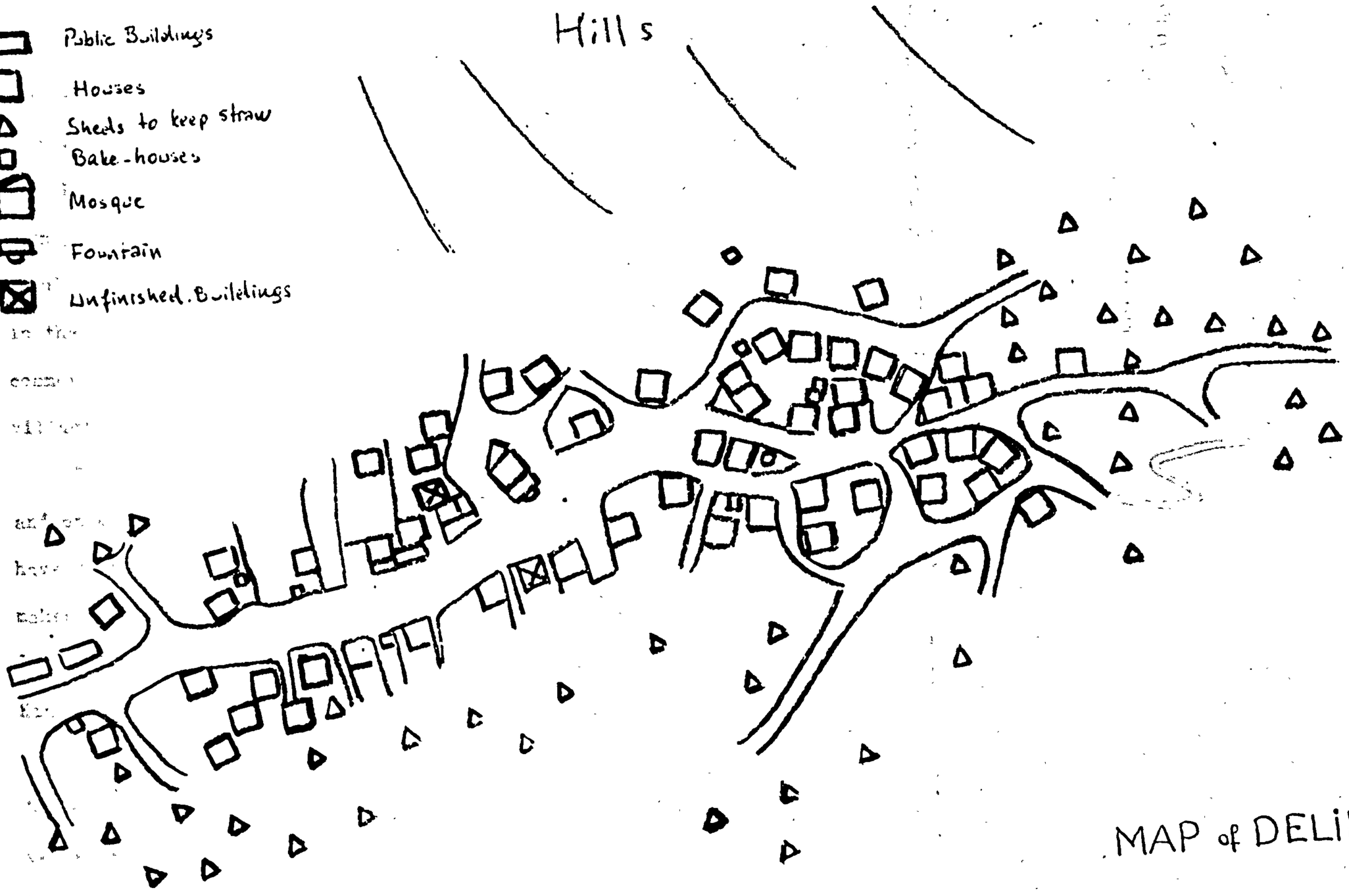
Sheds to keep straw

Bake-houses

Mosque

Fountain

Unfinished Buildings



MAP of DELİHASANLAR

CHAPTER III

COUNTY AND VILLAGE: DELIHASANLAR

Kandira, one of the four administrative counties of Kocaeli, lies in the northern part of the province, 48 km. from Izmit. However, the poor roads make communication difficult. The area of the county is 934 sq. km. with a density of 47 sq. km. (p. 20-26).

Kandira, as we will see later, aside from being an administrative county town, has little economic or social significance for its peasant population. I was told by local officials that most of the population in the town were engaged in agriculture, and there was no industry or commerce to provide jobs for its villagers. It looks like a large village; the offices give the only touch of urbanity.

The town is, however, the market centre of a number of villages, and on Wednesday, the market day, the streets are full of peasants who have come there to sell or to buy. The poor means of communication makes these weekly trips possible for only those whose villages are located fairly near the main road (Kandira-Izmit, Kandira-Kaynarca, Kandira-Kefken, and Kandira-Ağva).

Tatarahmet is the name of the "Divan" (p. 20) which consists of three villages one of which is Delihasanlar. Its central location (15 minutes walk from Karamanli, and 45 minutes walk from Çakmaklar) puts it in a favourable position to become the administrative centre of the divan (p. 20-21). More recently, however, Çakmaklar has become relatively independent in its own affairs, and the people there have

built their own mosque and have provided a school building for their own children. They also have an unofficial headman, who is also the official member of the Council of Elders of the divan (p. 47).

The divan Tatarahmet is 36 km. away from Kandira, of which 20 km. is along the state road which links Kandira to Ağva. There is no constructed road between the divan and the district centre, Akçaova, which is on the state road itself. When the peasants of the divan have to go to Kandira, they either walk or ride to Akcaova where they can take the early morning bus to Kandira. However, it is more convenient to walk to another neighbouring village, called Cakirlar which is only 45-60 minutes walk from the divan, whence they take the daily truck to Izmit. Recently, irregular truck services from Izmit to Delihasanlar have provided better and easier commuting opportunities for the villagers, at least in summer.[1]

The word köy by no means corresponds in meaning and overtones to "village" in English.

According to the Village Law (Köy hakkindaki kanunlar Article II), the definition of köy as an administrative unit is "A population of up to 2,000 who possess property in common, such as mosque, school, meadow, mountain pasturage, and marsh, and who reside in gathered or scattered houses, with their vineyards, gardens and fields form a village".

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[1] The truck usually brings various items to be sold in the area and while going back, it is loaded with peasants and their products. No-one knows exactly when it will come; after heavy rains it cannot get through.

A definition of this kind, however, is insufficient for sociological purposes. Köy is therefore defined here as the smallest political, relatively autonomous, and self-sufficient social unit with a population who are engaged in agriculture and who are closely or remotely linked to each other by kinship ties.

Delihasanlar is located on a high plateau on the southern slope of a group of hills. It is in the southern part of the county of Kandira and only 15 minutes walk from the border of the "county" of Izmit (fig.2).

The houses of the village are built on both sides of the main street which divides into two after the small village square. The square itself contains the mosque, the only village fountain, the village shop[1], and the headman's office.

At the west end of Delihasanlar stands the new school, the only modern building in the village, which was built in 1965, and next to it the school-master's house. Two teachers' houses were planned, but official funds were insufficient so one house is unfinished.

The residential area is surrounded by the threshing floors, an area of barns for storing chaffed straw for winter feed, and small meadows here and there. There is a small stream running by the southern edge of the village, which dries up in summer. There are two springs fairly close to the village. A number of others are scattered over the

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[1]Another shop was opened in 1967, at the east end of the village.

village territory, most undrinkable.

The building pattern is traditional and homogeneous. The only change in the construction is the disappearance of the inner room (iç oda) which can only be found in the very old houses nowadays. It has no window but a hole in the roof which barely enables one to see.

All the houses of the village have two storeys; the ground floor is used as a stable and chicken house. The upper floor usually has a large entrance hall where the grain sacks are stored with the loom in one corner. The remaining rooms, varying with the number of the families (p. 88-9) living in the household, open onto it.

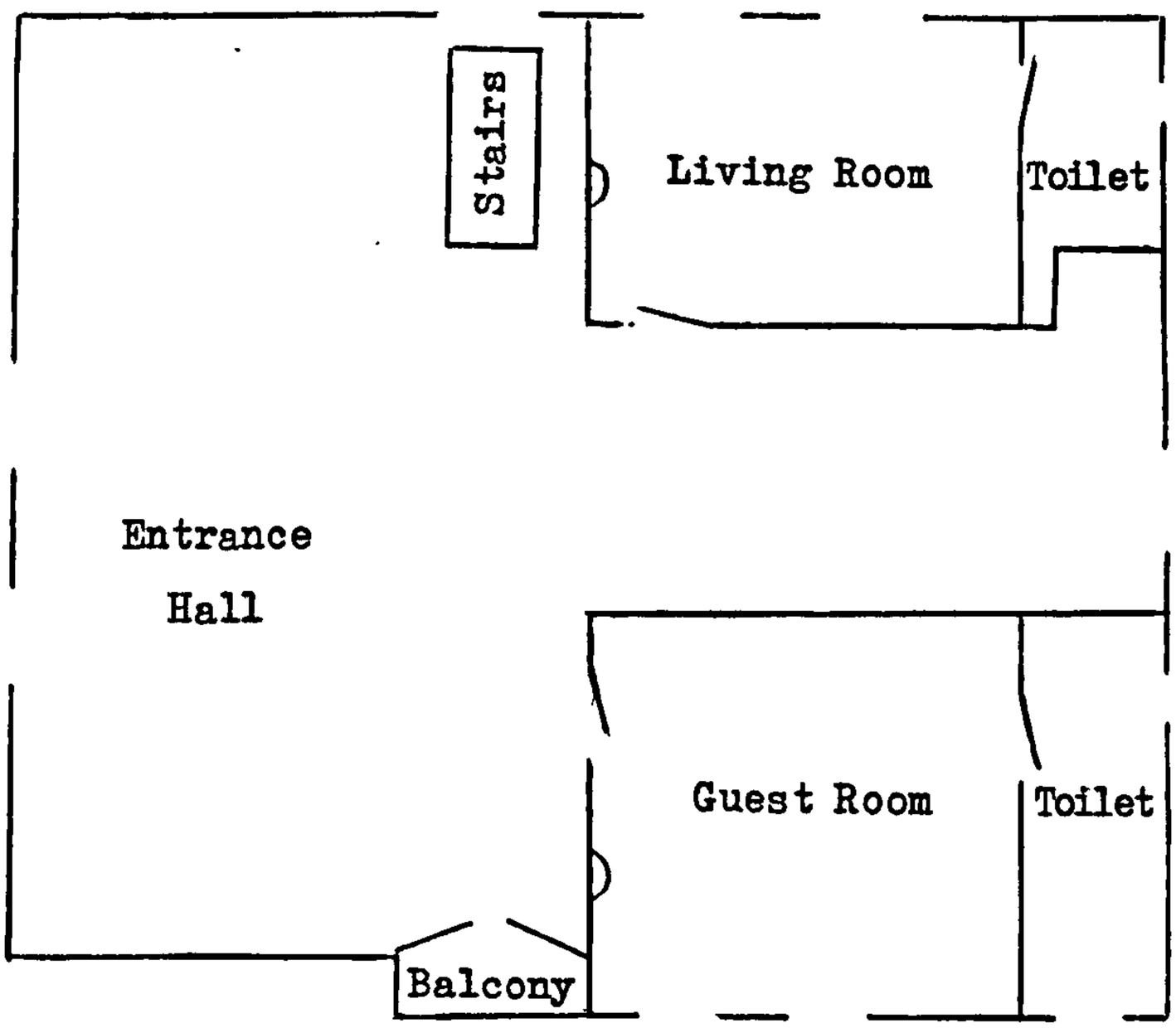
In the construction of a house, stones are used for the walls of the ground floor, the adobe bricks of straw and mud for the walls of the upper floor. Timber for the floor, ceiling, and the main framework, door and windows is plentiful, and the roof is well tiled. Each room is self-contained and includes a toilet with open drainage and a little place to have a bath, a fire-olace for cooking and heating, a number of shelves and large recesses to put the mattresses and quilts away, and a fixed wooden seat, particularly in recently built rooms. Inside walls of a room are white-washed or covered by wooden panelling

Almost every man in the village knows something about masonry and builds his own house with the help of his kin and neighbours (p.46).

Fig. 4

Plan of a village house

(First floor only: Living quarter)



The People of the Village:

"Delihasanlar" means the mad or perhaps the wild Hasans; but despite direct questions, I was to discover no factual stories about them[1] or the founding of the village. The villagers claim that some 300 years ago, their ancestors came and settled in the area of the forests to protect themselves from the attacks of bandits.

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[1] One account had it that there were once two young men called Hasan who resided in the place of the present village, and who used to stone the house of an old woman in the area. One day she got furious and called them mad Hasans Delihasanlar, and since then the village they lived in has been called Delihasanlar.

The women all wear traditional costume. This consists of loose black trousers, a long white handwoven linen shirt or tunic, a long white or black handwoven linen jacket and a black handwoven linen apron. They wear a small cap under the long white handwoven linen cover which reaches down to their waists. The costumes of the women are apparently similar to those who are called nomads (yörük) and who still exist in various parts of Turkey. Their dialect also resembles that of the nomads though of course I am not entitled to make any assumption about the probable link between the people of Delihasanlar and nomads. The issue needs to be studied more carefully.

The men of the village, however, wear ordinary trousers and jackets, though the material of them can be locally woven linen. Some of the men put a cap on, especially when they go to town.

The official records (Office of Census in Izmit) give the population of the"divan"as a whole in 1960 as 684. According to my own census, the population of Delihasanlar in 1966 was 336 persons living in 45 households.

Table IV

The distribution of the Population in 1967

according to age and sex

Under 15			15-30			30-45			45-60			60+			Total		
M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
68	64	132	28	30	58	28	32	60	14	15	29	17	19	36	155	160	315

The largest group by far is the under fifteens. Medical improve-

ments have cut the infant death rate all over the country. In addition to this, lack of knowledge in birth control and the opposition of the people to birth control in Delihasanlar (p.141-2) as in very many other villages in Turkey, have contributed to the increase in the child population of the village.

Death and emigration, on the other hand, are the only available explanations for the sharp drop after the age of 45. With a very high but rapidly falling death rate and very high birth rate not yet falling much, this is what one would predict.

The population of Delihasanlar, is always changing. Even between my two visits, the listed population fell from 336 people in 1966 6o 315 in 1967.[1] In contrast to the addition of eleven people to the community, mostly through marriage and birth, 29 villagers left the village to work in town or to marry; and 3 old people died.

There were some others, though included in the population figures and interviewed, who were often absent from the village for some reason or other. These constant changes in the population mean that the figures I give and my tables must be viewed with caution.

Village Economics:

Land has a great importance for the villagers not only as being

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[1]Only those who actually live in the village are treated as residents. Even those who were away for their military service, which is compulsory for the men over the age 20 and lasts 2 years, were excluded from the population figures.

almost the only secure means of income but also because it has an important symbolic value since it is passed down to them from their ancestors. To sell a piece of land, especially to an outsider, is the last solution to an economic problem. Even those who have made up their minds to settle down in a town keep their land if they do not desperately need the money. As they constantly pointed out to me, a plot of land is an insurance against economic disaster in the town.

Since there is no land market in the village, people only obtain land by inheritance (Stirling 1965, Fitzgerald 1931).[1] Land also confers prestige even if some proportion of it is not arable. As we will see later, most of the disputes between kin in the village are over land (Hiatt 1965, Stirling 1965). In much extant literature the conflicts are about land and women. My impression, however, is that land is often the more important factor in Delihasanlar.

Every household within the village owns land varying from 20 dönüm to 200 dönüm; the dönüm is the common unit of land measurement.

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[1] I did not ask specific questions on inheritance. A few incidents, however, indicated that brothers had equal share on land, whilst sisters were usually excluded from inheritance, particularly when they marry a man outside the village. Some women are given a plot of land at their wedding and do not make further demand at the death of the father. In one case, a woman threatened her brother to take the case tocourt if he did not recognize her right on land. He, in turn, said that he was prepared to give her share if she came to the village and worked the land herself. He was against the sale of his ancestors' land to an outsider. A complete inheritance by a woman is not recognized by the villagers (p. 147).

The government has fixed the dönüm for official purposes as equal to one decare, about a quarter of an acre. However, as Stirling points out, (Stirling 1965, p.52) the village dönüm varies not only from village to village but also from man to man, and field to field. The villagers in Delihasanlar said that the dönüm was one hundred paces by one hundred paces. I did not have the means to measure one village "dönüm" and to make comparisons between this and the official "dönüm", one decare. Thus, the land holding figures below will not help the reader to grasp the exact size of a land unit per household: however they will enable him to have an overall view of the land distribution among the households within the village.

Table V

Land holding by households in Delihasanlar

No. of Households in class	Dönüm	Decare
3	20-35	50-87
2	35-50	87-125
14	50-65	125-162
7	65-80	162-200
4	80-95	200-237
8	100-150	250-375
3	150-200	375-500
1	200	500
4	Do not know	

These figures are suspect for a number of reasons. First, the people were genuinely unable to express the size of their property in official terminology because their land holdings were not officially registered. Secondly, some of the villagers underestimated the size of their land holdings (Stirling 1965) because not all their land was registered for tax. Thirdly, a few of the villagers, however, overstated the size of their land to impress me. But I had no other choice but to rely on the figures they had given me.

The total quantity of land a man owns is not, of course, a direct index of his wealth (Ibid. p. 52), since land varies in value. Moreover, the availability of manpower within a household is another important determinant of income in any given year. But of course there is a close relation between a household's land holding and its wealth.

Delihasanlar is a grain growing village. The villagers claim that the absence of irrigation and the poor quality of the soil make it impossible to grow anything else. However, a number of other reasons can be advanced for their concentration on grain. Firstly, the techniques are familiar and traditional, built into their way of life. Secondly, survival is assured; growing grain is a form of insurance. Many villagers impressed upon me that the grain was their staple diet, and no-one had ever died of hunger.

Besides wheat they grow barley and oats some of which is used for animals and the rest mixed with wheat, for their own consumption.

Flax is the only real cash crop and even then they turn some of their flax into cloth for their own use.

More recently, seven villagers began, in a small way, to grow nuts for commercial purposes. The trees take five years to mature and, as yet, there has been no yield. Other villagers are suspicious of this innovation since it takes so long and requires so much care.

Farming techniques are still simple. The plough, which is pulled by either a pair of oxen or a pair of water-buffaloes, is the only tool used for ploughing. Seed is sown by hand and reaping is done by sickle. The crops are threshed by driving a special sledge, the underside of which is studded with flints, round and round over the grain. It is drawn by oxes or water-buffaloes. Towards the evening when the wind starts blowing gently, threshing is done by threshing sledge and the winnowed seeds are sifted before they are loaded into sacks.[1]

The people of the village are busy with agricultural work or related work all year round, though they are overworked in particularly busy months.

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[1] A sack is made of a rough material obtained from flax, and carries 16 kilos.

Table VI

The Annual Agricultural Work Cycle in Delihasanlar

Kind of Work	Kind of Crops	Months 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Ploughing	Grains										+	+	
	Grains										+	+	+
	Maize				+	+							
Sowing	Flax								+				
	Sunflower				+	+							
	Nut	+	+										+
	Grain					+	+						
	Maize								+	+			
Harvesting	Flax						+	+					
	Sunflower								+	+			
	Nut								+	+			
	Grain						+	+					
Threshing	Flax								+	+			
	Sunflower								+	+			
Manufacturing	Flax									+	+	+	+

January and February are the only months of the year with no agricultural work. This, however, does not mean that the villagers have nothing to do at all. They repair their agricultural tools for the next season, do repairs and alterations to their houses, and attend to the daily routines of men and animals.

From March onwards, the villagers start getting busy again. In July, August, September and October, they get up at dawn and work till dark seven days a week. They break only to eat. The only coffee shop in the village is closed; the owner himself is busy with his harvest. They even ignore the five daily prayers of Islam.[1]

The resources of the households are supplemented in various ways. Some, for example, have one or two cattle for breeding and milking. A few joint households have substantial numbers of sheep and gain money income through selling them and their products to traders who visit the village, or to others. Since the villagers never consume the meat of the animals they own except on festive occasions or when the animal is sick or injured, these animals constitute the "banks" of the villagers; a cashable investment, which with due care is highly profitable.

All household have poultry and the women gain some money from selling these to traders. This provides a source of income for the women of the village (Epstein 1967).

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[1] Work has a more central role in their lives (p.108). This was not, however, a central interest of the present thesis, and I have not examined the topic in a systematic way.

The pasturage which is the common property of village is not sufficient for pasturing all the village herds and flocks, and the village land is used for pasture (Stirling 1965), if it is not hired to one of the villagers. Some people also keep their flock in the fallow parts of their own land holdings.

Though the main economic activity in the village is mixed farming, there are those who are engaged in other kinds of complementary "occupations".[1]

Table VII

Secondary Occupations

Shepherds	2
Shopkeepers	2[2]
Coffee Shop	1
Preacher	1
Fire Guard	1
Artisans	3
Seasonal Migrant Workers	*[3]

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[1]The villagers do not see these occupations as distinct from farming (p.206). Except for the fireguard, they all do farming, and their secondary economic activities are not regarded as important means of income.

[2]One of the shopkeepers has also a mill which is run by his son

[3]It is difficult to assess any figure for the number of seasonal migrants, since there is no regularity in seasonal migration. 14 informants said that they went away to work for a period varying from a couple of weeks to a couple of months. However, every joint household in the village (p.199) has the potential manpower for migrant work.

In addition to his annual salary, paid from the village budget, the village preacher also receives gifts from his fellow villagers on certain social occasions. The fire guard works for the "Forestry Department" based in Akçaova, and is paid by the government. One wealthy household head owns a mechanical saw which is run by his two sons who do carpentry jobs in the village.

Skills such as carpentry and masonry are possessed by all the villagers, so that occupational specialisation along these lines is neither required nor necessary.

Most of the services in the village are paid for not in cash but in kind, by services or by food; money has very little importance in economic exchange. People mostly barter in the village shops; eggs or flax-thread or other products for goods imported from the towns. The shopkeepers take the village produce they collect to Kandira every week or so, and sell it to replenish their stocks.

The villagers insisted that they did not sell grain at all, though they did barter small quantities with travelling salesmen who brought various goods and fruits. Because they use money so little, I had difficulty in estimating income per household.

It was similarly hard to assess a definite outgo of an household, since various crops are used as a means of exchange. I presume that the greatest part of cash income is saved for the social occasions (p.116). The rest is spent on food which is purchased wholesale in towns, mainly potatoes, olive oil, salt, rice, cheese, margarine. They

also buy paraffin-oil in large quantities.

Very little is spent on clothing since the clothes are made with locally woven material, though shoes have to be bought for cash.

Most of the furniture is made with local materials. Only a small amount of cotton wool and calico is bought for this purpose.

Thus, the village can be considered a more or less economically self-sufficient social unit.

Politics:

As we have seen before, the village is the smallest political unit at the bottom of the administrative pyramid. Every 4 years, in July, the women and the men of the village over 21 elect their headman (muhtar) and the members of the Council of Elders (ihtiyar heyeti) (Köy Kanunlari Hakkinda, p.9). In the divan Tatarahmet there are 5 members of the council, two of whom are from Çakmaklar, two from Karamanli, and only one from Delihasanlar, besides the headman of the divan.

According to the Village Law, the village teacher or, if there is more than one teacher, the schoolmaster, and the village preacher are automatically members of the Council of Elders (Ibid.).

Though the headman is the representative of the government at the village level, he receives a salary from the village budget and is the only paid village level administrator. The members of the Council of Elders have no salary. Their main function is to control the headman's actions as well as to help him in taking decisions

concerning village affairs. They meet whenever necessary.

According to the village law, the duties of the headman are of two kinds (Köy Kanunlari Hakkinda):

1. His duties to the Government:

He represents the government and enforces the orders of his superiors. He channels government policy to the village.

He is responsible for order in the village, and is to inform the relevant officials in the county town of any disorder, of all births, deaths, and marriages, and of health problems in the village.

He is also bound to assist any government agent who is on duty in the village.

2. His duties to his village:

With the assistance of the Council of Elders he is empowered to collect a special levy (salma) according to the capacity of a household to pay, when there is a need for it.[1]

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[1] Levy is collected when the village budget cannot meet the salaries of the village officials and the cost of some of the public services, such as building a fountain or a mosque. The villagers are informed in January and anybody objecting to the amount he has to pay, may refuse in 15 days after the announcement was made. In this case the members of the Council of Elders reconsider the issue. The assessment can cause dispute when the level of wealth of a household is concerned. Though the villagers expect rich people to give more, some rich people say that since they all have equal right on a public property, the corresponding costs must be equally distributed among the village people. As one old man said: "I will not occupy a space for two in the mosque, why should I pay twice as much than anyone else." (p. 79)

As Village Law states, the headman is expected to have the qualities of a leader to persuade the villagers to mobilize all their manpower in a team work to improve their village. He deals with a number of village disputes and tries to resolve them impartially.

He is to represent his fellow villagers outside the village and to help them in their dealings with various administrative departments.

He headman faces both ways. He is the representative of the government to the village, and the representative of the village to the government. This duality of the office makes the work harder, particularly when two representations are in conflict. In such a case, as given in the example below, the distance[1] from the government makes one of his responsibilities more important than the other. The more isolated the village, the less important his duties to the government become. When the officials in Kandira came to the village to stop the school construction, the headman joined the other men and left the village. The women sat in front of the lorry to prevent it from taking the cement away. And the headman's wife discussed the matter strongly with the administrators and told them that they could not take it away. Since the officials were compelled to deal with women they could not use force. And eventually the school was built.

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[1] Distance has various meanings. Firstly, it refers to hierarchical distance. Secondly, it refers to spatial distance. Thirdly, it refers to social distance. Delihasanlar is "distant" on all three of these dimensions.

On the other hand, the closer, socially and administratively, the village is to the administrative centre, the more the headman becomes a subordinate officer to the government officials. For example, the people of Tavsancil (p. 75) told me that their headman did not press the matter strongly enough to get help from the government to build the village road.

In Delihasanlar, the headman admitted to me that he was not successful in his representation of the government. He could not give effective orders within the village.

There are a number of social factors which have weakened the headman's official authority in Delihasanlar.

Age is an important factor in determining one's status within the community (Sahlins, 1958). The headman, being in his early forties, is considered a young man according to the village standard and can hardly expect any respect in his administrative authority.

The village is a small community where almost all the members can trace back their family back-ground at least for a couple of generations. There is little opportunity for achieving power or prestige. Wealth alone is not the most important factor in determining social position (p. 203-4); status also depends on the ascribed characteristic of family background. The headman himself provides an example; he pointed out often that he comes from a poor family without much influence in the village, and experiences problems because of this.

The candidates for the headmanship office represent the parties (Szyliowicz 1966) that they themselves support. The candidate who represents the party which is favoured by the majority of the villagers, is likely to win the election unless he has a very bad reputation and he is almost an outcast. For example, the ex-headman of the Tatarahmet divan was a C.H.P. supporter[1] and his headmanship lasted for two sessions (8 years), because the majority of the villagers (they claim all the villagers) are C.H.P. sympathisers. In 1965, however, the present headman, who is an A.P. supporter, had just enough votes, with the help of his kin and of a faction led by one of the influential old men of the village, to get into office. Though the villagers say that they are not interested in party politics, and they indeed avoid any political discussion, opposition to the headman comes from the supporters of the other party. They are reluctant to recognize his official leadership. Even the members of the Council of Elders do not fully co-operate with him which renders it more difficult to carry out his official duties efficiently.

If the headman wants to impose his will and to exploit his official power despite the villagers, he can, or he is entitled, to ask his superiors' support. This, however, is almost impossible in Delihasanlar due to its relative isolation and the poor communications.

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[1] C.H.P. (Republican Party) and A.P. (Justice Party) are the two main parties which have the majority of peasant votes.

And the headman himself is well aware of this and is overcareful not to upset his relations with his fellow villagers for the sake of his duties to the government nor to enjoy temporary official power despite his neighbours. He often used to say: "I am not like the other government agents. Headmanship is a temporary work, it will not last forever. If I loose their friendship just to carry on all the administrative duties given to me, using force sometimes, I will have no friend in the village." And the village community is too small to avoid some opposition by securing the others' support.

This is why he acts as an ordinary villager more than a government representative. He rarely functions as a headman and only on behalf of the villagers. For example he goes to Izmit to see the director of education to ask for a teacher for their village, or he takes the marriage papers to the town to get them registered.

In spite of the efforts he makes to give his fellow villagers confidence in him, and to get on well equally with all, the villagers often complain about his inefficiency in village affairs and in solving the problems between disputing parties. They blame him for ignoring his functions as a headman and not forcing the people to complete some of the public works which are supposed to be done by the villagers in a team.

In short, apart from bureaucratic trivia, the headman of Delihasanlar has not much political significance.

Literacy:[1]

Though the villagers are very proud of having had a primary school for 38 years, the illiteracy rate is still quite high.

Table VIII

Literacy Rate %[2]

Age Groups	Sex		
	M	F	T
Under 15	100	94	97
Over 15	67	12	39
Total	76	33	53

All the generation under the age of 15, except two girls of 14, attend or have just finished school. Though the people are not particularly willing to send their children to school, the legal sanctions, and the efforts of the present teacher persuaded them to send them. However, people still argue hotly over the matter and do whatever they can to avoid it (p.202). The teacher complained about the frequent absenteeism in the school which made it very difficult for him to teach properly. I also found that many of the school

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[1]Anybody who claims the knowledge of reading is considered "literate".

[2]70 young children, who are under the age of 6 have been excluded from the table since they have not yet reached the school age.

attenders could not read and write. Thus, not all of the school-goers can be considered literate.

Some claimed to have taught themselves, or to have learned during military service. Others had attended special adult classes. The standard of this so-called literacy is, clearly, very difficult to ascertain.

The literacy rate among the female population is much lower and even now most of the young women are still illiterate. Only a few of the 12 women who claimed that they were literate, attended school and the rest taught themselves. The main reason for the very low literacy rate among the female population of the village is the reluctance of letting boys and girls, who are regarded as grown-up in their early teens, to mix at the school. Parents also disapprove of their daughters being taught by a male teacher which usually is the case in Delihasanlar, since life in the village is pretty hard for a female teacher. Moreover, since women are considered inferior to men and incapable of taking care of themselves, to have the women of the village educated is regarded as a waste of time. At the moment, all the female children have been compelled to enrol in the school and I guess the villagers will accept the situation because of their confidence in the present teacher.

Relations with the outside world:

Depite the relative isolation of the village, the villagers

are linked to the outside world through various ties which ensure the community is part of the wider society.

Table IX

Number of Households linked to the Outside World

Kind of Relations	Places of contact				
	Between Villages	Kandira	Izmit	Istanbul	Other Towns
Kinship	45	1	39	3	13
Marketing	-	24	13	-	-
Shopping	-	20	18	-	-
Medical Care	-	3	17	4	-

Every household in the village is linked to a number of neighbouring villages mostly through inter-village marriages.[1] The existence of kin ties with town dwellers is the consequence of the emigration of workers and the marriage of a few village girls to townsmen.

Most of the kinship ties with various places are overlapping so that some of the households have multiple kinship relations with a number of towns whilst the rest have hardly any link with towns. There are also a few households which have more than one kinsman in Izmit (one villager claimed 3 brothers in Izmit). In turn, an ex-villager in

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[1] There are a few who were adopted when they were children.

Izmit may be linked to more than one household within the village as most of the households are linked to each other through kinship.(p.154). (An ex-village woman in Izmit had a married sister and a married brother as well as a number of other remoter kin in the village).

Kin ties in other towns or villages do not necessarily bring villagers into direct contact with these places. As we will see later, visiting kin in other places is very rare and only the important celebrations bring large numbers of kin together. Increasing marketing and shopping relations with Izmit have, however, enabled the villagers to visit their kin there more often than their kin in other places.

Though the marketing relations with Kandira exceed those with Izmit, better marketing opportunities in, and the recent communication facilities with, Izmit have increased the number of ties between it and the village. Kin in Izmit also help villagers to make contact with wholesalers and ease the marketing transactions for them. There are some households which have marketing relations with both towns. A few people, however, exchange or barter some of their products with the travelling salesmen in the village. The village shops are used only for small scale shopping.

Unless an emergency arises, the people of the village rarely trouble to go to town for medical care. However, an illness at first unimportant may well grow worse and may result in death. The villagers gave examples of such deaths due to inadequate care.

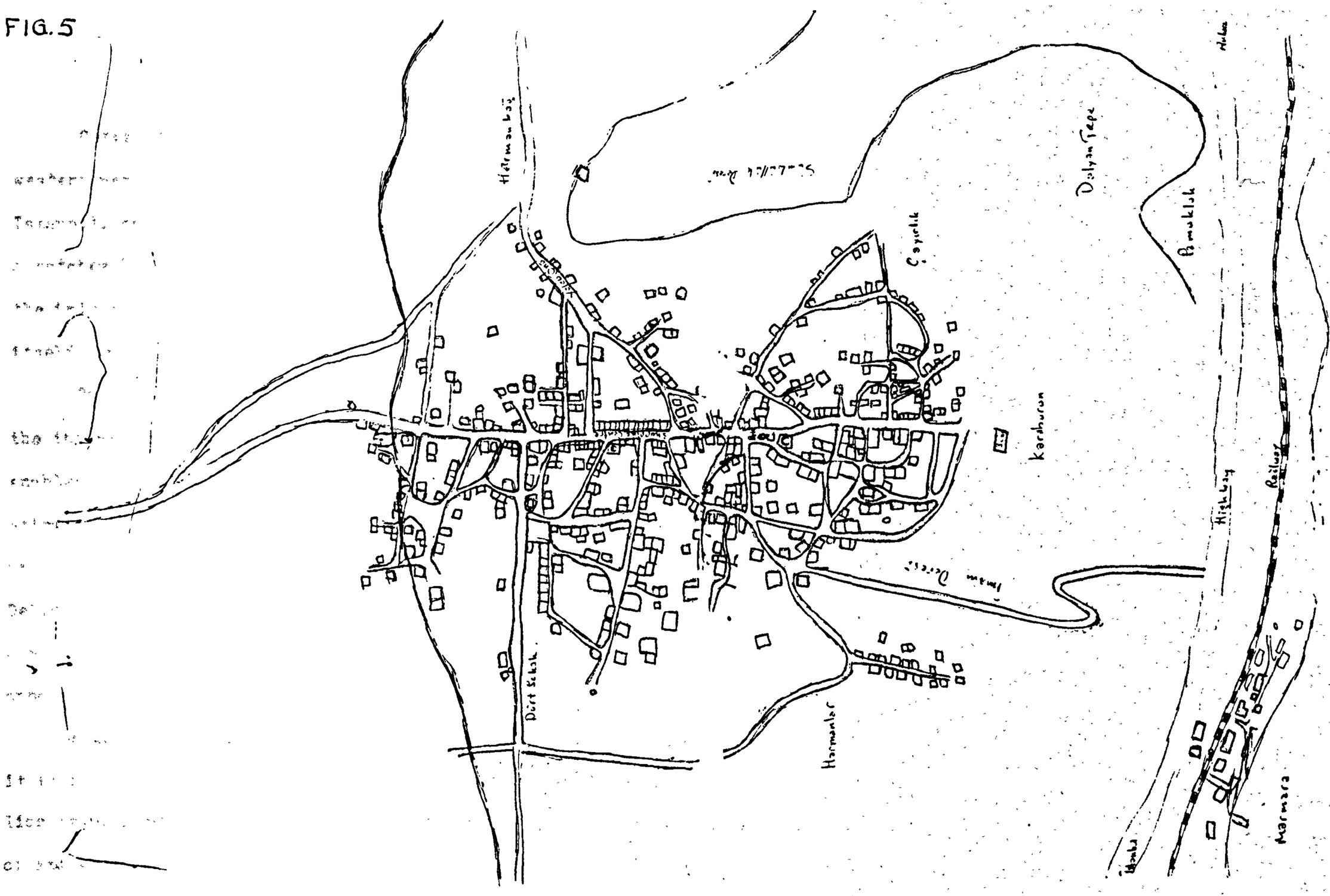
If the illness is serious, then they prefer to go to Izmit for they can get better treatment facilities in a better equipped hospital. The patient can also be visited by kin resident in Izmit; it is difficult for people in Delihasanlar to conform to hospital visiting hours.

Only 4 people, who were seriously ill and who could not be cured in the hospital in Izmit, had treatment in Istanbul. Two of them had heart trouble and one had a successful heart operation there. All 4 were members of wealthy households which could afford the high medical expenses, a luxury beyond the means of most of the villagers.

I also found out that magic was widely used as a means of medical treatment. Some of the villagers, mostly the old women, have a reputation of having "strong breath" which cures any illness. There are also travelling preachers in the area who earn their livelihood by magical healing.

It was very difficult to find out the frequency of visits. The informants themselves were unable to give reliable answers. As far as I gather, one goes to town only once or twice in a lifetime for medical care; and marketing, shopping and visiting kin are combined to lessen the travelling expenses. Thus, I assume that household trips for various purposes take place hardly more than 3 times a year,and are usually arranged by the household head or another adult male if the head is too old. The women and the children rarely go out of the village, and some have never seen a town in their lives.

FIG. 5



MAP of TAVŞANCIL

CHAPTER IV

COUNTY AND VILLAGE TAVŞANCIL

Gebze, the other administrative county of Kocaeli, lies in the western part of the province, on the main highway between Izmit and Istanbul, only 48 km. from Izmit and about 30 km. from Istanbul. It stretches 743 sq.km. with the density of 46 per sq.km. Easy access to the industrial establishments from surrounding villages prevents Gebze itself from becoming densely populated.

Though it has not yet lost its agrarian character completely, the increasing number of factories in or around the county not only enables some of its population to be engaged in industry but also attracts peasants from other parts who want to work in industry. For instance there are a number of villagers who have emigrated from Delihasanlar to Gebze to work in the factories around the town. Quite a number of new and modern buildings by the highway give an urban appearance to the town.

Although the town has easy communication with most of its villages, it is not an important commercial centre for the majority of them. It lies between the cities of Istanbul and Izmit, and easy accessibility of its villages to these centres hinders its own growth as an active market centre. (p.83-4) Apart from being an administrative county town it has neither economic nor social significance for its peasant population. According to the people of Tavşancil, for example, Gebze is

not an important town. Neither do the people of Gebze present a highly urbanized way of life. As they put it: "The people of Gebze are no better than us".

The village Tavşancil is 16 km. east of the county town Gebze, situated on a hill which is 1 km. from the Ankara-Istanbul highway which runs parallel to the sea from this point up to Izmit (for about 32 km.). There are only a few village houses built by the sea to be let to holiday makers. Though the owners of these houses live in them in winter, in summer for about four months they either retire to the basement of the house or move into a hut which is built for this purpose, near the house. The rent for a season is 2,000 T.L. (about £80).

The villagers gave three reasons why the village was not founded by the seaside in the first place. Firstly is the unavailability of drinking water near the sea; secondly is the bad quality of the soil; and thirdly fear of pirates in the past. However, expansion is occurring towards the outskirts of the village near the highway.

The village stretches from the top of the hill down to the highway over a wide and uneven area. The houses on the outskirts of the village are scattered and are usually surrounded by large gardens. The residents in the central part of the village where a number of shops[1] and coffee

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[1] There are 2 barber shops, 4 cafes, 1 millinery shop, 2 groceries, 1 baker's shop, 2 butchers, 1 tobacconist where alcohol is sold too, and 1 Aygaz agent where gas tubes are sold for cookers. There used to be 2 bakers' shops but one of them was closed down after the owner of the other offered 200 T.L. (£8) monthly to prevent the competition.

houses form the most crowded and busiest quarter, are close to each other and without gardens. Formerly, this central part was most highly esteemed.[1]

Most houses have wells where they can get water for housework. Those who have no wells in their own houses use either a common well in the neighbourhood or fetch water from a neighbour's well. However this water is undrinkable. A special well and four fountains provide drinking water for the village. One of the fountains is in the shopping centre and those people who live near it send either their male members or old women or children to fetch water.[2]

There is no village square, which is unusual. One of the two mosques is in the shopping centre and the other is in the southern part of the village. The school stands on its own in the south east of Tavşancil at the edge of the housing area. Many villagers' holdings are intermingled with those of neighbouring villages, and most of them involve a considerable journey from the village.

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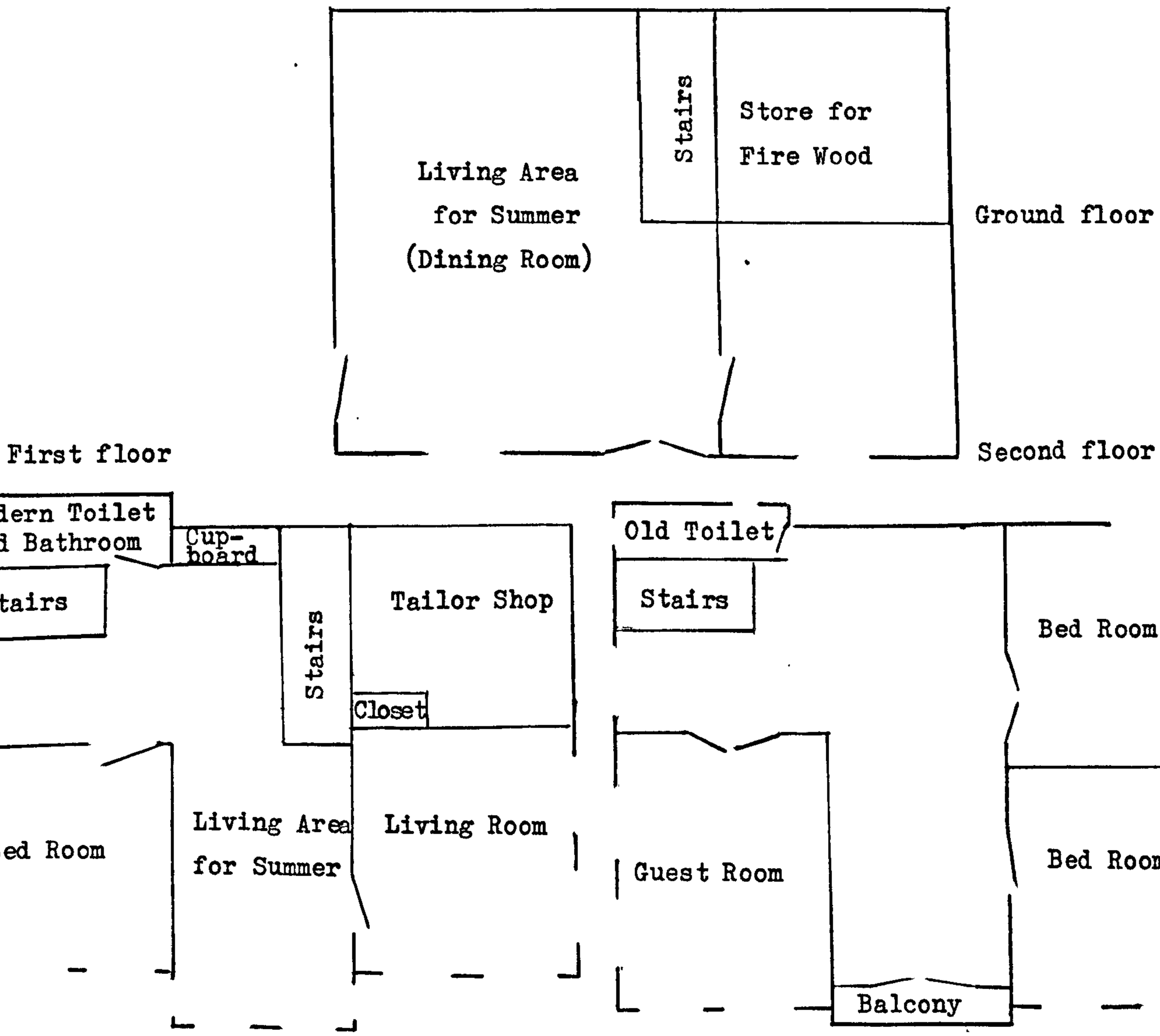
[1]The newly rich people of the village tend to build modern houses near the highway mostly because of its convenience. The modern outlook of the new residential area and the desire to have a house near the highway with a view of the sea lessens the social importance of the old quarter.

[2]The women of Tavşancil are not supposed to be seen in the shopping centre in the village. They avoid it as much as they can. The shopping in the village is either done by men or by children or by old women.

The building style shows great variety. The traditional timber and stone houses usually have two storeys. The ground floor serves two purposes: those who have donkeys keep their animals in one corner; and the rest serves as a primitive sort of kitchen. Wood for winter and other goods are stored on this floor. There is usually no window, and either the main door is kept open or the lights are put on, in order to see around. (Even in the old houses some alterations have been made to be able to obtain electricity).

Fig. 6.



Some of the wealthier old houses have more than two storeys and lots of rooms. Old or new, in all houses, one room is kept as a guest room, except for the oldest and poorest which have only two rooms on the first floor. Most of the people who still reside in old houses have restored and modernised them. (For example the retired teacher, one of the villagers, and the owner of the house shown above, made a number of alterations such as building a bathroom and a modern toilet. He also obtained running water in the house through a pumping system from the well in his garden.)

Modern concrete buildings built by imported labour are concentrated near the southern slopes of the hill. If the owner has any knowledge of masonry he may supervise the building process. Some of these new houses have only one storey in what is called "villa style". The ground floor of a two storey new house is used as a living area and includes a proper kitchen. For donkeys, a small stable is built either near the house or in one corner of the garden.

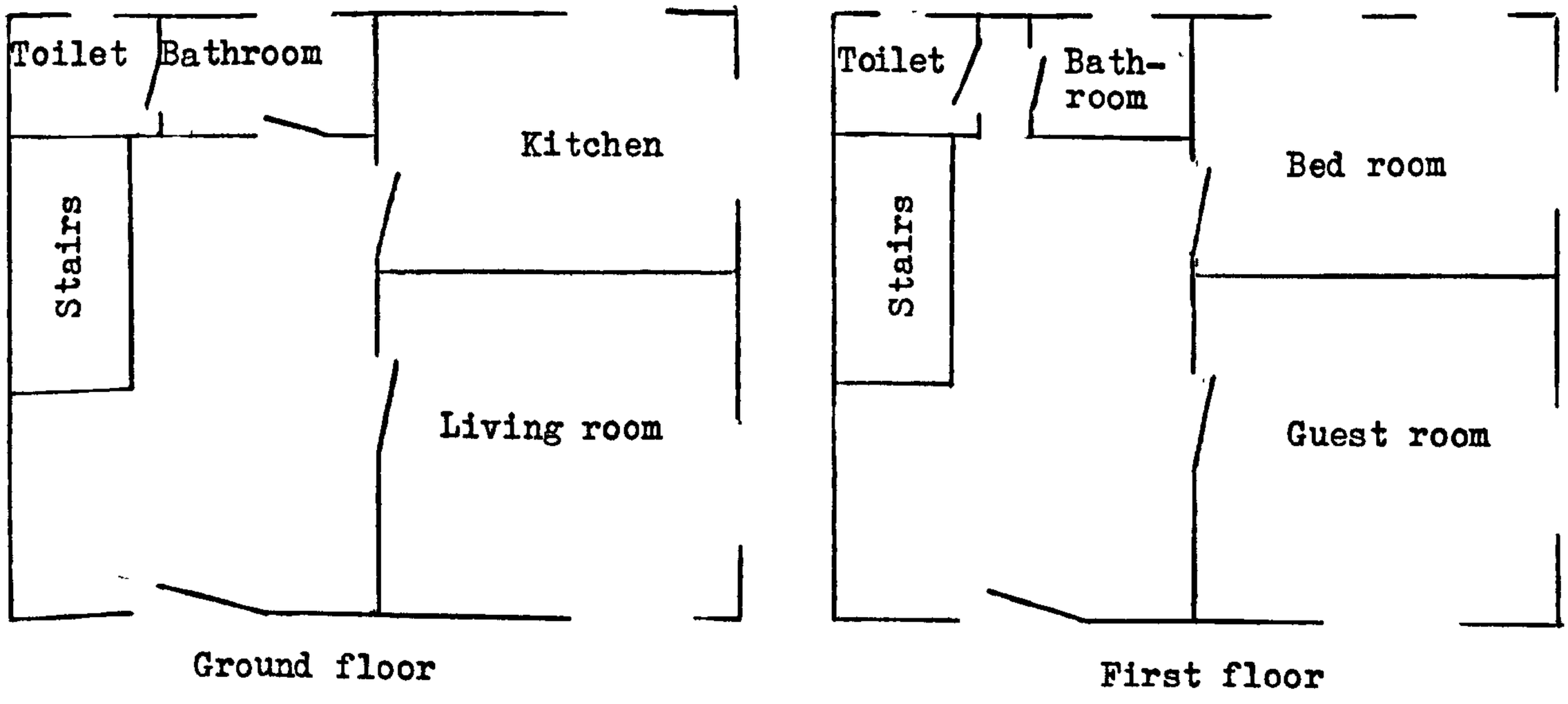


Fig. 7.

The People of the Village:

Though one of the old village men said that in the last 100 years three-quarters of the population of Tavşancil have migrated from other parts of the country, particularly from the East, he did not confirm who the indigenous people were, and when and from where they came. Almost everybody agrees that in the last 30 years, immigration to Tavşancil has accelerated. Even in the sample there are quite a number of families who have been immigrated from the Black Sea coast or even from as far as Albania. The composition of the population in Tavşancil is quite heterogeneous. I was told that one needed to be a second generation descendent of an immigrant family to be accepted as a native of Tavşancil. Although some people said that they had no prejudice against immigrants and they did not treat them differently, an immigrant woman in the sample told me that the people of Tavşancil were very unfriendly and did not like immigrants at all. Another young woman said that if they did not have a house there she would leave Tavşancil without any hesitation.

The women of the village wear loose calico trousers (şalvar) and black, cotton coats, and white scarves, which are made of fine material, on their heads. However when they go out of the village, they all put on modern clothes and coats and fashionable scarves. The young girls wear shirts and skirts as soon as they finish housework. Some put a little scarf on and some others do not bother to cover their hair at all. In fact there are some who dare to wear trousers (slacks) and mini skirts in the village.

Even those who cover their heads in the village do not wear scarves when they go out of the village. (They told me that if they covered their hair, they would be easily recognized as villagers and this is an embarrassment for the young girls of Tavşancil. They want to behave like townspeople and they want to look like them.) The men's clothes on the other hand differ from townsmen's clothes neither for work nor leisure.

According to the official records the population of the village as a whole was 1,298 in 1965 and the number of households was 350.

Table X

Distribution of Population in the sample

according to the age and sex groups

Under age 15			15-30			30-45			45-60			60+			Total		
M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
29	31	60	24	34	58	33	26	59	17	28	45	17	29	46	120	148	268

There is an even distribution between the respective age groups, though the group under the age of 15 is slightly larger. This even distribution is mainly the result of birth control in the village. (p.142) However, the inequality between the sexes in all age groups and particularly in the age group of 60+ is striking. (p.93) Since the difference between the sexes is not great in the under 15s, this cannot be explained by the differences in the birth rate by sex. As there are more widows

than widowers in the sample (p.115), a higher male death rate is one of the reasons for the difference. The World War I and the War of Independence seems to be the most important reason of this high male death rate in this particular age group. (There are still a number of widows in Tavşancil, who either receive or claim to obtain pensions (şehit maaşi) from the government in the name of their husbands who died in the war. Another factor could be the higher rate of emigration among the educated young men, to become white collar workers, particularly in the age group of 15-30.[1]

Between my two visits in 1966 and 1967 the number of the households in the sample was reduced from 73 to 71 since one of the old women living on her own had died and another joined her daughter's household as she was too old and needed to be looked after. The population of the sample also decreased from 278 to 268. All the demographic changes are the

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[1] (In my sample there are 3 young people in higher education, 1 midwife, 1 engineer, 1 army officer and 3 white collar workers. From the information I obtained from the roll of honour (şeref kösesi) in the primary school, there are 102 villagers born between 1910 and 1952, who have either been in higher education or are still in higher schools. 9 are teachers, 7 are policemen, 12 are professionals such as doctors, engineers or professors, 17 are officials, 6 are army officers, 15 are technicians, 3 are midwives and 5 are merchants. However it was difficult for me to check how many of the white collar workers married in the village and emigrated with their wives and how many of them emigrated before their marriage.) Furthermore there are quite a number of young girls in Tavşancil who have emigrated through marriage.(p.131) These last two factors will, of course, have altered the figures in the table, although in which direction I cannot say.

results of deaths, and marriages of the village girls to outsiders. The only girl in the sample who left the village for a reason other than marriage was appointed to another part of the country when she became a midwife.

There are also those in the sample, whom I call part-time emigrants, who are regularly away for part of each year. For example two old retired couples have children living in Ankara, and spend the winter there, and come back to the village in summer to care for their vineyards and for a holiday. Also, the mother of the young midwife mentioned above joins her in the winter.

Village Economics:

Village economics have changed considerably over the last hundred years. According to the village elders, they used to practise mixed farming, growing grains and consuming most of their produce up to about 1952. They started viticulture 120 years ago with local varieties which lasted 60 years. And then they had a disaster which destroyed all their vineyards. After this they started to grow tobacco until 1924. However after the nationalization of tobacco they could not find foreign markets to export their produce and the government controlled the amount of tobacco to be planted. They had to give it up.

Meanwhile in 1904 the government encouraged them to start viticulture again and introduced new American varieties. From then on the villagers gradually switched over to viticulture, which brought more cash into the

village. However the villagers agree that growing grapes has been accelerated since 1952, when the new highway enabled them to transport their produce to Istanbul, their chief market, cheaply and swiftly. Formerly, they had exported their produce by sea, which was slow and especially unsatisfactory for marketing grapes in good condition.

In addition to viticulture some of the villagers, especially those who have no economic link with industry, grow fruit and olives. According to the headman 70% of the arable village land is occupied with viticulture; 20% with cherries and other fruit and 10% with olives.

Land holding varies from nil to 40 dönüm (p. 40) per household. However, land is not the only source of wealth for village households. Economic diversification has produced varied sources of income. In fact only 24 of the 71 households in the sample are completely dependent on viticulture. 3 of these 24 household heads, however, are retired civil servants and have pensions, and they do not grow grapes for markets. On the other hand, 16 of the 71 households are entirely dependent on external economic resources. Some of them are young couples who have just separated from a joint household and are not economically independent. The heads of these households usually carry on the sub-economic activities of their parents' households. (p.111-2) The rest are industrial workers who have settled down in Tavşancil because of its convenient location and with the expectation of finding village life cheaper.[1] They do not have land in the village.

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[1]The emigrants thought that because Tavşancil was a village life would be cheaper there than in a town. However since all the consumption goods are exported from urban areas they are no cheaper in the village if not more expensive.

The rest, 31 households, generally joint households, are engaged in mixed economy. The household heads care for their vineyards whilst the younger male members work in industry. In nuclear households, particularly the poorer ones where external income is desperately needed, the help of the female members in viticulture is required whilst the household heads work in industry. They usually help their women folk during their summer vacation.

Apart from viticulture, the main occupations in the sample are as follows:

Table XI

Industrial Workers	25	
Drivers	7	
White Collar Workers	2	
Shopkeepers	2	
Tailor	1	
Village Cooperative Director	1	
Retired Civil Servants	3	
Traders	6	
Total	47	(51% of the male population in the sample over the age of 15)

In Tavşancil viticulture is becoming more and more a part-time economic activity (only 34% of the households in the sample) and loses its central importance in economic life. (p.206) First of all the

villagers say that - and it has been confirmed by an agricultural expert too - vineyards are becoming old and soil is not productive any more. Thus viticulture is not as profitable as it used to be. Of course, the increasing cost of hired labour in agriculture increases the production costs. On the other hand, wage earning in industry is becoming more possible and more attractive for the young men of the village. It seems more secure with no economic risk (p.133). Furthermore recent attitudes of young people in the village towards a kind of economic activity related to soil, and their desire to become urbanized in every phase of life makes viticulture even less desirable. Though I did not have contact with the village youth (p.223), the attitudes of the village girls towards marrying peasants, and the worries of the people about the future of their sons strengthened my impressions in this matter. One village woman, whose son was at the university, said: "Since the young generation of today do not want to work in viticulture, it is better to equip them with skills and education to enable them to get more secure and better jobs in towns." However, even to work in industry as unskilled workers is considered as the first step towards urbanization and the villagers believe that this will help them to get rid of being called 'villagers' (p.207).

Of course easy access to towns and industrial centres in the area, and less work required in viticulture, mainly as a result of the utilization of outside manpower, enable the village men to have permanent jobs in industry without the risk of moving out of the village.

Techniques employed in viticulture and horticulture have been improved over the years. The Government policy[1] and relatively high level of literacy (p.80)have been the most important factors in this development. People prune their vines, fertilize regularly, and use chemicals to control diseases and pests.

Partly because of modern techniques and partly because of the employment of outside labour, the villagers can find spare time for secondary economic activities or for leisure. For example the coffee shops in the village are open all day. Particularly from 2 p.m. till the late hours in the evenings they are full of people.

Table XII

The Annual Agricultural Work Cycle in Tavşancil

November	Fertilizing
February	Pruning and budding
March	Digging
May	Fruit Picking (mainly cherries)
June	Pest control (sulphur is used)
July	Light pruning
August	Grape harvest

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[1]The agriculturists in Izmit often visit the village to give advice or discuss new methods with the villagers though very little notice is taken of their advice. (Williams,1956; p. 174)

Of these activities, only the grape harvest takes a full month. Even then they work only a five day week. Most of the other activities last much less than a month, so that their agricultural year involves less than six months work.

17 of 71 households in the sample own poultry mainly for household usage. Only 1 household, with 35 poultry, rear them for market.

Table XIII

Number of poultry	No. of households	Frequency
1-5	7	18
5-10	8	56
10+	2	45

In my sample there is no household which is engaged in animal husbandry though 11 households own sheep for the sacrifice festival. Though the villagers say that Tavşancil has no pasture for sheep I was told that formerly quite a number of households were engaged in animal husbandry. There seems to be three reasons for the decline of animal husbandry in the village. First of all the growing industrialization in the area might have offered better opportunities for the villagers than animal husbandry as is the case with viticulture. Secondly, easy availability of consumption goods such as cheese, yogurt, and wool might have lessened the necessity of having sheep. (Dahlstrom 1967) Thirdly, the old pasture around the village might either have been sold for industrial enterprise or become settlement points as a result of

increasing immigration. However, the validity of the third point deserves attention and it would need further and more detailed research to obtain evidence on the matter.

53 households in the sample own livestock, mostly donkeys and few horses for commuting and for transport. A few households have also one or two cows. They sell the produce in the village. I was told that it was no cheaper than in towns.

Considerable number of interviewees were openly reluctant to discuss their income level with an outsider (p.233). Even some of the information I obtained from the other interviewees is far from being accurate since the villagers found it difficult to estimate their income from viticulture. However inaccurate it can be, this enabled me to have a rough idea about the income groups in the sample. The annual income of a household in the sample varies from 1000 T.L. to 20,000 T.L., the latter being the smallest group (10%).

Export of the produce, grapes and other fruit, is done through intermediaries. (Mintz, 1956). These are villagers who have more contact with the outside world and are usually heads of joint households in which their labour is not required. In the beginning of the season they make a contract with wholesale dealers in Istanbul to transport a certain amount of grapes per day. Then they negotiate for lorries to come to the village every day to load the wooden grape containers. The villagers come to an agreement with one of these intermediaries in the village at the beginning of the season. I do not have much evidence

about the process of choosing an intermediary. However, as far as the rumour goes, choice is done on the grounds of friendship and personal relations. I was told that these intermediaries were not necessarily the same persons every year. Their identity and number were different from one year to another. It was not necessary for a man to choose the same intermediary every year either. The only rule was that one could not change his intermediary in the middle of the season, even if he is not content with him. And it seems that the most important quality required in an intermediary is his reputation for honesty. An intermediary is paid 25 kuruş (about 2 pence) per consignment by his clients.

A family I know said that as they did not come face to face with the wholesale dealer in town during the process of transaction, they could well have been cheated since he was the one who determined how much each container weighed. Although the villagers know how much each container should have they do not have the means of checking or disputing the matter. They have to be content with the estimation the dealer makes. It is, however, the only solution for them since they cannot commute to Istanbul every day to market their produce themselves. That way they save time and extra travelling expenses.

The village cooperative also operates as an intermediary for the villagers, especially for those who have shares or accounts there. However, since the commission for the transaction is almost the same it is not in competition with private intermediaries in the village. Furthermore personal relationships seem to have great importance in these

economic arrangements.

Almost everything consumed in the village from food to refrigerators has to be bought, either in the village or in towns (p.84). The only exceptions are home products, such as grapes, vinegar, and olive oil.[1] Though the people of the village used cash in economic exchange (p.234), they still found it difficult to express their annual expenses in terms of money, even if they were not unwilling to discuss it.

Village Politics: (p. 47)

The headman of Tavşancil has an office in the shopping centre which is open every evening between 7 p.m. and 10 p.m. During the day he is away not only to solve numerous administrative problems of the villagers and to appear in court for a number of village land disputes, but also to deal with his own work in towns.[2] Though he is supposed to perform free all administrative duties on behalf of the villagers, I was told that he not only expected to be rewarded for his services but also bargained openly how much he should be paid for a certain case. The villagers say that he will not do anything for anybody unless he is paid in advance.

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[1]The number of the households which are engaged in olive growing is less than those who are engaged in viticulture. Those who have no olive trees buy olive oil in the village from those who have olive trees.

[2]The headman is a broker komisyoncu and he performs his work in towns which enables him to have a wide social network there.

In the evenings his office seems always very busy. His eldest son is the village secretary and paid from the village budget. The third village official who is paid from the village budget is the watchman (korucu), whose duty is to maintain order in the village. He also performs small services for the villagers which they reward with little presents. However, according to the information I obtained, he works most of the time for the headman as if he is his private employee.

In spite of the amount of work the headman does for the villagers, he is blamed for being lazy and lacking enthusiasm for public service.

One controversial issue was a plan to build a road between the village and the highway (p.59). The headman had not pressed the matter strongly enough to raise sufficient enthusiasm among the villagers to finance the building of this road. The villagers claimed that to focus his efforts on a public work would not pay him back. However after an investigation I realized that the matter was not as simple as the villagers thought it was. It was very difficult to persuade all the villagers to agree on the matter. Some people were unwilling to pay anything for the construction of the road saying that it should be financed by those who owned transport and made full use of the road. They alone would be affected by the advantages of a constructed road. Some others' opinion was that the expense of construction should be met only by the wealthy households of the village. Of course some others, particularly the wealthy households and the transport owners wanted all the inhabitants of the village to share the construction expenses

since everybody would have equal rights to use the road. (I do not know how the issue was solved in the end because the construction took place in my absence.)

His success in solving individual cases does not make him a successful headman in the eyes of the villagers. They regard most of these as part of his official duties and the rest as part of his economic activities as he is paid for doing them. On the whole he is considered a failure as a headman. His unpopularity is caused firstly by his reputation for being extremely money-centred and mean. Secondly, he is critized of being inefficient in maintaining order in the village. He is the one whom the villagers blame for the increasing crime rate.[1] And, thirdly, his political background meets with a considerable amount of disapproval. The majority of the people in Tavşancil are A.P. supporters (p. 51). The headman in turn is a C.H.P. supporter. And party politics are more openly argued in this village than in Delihasanlar, though I did not hear any comment made on a serious dispute which was caused by party politics. The people of Delihasanlar avoid any discussion which may threaten the unity of the community. They express their interest in politics only at the time of voting. Relative isolation of the village, its size and the heavy work load could be the most

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[1] In 1967 summer three crimes were committed in two months. The villagers say that increasing use of alchohol and drugs (hashish) is responsible for these crimes. And they blame the headman for not limiting alcohol taking and forbidding drug-taking completely. To the villagers it seems he knows who sells drugs in the village and still he does not take any legal action to stop him from trading in drugs.

important factors in this indifference towards politics. On the other hand in Tavşancil men spend most of their afternoons and all their evenings in the coffee-shops. Furthermore, close contact with wider society gets them interested in all nationwide events as well as politics. Presumably the supporters of the same party go to the same coffee-shop and try to avoid the opposition party supporters to prevent a political division in the village. This is only my assumption, since I could not check this (p.223). However, most of the disapproved things the headman does are explained by his political background.

There are more important structural factors which prevent the headman acting as a strong village leader. The village is the part of the national administrative system, headman being the lowest civil servant of the Government (p.47). He has to carry out a number of routine official works, yet no authority is attributed to the office. (Stirling 1965). Furthermore the office is not permanent to encourage the headman to impose his will despite some opposition which could upset his social relations with his village folk (p.52). Thus since the office does not promise any future promotion to its beholder and does not bring him any prestige, the headman of Tavşancil, as most of the others (p.52 , and Stirling 1965) did not have enough initiative to try hard to maintain power and to obtain the cooperation of the people to proceed with public works which may put his social relations (Frankenberg 1957) into danger in the village.

Headmanship is not an economically rewarding post particularly

for the headman of Tavşancil who is a head of a large and wealthy household (in fact one of the wealthiest in the village). The only economic advantage he has is the commission he receives for his services.

Direct contact with the authorities (Stirling 1965) seems to be the most rewarding aspect of the office for the headman of Tavşancil. He makes use of his links with the officials to promote his business in towns. Through his office he has also proved his capability in solving administrative problems of the villagers and he does not need to be in the office to go on performing these services for them. And in fact he is no longer the headman of the village. (Election took place in my absence, in 1969).

As Rao says (Rao 1966, p. 106) information itself is, in many ways, power. In Tavşancil, as a result of high degree of literacy and direct contact with the outside world one person alone cannot claim power over the other members of the community through giving information, though of course there are people who are influential in one way or the other. Thus the headman may be needed to handle the villagers' official problems, although this is not enough to enable him to become the leader of the village. Furthermore, quite a number of people do not even need his services since they have links in towns to solve their own problems themselves. Or a few villagers, such as the retired school master, may render these services free for the people they know. Even if the headman has officially to be involved, the people can afford

to pay for his services. This makes the exchange between the headman and the villagers equal and does not enable the headman to claim any power (Blau 1964).

Even public works, which could be the most impressive services the headman of Tavşancil could provide to prove his leadership, are not as important as they could be, for example in Delihasanlar, since the people's interests lie outside the village. Furthermore some public works, such as the cinema and transportation, are provided by private enterprise.

Thus the socio-economic structure and the degree of integration of the village in the wider society makes it harder for any headman to become a strong leader inducing the other members of the community to need his services.

The changing socio-economic structure of the country has also affected traditional leadership in most parts of Turkey. As Stirling's informant (Stirling 1965, p.228) and a villager in Delihasanlar expressed "there is no leader (ağa) nowadays in the real sense of the word". Even the potential leaders do not manipulate their resources to achieve leadership in their communities. Increasing importance of money in economic exchange and growing interest in the wider society, and changing attitudes and values lessen the importance of becoming the leader of a small community. Instead of mobilizing his resources to gain prestige, one prefers to save and invest in business which will insure his future and enable him to have a better life.

Literacy:

The village has one primary school with three teachers. One of them teaches the beginners and the other two divide the 4 classes between them.

Though there is no other school other than the primary school in the village, some families can afford to send their children to middle school (orta okul), or higher schools (lise) or technical colleges such as teachers' colleges or technical schools (sanat enstitüsü), which are equivalent to (lise), or to midwife schools which are equivalent to middle schools. There are also a few who are at university.

Table XIV

Literacy Rate in the Sample

%

Age	Sex	Literate[1]			
		Prim.[2]	Middle	High	T
Under 15	M	95	5	-	100
	F	100	-	-	100
	T	97	3	-	100
Over 15	M	74	11	4	89
	F	63	2	-	65
	T	68	6	2	76
Total	M	77	10	4	91
	F	68	1	-	70 [3]
	T	72	5	2	79 [4]

[1] Anybody who can write and read is considered literate

[2] Those who learned how to read and write either by themselves or in evening classes were included in this group.

[3] The number of the high school goers was too small to appear in the table though it affected the overall literacy rate.

[4] 22 young children under the age of 6 have been excluded from the table since they have not yet reached the school age.

As can easily be seen from the table, the literacy rate in Tavşancil is high (almost 80% of the people in the sample). Those who do not know how to read and write are either the old villagers or the immigrants. Some of the people learnt to read by themselves. There are also those who learnt how to read and write from their children after they started going to school. There are quite a few people who attended middle schools though they did not finish the course. Some of the young pupils in middle schools are above the age for this level of education. The graduates of primary school enter middle schools at the age of 11 or 12 in Turkey and they graduate from middle schools at the age of 14 or 15. It is permissible to fail once each school year. If a pupil fails twice in the same class he is dismissed not only from the school but also from education generally. Those who manage to pass the second time, continue their schooling. This means schooling may take as much as six years. And there were some middle school pupils in Tavsancil at the age of 18.

Some people blame this on incompetent teaching in the school in the village for the continuous failure of their children in middle schools, and say that the level of education in Tavşancil is low. On the other hand teachers blame parents for being too soft on their children. They say that parents beg them to give pass marks to their children because they have no intention of sending the children on to higher education. However, as soon as the finals are over most of the parents apply to middle schools anyway where the majority of the pupils

from Tavşancil are unsuccessful. Those who have attended middle schools mention it proudly even if they have not finished it.

The other reason the people give for the failure of the pupils from the village in middle schools is the time wasted in commuting. They say: "We must have a middle school in the village to prevent time wastage and to enable the young generation to have higher education than primary education".

The desire of parents for higher education of their children is obvious. However this applies only to male children. The villagers believe that it is unnecessary to send their daughters to higher education as the women are not supposed to have a profession of their own. This opinion is changing slowly. There are a number of people, though not in my sample, whose daughters are in either middle schools or in training colleges.

Furthermore they believe that those girls who have attended higher schools have loose morals since they are away from the control of their parents. For instance one of the female pupils in the school decided to go to a Teacher's Training College and the teacher in the school filled in her application forms. The next day she said she had changed her mind. When the teacher wanted to find out what made her change her mind, she said that her father would not allow her to become a teacher, because he believed that teachers had no morals. A lower literacy rate among the female population in the sample proves that even primary education was accepted later for girls than boys.

The figures in the table are more reliable here than in Delihasanlar (p.54), since the people of Tavşancil do not cease to read after they finish schooling. First of all most of the villagers make use of their knowledge in every day life. Secondly, the majority of the people buy newspapers regularly. Even those who do not buy newspapers, read them in coffee shops. Among the young girls of the village, magazines or short stories of film stars are very popular. However, overmuch reading is not approved and is thought of as a sign of an unhealthy mind. For example, there was a young woman in my sample and my informant said that she was not normal. When I asked why she thought so she said: "she does not mix with others and she reads all the time. All she does is read novels. This is not a very good sign for a woman".

Relations with the Outside World:

The word 'outside world' is misleading for Tavşancil since the village is not outside the wider society. It depends on the wider society for economic survival (p.191).

The main market for the produce of the village has always been Istanbul. Marketing brings only a few village intermediaries into close contact with the wider society. It is those in employment outside the village who provide the closest and most numerous links with the wider society.

The villages shop daily within the village for such things as

bread and meat. On Saturdays, they go to Hereke for their weekly shopping; Hereke is a district (a small town) only 5 minutes drive from Tavşancil. It used to be a village until 1843 when the first industrial establishment of the Empire was founded there. The majority of its population consists of officials and workers. Every Saturday the villagers from the neighbouring villages go to Hereke to market their produce. Most of the mini-buses owned by the villagers in Tavşancil run between the village and Hereke on the market days.

For more important things such as clothing and furniture the people of Tavşancil go either to Izmit or preferably to Istanbul. It is a matter of prestige for an individual to be able to do shopping in Istanbul. Istanbul goods are better, and their owners show superior taste and social standing.

Shopping within the village is usually done by men (p. 60). However, on market days the majority of the people who go to Hereke are women. The men work in the morning, but in any case women are believed to be far better than men at bargaining. Women usually go to shopping in groups. These shopping expeditions also give chance to the girls of Tavşancil to meet boys of Hereke and to flirt with them. When something important is to be bought then spouses usually do their shopping together. For example a couple I knew went to Istanbul for a day to buy clothes and shoes for their 7 year old daughter.

Tavşancil has a permanent midwife who is employed by the Govern-

ment. She is not paid by the villagers when she performs her official duty though some villagers give her presents. When she is called for the injection, however, she receives small sums of money since these services are not regarded as part of her regular job. There are also a few old women who are believed to possess the skills of a midwife. Their services are, however, rarely asked for. Some people do not find even the skill and the knowledge of the midwife sufficient, and prefer to give birth in hospital in the towns.

The towns to which people go for medical services vary according to the socio-economic status of the person and the seriousness of his illness. Izmit and Istanbul were more frequently mentioned. For example, a man in my sample had two months' treatment in a mental hospital in Istanbul and he is still regularly taken there by his wife every month for a medical check.

Though the villagers agree about the usefulness of medical treatment and in fact make full use of it, magic is also utilized as a complementary means of curing. A young man who became mentally ill was given all medical treatment. However his parents employed a number of magicians to complement and strengthen the medical treatment. And according to some people it was only after magic was performed that the young man was cured completely.

Some of the men, particularly young men, go to the football in Istanbul whenever there is an important match. Those who work in Istanbul buy the tickets in advance. Since there is a cinema in the

village people do not bother to go to towns for this purpose. Only those very few who prefer western films to Turkish ones go either to Izmit or Istanbul to see a film. There was only one young man in the village who used to go to the theatre in Istanbul quite regularly (every fortnight).[1]

The people of Tavşancil are also linked to wider society through kinship. Some kin who had received higher education were employed in offices and became"spiralists" and moved away. Yet kinship links with them survive and are renewed by visits and invitations. Quite a number of people have also daughters married in urban areas (p.131). Through their daughters and affines they come into contact with other townspeople too. Working places also help to maintain new friendships with other people.

Easy communication and the location of the village enable the villagers to visit their kin or friends in other places or to be visited by them. Every Sunday there were a number of villagers going out of the village to pay a visit to a friend or kinsman and there were also a number of people coming to the village especially in summer. As my informant put it: "They know when to come. They come to eat grapes. But when there is work nobody bothers to visit us."

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[1] He was a shop assistant in Hereke and had only had a primary school education. However, he also had a small library where he had a number of books by well-known authors like Balzac and Dostoievsky.

Apart from daily visits paid to kin who live within easy reach, the villagers also make long visits to their close kin who live far away from the village. For instance a village woman in my sample spent a month with her married daughter in Ankara. On the other hand, the village is very attractive for holidays for kin who live in big cities and look forward to getting away from the stuffy atmosphere of the cities in summer. For example, the daughter of the retired teacher spent a month or two in summer with her parents in the village and her husband came from Ankara almost every weekend.

However, not everyone maintains close links with kin who reside elsewhere. It depends less on physical distance than on genealogical distance and the socio-economic status of kin. The closest links are with children. For siblings and remoter kin their achievements determine the intensity of relations. Thus the people of Tavşancil make sure that the relations with wider society will have social rewards for them such as increasing their prestige in the village even if there is no economic reward.

In short, Tavşancil, owing to its economic structure and easy means of communication, has become a part of wider society. Integration within the wider society has not only been assured by economic dependence of the village on the outside world, however, but also by the increasing physical as well as social mobility of the villagers and their desire to become urbanized. The village has the appearance of a suburban area of any town or of a holiday place (p.31).

CHAPTER V

HOUSEHOLD

Definition of Household:

In most, perhaps all, human socities, words for "dwelling", "home", "family", "kin", and "sexual partner" vary widely in meaning from context to context, and seldom correspond precisely to words in other languages. Even those concerned to study these matters with rigour, anthropologists and sociologists, vary in their usage and definitions, and attempts to establish an international and universal set of "scientific" terms can hardly be said to have succeeded.

The Turkish language presents a good example. In Turkey "aile" is not only the nearest equivalent word to "family" in English, but also in towns as well as in villages means "the wife", since the normal word for "wife" (kari) is improper. For example, whenever the headman of Delihasanlar talked about his wife to me, he used "aile", not "kari". On the other hand, "children" (coluk cocuk) or "those in the house" (evdekiler) are commonly used to refer to the family.

Because of this looseness in the usage of "family", I will use "household" for the domestic group (Stirling 1965)[1] and normally the usage of "family" will be restricted to an occasional reference to the

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[1] Though Stirling chooses an inclusive definition for household which covers members of the household who are not kin, in neither of my villages did I find such persons and I propose to omit them from my definition.

married couple and their children living in a large household, and to distinguish this unit from the rest of the residents.

The household is, then, a socio-economic group whose members are linked to each other either by genetic ties, by marriage or by affinal bonds, share a common residence and interact with each other on the grounds of mutual obligations and rights.

The Average Size of Household:

Delihasanlar:

There are 45 households in the village. The average size is 7. For nuclear (p. 94) households the average is 5.7, and for joint (p.104) households, 8.

Table XV

Household Size

The No. of Households	The No. of Members								
in class	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+	Average
Nuclear	2	1	4	10	3	2	-	-	5.7
Joint	-	1	3	2	7	2	2	6	8

The two smallest households have only 3 members. One of them is an old couple living with their niece. The other, an old couple and their daughter. The largest household has 15 persons, consists of 3 couples, 1 widow and 8 children of the 2 young couples. Though this household is a single economic unit, the members are divided into two

houses mostly for the sleeping purposes (p. 99-100).

As we can easily see from the table the mode for a nuclear household is 6; and for joint households, 7.

Table XVI

The No. of Children for each couple[1]

The No. of Children	None	1	2	3	4	5	8	Average
The No. of Couples	6[2]	9	13	17	14	17	1	3

The average number of children for each couple varies between 3 and 5, though as it can be seen from the table that there are quite a number (9) of couples with only one child. However, most are young and have been married for few years. And most probably in the very near future they will produce more children, since the general norm of the society is to have as many children as possible.

Table XVII

Age composition of the Household

		The No. of Households in Class							
	Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	Total No. of Households
	0-13[3]	7	11	17	4	2	1	1	43
	13-20	17	3	2	-	1	-	-	23
Age	20-30	7	12	1	-	-	-	-	20
Groups	30-40	13	14	1	-	-	-	-	28
	40-50	16	4	-	-	-	-	-	20
	50+	18	17	1	-	-	-	-	36

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[1] Married children living outside the parental household are included.

[2] Some of the couples with no child have been recently married.

[3] Age 13 has been taken as the starting point of adolescence, and also to facilitate comparisons between the two villages to bring out the differences in fertility.

Every household in the village, except 2, has at least one child under eight. No less than 17 households have 3 children of thirteen or under.

36 out of 45 households, have old people. Also with the exception of the slight increase in the age group 30-40, the number of households with the members between the ages 13 and 50, declines. This is mostly the result of emigration, particularly in the age group 13-30 (p.38).

Tavşancil:

In the village sample, the average size of joint household is 5.3, and of nuclear household is 3.7, and of fragmentary household is 2.4. Thus, the overall average size is 3.7.

Table XVIII

Household Size

The No. of Households in class	The No. of Members 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Average
Nuclear	-	10	8	20	9	2	1	-	3.7
Joint	-	-	-	3	4	1	1	1	5.3
Fragmentary	3	5	2	1	-	1	-	-	2.4

There are quite a number (10) of nuclear households consisting of only two members, usually the old couples, whose children live in separate households in or out of the village (p.109-10).However, most of the nuclear households (20) include 4 individuals, usually a couple and their unmarried children. The only large nuclear household of 7

people, also includes a number of other kin such as mother and brothers of the household head.

Most of the joint households, are relatively small. The largest ones usually include a widowed mother and an unmarried, adult son. However, the preferred pattern for a joint household is an association of two married couples, and one or two young children of the younger couple.

The majority (5) of fragementary households consist of two kin, usually a parent and his(her) unmarried child. The largest fragmentary household of 6 people, consists of a relatively young widow and her 5 children (p.115).

Thus, in Tavşancil, for a number of reasons, as we will see later, large households have ceased to exist.

Table XIX

The No. of Children for each Couple

No. of Children	None	1	2	3	4	Average
No. of Couples	4	10	35	19	1	2[1]

As can be seen from the Table, family size in Tavşancil is smaller. Most couples have two children, and my impression is that the limitation is deliberate. There are several reasons for this.

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[1] Those couples, who have had children from their previous marriages but none of their own, and the widows were not included in this table.

Firstly, attitudes to abortion are very different from Delihasanlar. The religious objections voiced in that village are not found here. This became very clear during my visit. A young woman, mother of two children, tried unsuccessfully to keep her abortion secret. The matter was discussed, but no one condemned her for that or saw her action as criminal. The other women had had abortions in the past, or would likely to have them in the future.[1] Abortion was not a sin[2].

Secondly, there are economic reasons. It would be possible to argue that the richer village can afford more children. However, since standards are higher each child costs more[3], and brings less return since there is less of premium on manpower in Tavşancil (p.162).

Table XX

Age composition of the Household

		The No. of Households in Class			
	Class	1	2	3	Total No. of Households
	0-13	13	16	3	32
	13-20	16	5	1	22
Age	20-30	22	5	1	28
Groups	30-40	22	12	-	34
	40-50	16	5	-	21
	50+	22	20	6	48

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[1] My information here comes from the women only. I was not able to discuss it with the men.

[2] The expense of an abortion does not really enter into the argument, since the villagers are well aware of inexpensive ways of terminating a pregnancy.

[3] The importance of rising living standards as a crucial factor in limiting family size has been well documented for England in the nineteenth century by J. A. Banks, Prosperity and Parenthood.

In contrast to Delihasanlar, only 32 out of a total of 72 households in the sample (44%) include children under the age 13. On the other hand, over half of the households in the sample have one or more individuals in the age group of 50+.

Household Types:

In the context I propose to divide households into joint, nuclear and fragmentary.

1. Joint Household:

"Joint Household" is a domestic group of kin and affines and includes more than one married couple and three generations. Some of the sociologists use the term of "extended household" to refer to the identical unit. (Murdock 1949) However, "extended family" is also used by others to refer to the extended kinship ties, not the residential joint families (Young and Wilmott 1957). To avoid the confusion in the usage of the term "extended", I use "joint".

Still, the term "joint household" has to be specifically defined, since, generally it can mean any kind of residential economic group of more than one married couple, who are linked to each other by kin ties either through the male or female spouses. In the area, where the research took place, joint household usually consists of a married couple, and their unmarried children and the married son or sons and their unmarried children. In rare instances where a couple have no son, a married daughter may reside with them. A joint household may also

include one or more unmarried or widowed close kin, who usually is a female relative[1].

Delihasanlar:

23 out of 45 households in the village are joint households. (51%). All except 3 have three generations. The heads of the four generation households are very old (over the age 70), but still owners of the property and land and the only decision makers. For example, one of the sons of such a household head had become a migrant labourer some years ago. Then he settled in Izmit and built a house there and wanted his wife to join him. This was seen as a threat to the economic structure of the joint household, since there would be one less man-power. Furthermore, the son might have ceased to send cash back home, since he would have his wife with him. The father objected strongly for two years, and did not send his son's wife to Izmit. At the end they agreed that the son should send his wife back to village in the busy season as is the case in a few other joint households.

Table XXI

No. of Generations in Joint Household

No. of Couples	No. of Generations			
	2	3	4	Total
2 Couples	2	13	-	15
3 "	-	5	2	7
4 "	-	-	1	1
Total	2	18	3	23

[1] If the relative is female, she will not usually have a share in the joint property.

Two joint households include kinswomen. One is the mother of the household head and in this case she is very powerful (p.106). The other an old widow who is the sister of the household head's father. The majority of joint households (18) consist of three generations, some likely to become four generation households in a few years' time.

The commonest structure for a joint household is 2 couples and 3 generations; the father-son relationship is the basis of the joint household (Murdock 1949), though of course almost half of the joint household heads have more than one son.

The joint households of 3 couples, own enough land and animals to occupy all members, and enjoy cash income from migrant labour in slack seasons.

The only joint household of 4 couples and 4 generations belongs to one of the wealthiest men in the village, who has two married sons living with him. The daughter of one of his sons and the son of the other forms the fourth couple and their offspring, the fourth generation within the household.

In no joint household in Delihasanlar are all the couples in the same generation, since the married brothers tend to split after the death of their father (Freedman 1958). However, they usually stay together, if one of them has not emigrated or moved in another village as a result of marriage, which rarely happens, till the death of the household head. One joint household divided before the death of the father; the household head divided his land between his two sons and

lives with the younger one. This, however, is an exceptional case.

Access to and use of all joint household property is common to the group and divided equally between the sons when the household head dies. Usually a son does not inherit property during his father's lifetime, and the father is the recognised "owner" of all. Such ownership also applies to a son's money earned elsewhere. For example, the elder son of a villager gave most of his earnings to his father. His wife had been suffering from toothache. Although his wife told me that he had just enough money to take her to a dentist in the town, he could not do it without the permission of his father. Since it was the busy season, the father did not consider the matter serious; work was more important than anything else at the time and he could not afford to have lack of manpower even for a single working day. It seems to indicate that while a son may possess money, he does not enjoy the ownership right to dispense with it as he pleases.

In some of the joint households, particularly in those where there are two or more married brothers, the crops are divided between nuclear families, though the biggest share goes to the household head. According to the villagers, this circumvents rivalry between daughters-in-law. This rivalry between daughters-in-law only becomes manifest after the death of the household head and according to the villagers the division of property between brothers is then precipitated by their wives (Freedman 1958, p.22). My own observations suggest that there are various other factors in a latent conflict between brothers (p.161).

In a joint household of only two couples, (a couple and their married son), the social order is maintained more easily and there is no such thing as sharing crops. The daughter-in-law has no immediate rival to compete with over the product since she accepts her subordination to her mother-in-law (p.161), and her established position in the existing structure. However, she is well aware of the fact that as soon as her in-laws die, she will become the only mistress of the household and the whole property will be inherited by herhusband and eventually by her children, if her husband has no other brother. Even if her husband has brothers, unless they come back to the village to live, which is a very remote possibility, her husband will become the only possessor of the property in the village (p. 39).

Thus, it seems that a common solution to probable conflict between the daughters-in-law in joint households is to let one of the sons move out of the village. In fact ten joint household heads have sons in other places (p. 96). This is not deliberate policy; all the household heads prefer all their sons with them not only for the sake of the welfare of the household but also to strengthen their social status in the community (Stirling 1965). A son's first step towards migration is seasonal labour and if he is determined, he may search for a social network in town through which he can find a permanent job. For some years he may live in town on his own and the last step, taking his family with him, always causes a clash between his father and himself regardless of his age (p. 95).

A large joint household, whether rich or poor can encourage migration without threatening its cohesiveness[1]. On the contrary, the structure is strengthened by a reciprocal pattern of exchanges, and by the anxiety of the migrants to retain their rights to the land. For example, the shopkeeper in the village has a firmly established position in such a wide spatial unit. Because he is a rich man he built an apartment in Izmit which is occupied by his two sons. He also supports them economically, sending them a share of the crops. In turn, he is entitled to have the right to interfere in and direct their lives whenever he thinks it necessary. He demands labour and one of the sons sends the wife to the village for six months to help his parents and the other provides necessary equipment.

The other large joint household within the village is worth a mention because of its peculiarity. It is in fact the largest one and consists of 15 members, 3 couples, a widow and 8 children (p. 89). The household head is a childless old man who brought up the children of his dead brother. He owns the whole property and treats his nephews as his own children and they accept the situation without

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[1] An interesting analogy arises by comparison with a recent study of middle-class families in Wales. Bell, Middle-Class Families, notes how aid, especially of a financial kind is exchanged between the family of origin and the young struggling professional family. In this case an effort is made to ensure the independence of the younger couple, even when receiving aid. In my own research, the household head retains total control, and thus the situations are not reversed in old age, something Bell tentatively suggests in his research.

question. In my first visit to the village, all the members of the household were in the threshing floor working towards a common purpose. It was only on my next visit that I realised that they occupied two residences, the old man and his wife living with one of the married nephews and his children in one, and the widow and one of her married sons and his family living in the other residence. They assured me that the division was purely one of domestic convenience. They never distributed the crops amongst themselves and they all worked on common land and they all had their meals together. Although I recorded the household as one, I have my doubts in the complete unity of the household, for, particularly in winter, when there is no outside work which necessitates cooperation of the whole adult members of a household, each set of kin group will stay at home (in their own residence) most of the time. However, this may be a tension-reducing mechanism, avoiding possible conflict between the two brothers.

With the exception of this example all the joint households are residential units, despite the fact that some economic reciprocity may take place between close kin regardless of their residences (p. 99).

Tavşancil:

In Tavşancil 10 (14%) out of the sample of 72 households are joint. Compared with Delihasanlar, the joint households in Tavşancil are much smaller in size (p. 91). All of the 10 joint households consist of 2 couples, one of which has 4 generations, 6 have 3, and 3

have 2. All the 2 generation joint households have been recruited recently and are potential 3 generation households.

There is no joint household of more than two couples. The preferred pattern for a joint household is to establish it through the marriage of the elder son, until the younger son gets married. Then the parents move into the new house, which they build, with their newly married son which gives an opportunity to the elder son to establish an independent unit at an earlier age. For example, one of the joint households in the sample had split into two, when I visited the village a year later. The parents moved into their new house in the neighbouring area with their younger son who was engaged and would be married when the preparations were completed.

Of course this is not always the case. For instance, another nuclear household head in my sample is the younger of the two brothers; his parents, instead of moving into the new house with him, stayed in the old one with their elder son and his family.

Table XXII

No. of sons of the Joint Household Heads

No. of sons	No. of households in class	Place of residence of the sons		
		With father	In Village	Outside
1	7	7		
2	2	3[1]		1
3	1	1	1	1

[1] One of the two sons is single.

My informal social contacts with some villagers not in the sample and the information I obtained from the nuclear families about their kinship links in the village, suggest quite clearly that the joint household is becoming less prevalent, although it is not possible to say with any certainty that a new norm has been established. Even those villagers who do opt for a joint household, have a smaller one. Where they have several sons, they will reside only with one, the others having separate households in the village.

Of course wealth is another important factor enabling parents to have two residences, one for each son, usually both built on the same large private estate.

Because of the higher standard of life in this second village and the penetration of urban ways (p. 62), it is very difficult to accommodate more than two families in a house, since each couple has a bedroom and guest room of their own in addition to the common living room. They also tend to have spare rooms as bedrooms for their children. I know of only one example of a large joint household head building an apartment of four flats each of which is occupied by a married son and his family. I was told that they all spent most of their time together in the father's flat and retired to their own flats only at night after dinner.

Even when a wealthy father builds a house for one of his sons, he does not cease to be the head of the large joint household, unless they break off as a result of a dispute. All these joint household

heads are in a position to provide for virtually all the needs of their sons' nuclear households (p.112). This gives them the right to interfere in and control their sons' lives, as we will see later. Thus, though only 14% of the households in the sample are joint, in fact many nuclear households are structural parts of larger social units.

The rank and the considerable wealth of the father is a most important factor preventing sons declaring their independence (Freedman 1958) even if they have (and usually they do have) an independent job in industry near the village, and commute daily. In most cases, their earnings are insufficient to provide the comforts comparable to their fathers' households. Furthermore, living with their parents they can easily avoid the responsibilities of the management of the household. If the son is too young he is unlikely to be able to build a house for himself because of the high costs of construction in Tavşancil.

In some cases a father's wealth is not the central factor. A better educated young man can become a professional and move away after or before his marriage. He may marry in his new environment without even consulting his parents. In this case he becomes entirely independent and his infrequent visits to the village are highly esteemed by his parents, for he is a social climber and occupies a higher rank in the social hierarchy. This, however, happens

rarely[1].

By contrast, if the father is well poorer than the son himself, it is less rewarding for a young man to bear the inconvenience of life in his household of origin and to be subject to the authority of his father regardless of minimal advantages he can obtain.

Despite some of the differences in detail, the joint household has fundamentally the same structure in both villages, and the father-son relationship has the utmost importance.

2. Nuclear Households

Though the terminology for the smallest kinship group, consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children, vary widely in social science literature, I chose the term "nuclear" for the purpose of this study, since it is the nucleus of the other two household types in both villages. Nuclear household may (and the majority of them do) include one or more other kin too.

Delihasanlar:

There are 22 (49% of the whole) nuclear households in Delihasanlar. But, as far as I know, all of them are the remnants of joint households and most of them still have one parent alive. Furthermore, there

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[1]This does not imply a necessary and inevitable link between upward mobility and independent marriage. Although upward mobility is a prerequisite of independent marriage, the reverse is not the case.

is no evidence of the acceptance of a nuclear unit, joint households are still both typical and preferable and most of the nuclear households are to become joint in the very near future.

Table XXIII

Kin living with Nuclear Unit in Delihasanlar

Kin	No. of Household in class
Father of husband	4
Mother of husband	8
Mother of wife	1
Total	13

Of the 22 nuclear households, only 8 consist solely of parents and unmarried children, and one other couple has no children and live alone, but plan to adopt a nephew of the husband. None of the heads of the nine households has living parents.

Thirteen of the twenty heads have sons of less than 14 years of age, much less in most cases, and two others have as yet no sons at all. These households will therefore remain nuclear for quite a long time. Only six households are liable to become joint soon having already sons eligible for marriage.

After the death of the joint household head, his wife usually looses her influence in the new structure. Her son, takes over the

responsibilities of the socio-economic affairs in the household and comes to hold the position of power which puts his mother in a position of subordination. Also, his wife, having her own children has, over the years, strengthened her position in the household, and in the community. She becomes the real mistress of her own social unit. This, however, does not happen overnight; but over a long period before and after her husband's father's death. Mother is already an old woman in her late fifties, giving up most of the outside work, retiring into the house and longing for peace. Son is already a man in his middle age, having had enough experience to command position in the community. His wife, a middle-aged woman, being socialized in her own household has the right to ask for a higher position.

The only exception to this pattern in the village is a widow in her late seventies. She has a tremendous amount of power within the household despite the fact that both her son and her daughter-in-law are in their forties. For instance, she arranged everything for the wedding ceremony of her grandson. There are various factors to explain her position of power. First of all, as an individual, she is very tough, clever and energetic. And her son seems quite dull and of no initiative at all. Though these kinds of individual differences may influence the existing social structure, still, the social structure has clearly influenced the character of this old widow who was left alone after her husband died in World War I. To everybody's surprise she did not marry again, most likely because of the war which decreased

the male population in the village. She worked very hard, with the villagers' words "like a man", taking all the responsibilities of her household at bringing up her only son. Thus, she had a role of a father for her son which made him subject to her absolute authority.

Not only the widowed women but also the old men loose their power after the death of their wives. At the present, 3 out of 4 widowers have already ceased to be the heads of households. One could argue that age is an important factor in the decline of the power of the household head, however, there are a number of other old men the same age still capable of imposing their orders. One of the widowers is physically handicapped (blind) which compels him to depend entirely on his son and daughter-in-law. The other one is a seasonal worker and goes away for months which enables his son to establish his position as the head of the household. And, in fact, when he comes back to the village, he is not welcomed at all, particularly by his daughter-in-law. When he returned to the village I was there, and whilst the other villagers, mostly the young men, were helping him to carry his belongings, his daughter-in-law who was sitting in the street chatting with the other women, did not move even to say "hello". And the villagers told me that she had been unjust to her father-in-law and did not look after him at all. The poor man had to do his washing-up himself. The third widower had already divided his land between two sons (p. 96), and lives with his younger son who is in his late thirties.

It would appear that age alone is not the only determinant of a lack of authority, the death of a wife is important too, and at least one more factor, exemplified by the case of the fourth widower. This widower still has a considerable amount of power in his household, and recorded himself as the head of the household. He is a man in his late seventies, and moreover he limps because of the wound he received in Dardanelle. But he still works very hard, bearing all the economic responsibilities of his social unit. Thus the work seems to be the most important factor determining one's position in his household, in addition to the property ownership (Campbell 1964), age and personal will.

Tavşancil:

44 (57%) out of the 72 sample households, are nuclear. 15 of them, however, have close kin, living with them. The majority (9) of kin are the mothers of the household heads, which indicates the possibility of them being the remnants of joint households. My assumption is that most of the nuclear households of to-day have been formed from joint households, some after the death of the joint household head and some by separating before his death, as a result of conflict either between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, or between father and son or

both (p.163-166).

Table XXIV

Kin Living with Nuclear Unit in Tavşancil

Kin	No. of Households in Class
Husband's mother only	8
Husband's mother and other kin	2
Wife's mother	4
Wife's sister	1
Total	15

As a general rule, kin of man are given priority unless of course he has no kin to look after. No household have kin of both husband and wife at the same time.

29 nuclear households have no kin living with them. Few couples set up separate households immediately at marriage. Most of the young nuclear household heads have either recently left their households of origin or are economically dependent on their fathers (p.112).

There are also a number of old couples, whose children have left the village. Some have recently remarried mostly, as they put it, "for the sake of companionship".

Only one young couple in the sample failed to produce a child, though they have been married over 10 years.

Table XXV

Nuclear Households without Kin in Tavşancil

Kin	No. of Households in class
Parents Living in the Village	11
Parents dead	8
Migrant couples with no kin in the Village	10
Total	29

Of the ten nuclear households in my sample which have sons eligible for marriage, only four are likely to become joint. Two of the ten young men are not residents of the village in any case, one living in Ankara, and one being a student in a Technical College,

unlikely to come back to the village; the remaining four plan, according to my information, to leave their households of origin at marriage.

Some parents of young unmarried men also agree that their sons should establish their own households. For instance, a woman in her late forties, a mother of two grown up sons, pointed out to me the difficulties involved when the two different generations are forced to live together, giving examplesfrom the experiences she had with her in-laws. She says: "Let them know their own house, bear their own burden. The youth of to-day are better equipped to deal with their own problems. Besides, it is better this way if you want to have good relations with your in-laws. Even if they start their family in your household, they will leave you anyway. Let the separation occur before the bitter arguments and quarrels, which one can never forget". I cannot be sure how far this reflects general opinion, - or even this informant's opinion. But the trend towards a nuclear household structure, not only among the young people, but among the old, too, is a measurable fact.

Two nuclear household heads, both with both parents alive in the village, are in fact economically dependent on their fathers. They are both young, and they both belong to the wealthy households in the village. Their houses were built, and their jobs were provided by their fathers.

One of them runs a minibus between Izmit and Gebze which was

bought by the father. He has to give all his earnings to his father, and is not allowed to keep any for his own expenses. All the food and the other domestic needs of his household are provided from the shop which is run by the elder son of the father. Clothing is provided by the father himself on certain important occasions such as religious festivals or weddings of close kin. I interviewed the wife of the young man who said that she would prefer him to be given a certain amount of money instead. "I must not grumble too much because at least we have some freedom within the house. My sister-in-law (husband's brother's wife) has much less freedom than I have, since she lives with the in-laws. She and her husband cannot have intimate relations at all. They cannot go to bed before the parents even if they feel very tired. Because of restrictions and customs in the household, their sexual life has ceased. Besides, whatever we need, we can just go to the shop and get it without being asked any questions. Still, I sometimes feel embarrassed when I need things such as a brassiere or make-up. It is very difficult to tell my father-in-law about the little things we need. I sometimes feel as if I live in a comfortable prison. For example, on Sundays we could go out, since we have the transport, but we cannot because we do not have the cash." This young woman wanted her husband to keep some of his earnings without letting his father know, since the father could not check it anyway. But, she says, her husband is a very honest man and he would not do such a thing.

Thus, especially for wealthy people, to have a separate house for one of their sons, seems a solution to some of the conflicts; at least it keeps the daughters-in-law apart (p.101). Such a household can hardly be classed as independent.

3. Fragmentary Household:

I mean by 'fragmentary household' a residential kinship group with no married couple. Such households result either from the death of one of the spouses or from divorce.

Delihasanlar:

There is no fragmentary household in the village. In the case of death of one of the marriage partners, the one left behind is entitled to remarry if he (she) is young enough. If he is too old to remarry then close kin, in most cases, the son, will take care of him or her. All women, according to the villagers, need a man's protection. Thus, marriage will be arranged for them immediately they become widows. If a woman is old, and has no son, then the male kinsmen of her dead husband (mostly his brothers) are obliged to take care of her and her children (p. 99), because as long as she lives, she belongs to her husband's household and it is the duty of his kin to provide her with a secure life. If her husband has no male kin, or if he was not on good terms with his kin when he was alive, then she will return to her household of origin and the male line in the household will look after her. There is an old woman who has come back to her native household and has been looked after by her brother's son who is the head of the

present household.

Only 2 out of 10 widows are looked after by kin or affines rather than a son, one is the widow mentioned above and the other is the wife of the deceased brother of the household head (p. 99).

One widow has been married three times and her latest husband died as a result of a heart attack he had because of an argument.

All of the four widowers live with their sons, only one enjoys the power in the household (p. 107).

There are six men and six women in the village who have been married more than once, and usually the second marriage of one partner coincides with the second marriage of the other, because of the expected equality in status of the spouses in a marriage. And according to the data, only one woman in the village divorced her first husband (p. 145). Almost all of the first marriages were broken as a result of the death of one of the marriage partners.

Tavşancil:

12 (16%) out of the 72 households in my sample in the village are fragmentary.

Table XXVI

Composition of Fragmentary Households in Tavşancil

Composition of the Household	No. of Households in class
Widow-unmarried children[1]	8
Widow-widowed daughters[2]	1
Widows on their own	2
Widower-son	1
Total	12

The majority of fragmentary households are economically dependent and when the widows get very old and become unable to look after themselves, their children or close kin take care of them. For example an old widow who lived on her own during my first visit to the village, had joined her daughter's household by my second visit.

Very often, widows and widowers who have no-one to take care of them remarry. One or two old men in my sample had married again; their wives explained that they had been deserted by their children, and had had no alternative to remarriage.

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[1] Mostly widows and unmarried daughters. One widow, an old woman, lives with her aged, unmarried son who has a physical handicap which has prevented him from getting married. Another is a young woman in her thirties with 5 children, one of whom works as an assistant driver. She herself also works in Istanbul as a domestic servant and comes to the village for week-ends.

[2] This woman is supported by her son who is one of the wealthiest villagers.

CHAPTER VI

FAMILY CYCLE

Marriage:

Marriage is the basic institution for maintaining the household promoting kinship ties. As Firth says (Firth 1929, p.124) "This involves not only the union of two individuals in lifelong partnership, but also the creation of a new set of social ties between two groups of people".

Marriage serves several social purposes in Delihasanlar. Firstly, it stabilizes the existing social order in the society since its aim is not only to start a new conjugal union but to ensure the continuity of the household structure. Secondly, it affirms the basic moral values of the society since it is the only institution which makes acceptable and controls sexual relationships in the community. And thirdly, it serves economic ends since the labour force within the household is increased by procreation (Stirling 1965).

As soon as a married couple have children, they begin to plan for their future, - mainly for the future marriages (Ibid.) (p. 119) Mothers prepare the trousseau of their daughters whilst fathers try to save for the wedding of their sons. A marriage is in some ways more important for the parents, who have been planning it for years, than for the couple themselves.

Decisions in such arrangements are made by the household head though he may be persuaded by other members (usually by his wife) to take the

decision acceptable by all (p.158). The social and economic structure of the household makes young people entirely dependent on their elders. No young man can ask a girl's parents for her hand. If he has no father, close kinsman performs the duties of the father carrying on the negotiations with the male elders of the other household. This puts a father in a powerful position. For instance, the headman was threatening not to arrange his son's marriage because the son would not come back to the village to help him.

Thus marriage negotiations take place between two household heads and a set of rules determines the whole process of marriage though slight differences in details from household to household may be observed (Stirling 1965).

Patrilocal marriage is the rule in Delihasanlar. Only three households have husbands married in, in each case because there was no son to continue the household. In one of them the present household head was brought up by the father of his wife and then married the daughter and inherited the property. He also adopted the surname of his father-in-law. The villagers still make fun of him calling him "husband married in" (<u>iç güveyi</u>) which is a degrading nick-name for a man, though he is one of the richest household heads in the village. This arrangement provides the household with an heir, and a poor man with an inheritance (Goody 1969). Thus the arrangement is rewarding for both sides.

Theoretically, the will of young people is not considered in marriage arrangements. Pre-marital relations between two sexes are for-

bidden by the village society; social control is effected not only by the parents but also by all village elders. Courtship, however, is still a reality. First of all the size of the community makes it almost impossible to prevent young people from seeing each other. They are brought up together until the age of 13 when the first mutual attraction flourishes. They usually choose their future spouses in their early teens. For instance, a 12 year old village girl was interested in the 13 year old son of the headman, and she was trying to meet him whenever she had a chance. The headman's wife said that, that might have become serious later though her son was too shy and at that time he avoided the girl.

Secondly, even at a later age young people are thrown together because the labour of young girls is required in the fields as well as that of young men. For example, the eldest son of the headman fell in love with a girl who worked with her family in the neighbouring threshing floor. As the headman's wife explained to me, the result was inevitable, since they saw each other every day, though from a distance. Of course, young people also manage to see each other secretly for a few minutes, when young girls are sent out of the village to fetch water from the springs or to take lunch to the male members of the households working in the fields.

The relationship between young people is normally restricted to exchanging glances and a few words, partly for fear of being caught and partly from shyness. Despite tremendous care, the affair can never be

kept secret, since young people tell their secrets to their friends who circulate the news unintentionally in the village and in a short time it becomes public. Also these close friends and young kinswomen, in particular the sisters of the young men, play an important role in the process of courtship by carrying messages between the couple. The parents are the last to become aware of the behaviour of their children.

As soon as the news is brought to their knowledge they must take action. As far as I know no violence occurs against young lovers. In the face of parental opposition, elopement or the threat of elopement can be an effective response. An elopement is a disadvantage for the parents especially for the parents of young men. First of all, whether they approve of the choice of their son or not, they cannot return an eloped girl. Secondly, if the girl is under the age of 18 they have to pay compensation[1] though a bride price is not required.[2] Thirdly, in the case of elopement a wedding does not take place (p.121). This is very disappointing for the parents and upsets their plans.

The parents of young men have no sanctions against elopement and face a number of disadvantages when it does occur. On the other hand, young girls' parents may prevent it from happening by threatening to break off all

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[1]Young people under the age of 18 in Turkey have to obtain their parents' consent to marry. Thus, if a girl under the age of 18 elopes, the young man and his family can be taken to the civil court for seducing a girl under age. Parents of young girls in Delihasanlar use this right as a sanction against the parents of the young man, demanding cash compensation. People prefer to pay bride price to appearing in court.

[2]In neither of my villages is a bride price required but this is the case in many Turkish villages (Stirling 1965; Yasa 1969).

relations with her. The villagers say that in the old days this worked as an effective sanction and elopement was very rare. Nowadays, they say, parents have become more forgiving. Furthermore, some of the parents encourage their daughters to elope under age, in order to demand money. As a result they claim, elopement has become a customary way of marriage.

The two latest marriages in Delihasanlar during my stay were the consequences of elopement. One of the two girls is a member of one of the wealthiest households in the village and fell in love with a young man of a relatively poor household. The grandfather of the girl refused the proposal when the family of the young man approached them. (Refusal once or twice is the general norm in the process of negotiations between future affines. However, in this particular case, as I was told, the grandfather was determined, most probably because of the difference in wealth). The girl was under age and eloped. The grandfather demanded a very high amount of compensation (about £200) or the return of the girl. The family could not pay that much money, and returned the girl, which was a scandal in the village. (It is very unusual to return an eloped girl since everybody assumes that the young couple will have had sexual intercourse before their wedding takes place. However, nobody seems anxious to mention this point as long as the affair ends in marriage). The girl refused all the other marriage proposals and went on seeing her lover usually at night. Meanwhile the mother of the young man (he had a step-father who kept out of this affair) became more and more agressive and whenever she met kin of the girl, insulted them. Hostility between the two

households increased. (According to the villagers if she had behaved herself they could have come to a better agreement and nobody would have been hurt). A year later the girl reached the age of 18 and left her home for the young man's. The grandfather could do nothing. And they had no wedding ceremony (düğün). None of the members of the household of origin talk to the girl; the grandfather has a reputation for stubborness. People say that after his death the two households will be reconciled.

The other elopement, on the other hand, had no sad consequences. The family of the young man hid the girl for a while so that she would not be taken away and the family of the girl broke off relations with the young man's family for a short time. It was clear from discussions with the people concerned that in this case their temporary break was simply to meet customary expectations. Then the negotiations started between the two households. The girl's father demanded 4000 T.L. (roughly £160) but in the end they agreed on 2500 T.L. (about £100). I asked the girl's father why he accepted less instead of taking the case to court, and he said that it would cost him money and time and he would gain nothing but a jail sentence for the young man which was not what he wanted. Moreover he would be on bad terms with a neighbour. He gave a trousseau to his daughter though he was not expected to do so. On the other hand, the young man's household had a big wedding in spite of the elopement (p.119).

Not all love affairs result in marriage. For example, the headman's eldest son was in love. His mother was delighted since the girl was a hard worker, and even his father accepted the match only proposing a year or two's postponement, because they were still too young (both 17). He

also strongly opposed the idea of elopement saying that he did not have enough money to pay compensation. But the girl's father, as a result of gossip and additional suitors for the girl married her to someone in another village. After that the headman's son left the village saying that he could not live there any more.

In spite of the existence of arranged marriages in Tavşancil, courtship is more acceptable, lasts longer and restrictions are looser. Even the old women say that they married men they loved. As one said: "life would have no meaning if you did not marry the man you love". And almost all the young couples I know had made love matches.

In most cases the parents, particularly the fathers, do not know or pretend they do not know, to prevent embarrassment (Peristiany 1965). They prefer to keep quiet since most of them have had the same experience in their youth.

Old women, whether kin or just neighbours, take an important part in these love affairs, carrying letters and helping the girls to meet the boys. My impression is that they enjoy helping young people. There is one old woman in particular with a reputation for being a professional matchmaker who does not only help two young people who are in love with each other, but also tries to encourage a reluctant partner. In turn she is rewarded by various presents. As far as I know, mothers of young girls keep their daughters away from her mostly because she is inclined to gossip about married or unmarried couples whom she has helped.

The usual pattern in courtship is to meet secretly in the orchards

and vineyards. However, some meet at night indoors, which usually results in pregnancy. My informant told me that this process is deliberately arranged mostly by a girl's old kinswomen to ensure marriage, where socio-economic difference between the two households makes it doubtful. It is a matter of protecting honour for both parties to arrange a quick wedding in the case of pregnancy, though the honour of the girl and her household is in more danger, particularly if the girl is over the age of 18, when the young man's household has no legal obligation to recognize the situation (p.119). However, the desire to avoid tension between the two households, if not between the two groups of kin, and the fear of losing prestige in the eyes of the public, persuades them to take quick action. (My informant pointed out to me a number of married couples whose marriages had been arranged in this way).

Socio-economic distance, as we will see later, is one of the most important obstacles to a love match. Usually members of the young man's household are very careful in this matter and as soon as they are aware of the relationship between their young member and a girl who does not have the required social attributes, they immediately take action before it is too late. This kind of interference of parents may have quite drastic consequences. Failure to marry as a result of a love affair degrades the honour of a girl and subsequently lessens her chances of marriage (p.133). I was told, for instance, that some years ago a girl committed suicide as a result of such a failure; though of this particular girl, it was also said that her mother and her maternal uncle had attempted to commit suicide in their youth.

Although fathers often turn a blind eye to their daughters' activities,

they do see the preservation of honour of the household as crucial, and are far more strict than mothers.[1] Brothers willingly share in this responsibility at 17 or 18. A mother may well help her daughter in fostering a relationship with a young man. For example, the father of an engaged girl I know prohibited her finace from coming near to their house. The mother of the girl and the sisters of the young man carried letters between them and helped them to meet secretly. Betrothal was arranged on the grounds of agreement between the two families and there was no meeting between the young fiancees. Still the sisters of the young man and both mothers believed it necessary to give the young people a chance to get to know each other during the period of betrothal.

Religious festivities are traditional and widely recognized social events when almost all the young people go out in groups and meet at a certain place just outside the village. They exchange glances or words.

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[1] Also a father may see more clearly than a mother the disadvantages of a match. For instance a village girl was in love with a young man from Hereke. Her father objected to the marriage for the time being as the young man had not done his military service yet. But her mother persuaded him saying that if their daughter could not marry at once, she would die. The young man had no permanent job and a few months after the wedding he was unemployed. The young couple had to move in with the young man's household of origin. A few months after that he joined the army. The people said that the young woman was very unhappy and was made to do all the housework on her own. One evening I was invited by her parents to their home in the village. Her father accused his wife of being the cause of their daughter's unhappiness and said that if they had waited till the young man finished his military service and got a steady job, their daughter would not have suffered.

And I was told that most of them choose their future spouses there. Even the old women say that they chose their present husbands in this way.

Desirable Attributes for Marriage Partners:

In Delihasanlar there is less social distance between households except for a few extreme cases on either end of the social scale. Social relationships take place regardless of wealth and status differences but considerations of status become more important when two parties propose new affinal ties. Though wealth has a minimum effect in determining one's social standing in the village, it can be an influential motive in the choice of a marriage partner for one's offspring. Young people may disregard the opinion of their elders but this is very rare. Father's approval is obtained by a young man (p.122) prior to his elopement.

Of all the daughters-in-law in the six rich households only two come from Delihasanlar and one of these was a member of a rich household originally. The other daughters-in-law from other villages have wealthy family backgrounds. Thus wealth can be considered one of the factors which prevent an absolute endogamy within the village (only 22% are intra-village marriages). One exceptional case is provided by a wealthy household head who married his two grandchildren to each other (the son of one of his sons to the daughter of the other son), which met with disapproval in the village. This seemed to be caused partly by the lack of suitable marriage partners for them in the village and partly by his desire to prevent the property being divided into small parts. However, his own

explanation for his decision was in terms of anxiety for the future of one of his sons who had no son. (According to the village norms he and his wife would either have no social insurance when they get old or they would have an in-marrying son-in-law which meant transfer of some of the property to an outsider which was undesirable).

Another factor in addition to wealth which affects the decisions of parents in their choice of marriage partners for their children and encourages the inter-village marriages is the emphasis on strengthening the existing kinship ties through marriage. If kinship links within the village are not strong parents will look outside to achieve this goal. Ten percent. of all the marriages I could trace were within the kinship network, however only half of them took place with kin who lived in other places. Sister exchange, which comprised only two percent. of all marriages, also necessitates looking for marriage partners outside the village.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the precise importance of wealth as a determinant of the choice of marriage partner, though my evidence would seem to suggest that other factors are also involved. I was able, with the help of comments made by the villagers and my own personal observations, to distinguish ten households at either extreme of the socio-economic scale. The rest, I assigned to the "middle wealth group" in which there was much variation. Marriage between households in this group or between a household adjacent to either extreme group and one within it did not raise any difficulties. The only example of a

marriage between households from the two extreme groups, however, provoked strong objection from the wealthier household head (p.120).

Past or present disputes between two households decrease the chance affinal links between them. Parentsseem to prefer to choose their future affines from present friends and children are encouraged to look only in certain directions. Not only disputes but also slight disagreements lessen the probability of marriage taking place between two households. For example, when I pointed out to the headman's wife the possibility of a marriage between one of the headman's sons and a daughter of their threshing floor neighbour, she told me that this was the last person she would think of for her son. Though they seemed to have friendly relations, since they were neighbours, she did not approve of their behaviour and attitudes to other people. Particularly, she said, the recent increase of wealth in that household had undesirable effects on their life.

Absolute respect shown to the elders and unquestioning obedience to the orders of their parents are the most desirable qualities for young people about to marry. Those who do not respect their own parents, it is believed, will not respect their future in-laws nor, in the case of a young girl, her husband.

Young people are tacitly expected to be careful to protect their honour and uphold their morals. Social restrictions and the small size of the community makes it very difficult for young people to deviate from the moral norms (p.211). I have never heard any critical remarks made about a young person, except in connection with an ex-village girl

who had eloped with an outsider years ago but had married another man in Izmit. People also disapprove of the life young village men lead in Izmit. This is why the headman's wife was so anxious to stress the honourable way of life her son led in Izmit, though the other people I talked to did not share her view and told me that he was no better than the others.

The reputation of the parents also affects the reputation of the young people since the villagers believe that children inherit all the qualities of their parents. However, to my knowledge, there is no household with a bad reputation, though either parent may deviate slightly from the norms from time to time.

The most important quality required in a young girl is her capacity to do hard work. Whether she can do housework or not, does not matter as long as she is capable of doing outside work efficiently (p.121). For example, the headman's wife regretted the failure of the proposed marriage between her son and the girl he was in love with, because as she pointed out, the girl was a hard worker and would be able to take most of the burden from her shoulders.

Strength means beauty in the village. All the girls pointed out to me as the most beautiful girls were strongly built and looked obviously capable of hard work. On the other hand, physically weak and frequently sick girls have almost no chance to marry within the village whatever other virtues they possess. For instance, I know of a girl whose legs are not strong enough to permit hard work in the fields who is regarded

as having no opportunity to find a husband in the village. Of course a young man with a chronic illness is as undesirable a marriage candidate as a young girl with the same kind of weakness. (The possible match between a feeble-minded young man and one of the headman's daughters who had a serious illness recently and became too weak to do field work, was oneof the daily jokes.)

Apart from physical fitness the occupation of a young man affects marriage decisions. Knowing that there is almost no occupational differences (p. 45) one may wonder what is the significance of the point, but skill in farming is the most desirable quality in a young man. For example, a young man, whose father was short of land, had to work as a shepherd and the young girls of the village, while agreeing that he was a good looking young man told me that no-one would marry him, because he did not know how to plough.[1] On the other hand one of his brothers, doing well in town, was regarded as a good match. However, town life means insecurity, and the young girls of the village prefer the young men to save money in town and invest it in the village. Only one girl I know expressed a desire to marry a townsman or an ex-village man working in town.

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[1]Two old shepherds, whom I did not see in the village, were still bachelors. Kin of one of them said that he was "a little bit funny". Though I do not know all the factors involved in the failure of both marriages, I assume that one of the determinants is their lack of skill in farming and an unsettled way of life.

In Tavşancil not only wealth but also social status plays an important role in marriage.[1] Though increasing wealth has become more and more important in marriage arrangements, still the social background of the households concerned is considered the most important determinant. For instance, a love match was unsuccessfully objected to by the parents of a young man, not on the grounds of wealth since they were no longer rich, but on the grounds of nobility (asalet). Notwithstanding marriage, they do not want to have close relations with their affines. Though the mother of the youg woman visits them, they never return these social visits.

On the whole, however, young people, who usually choose their future spouses themselves, consciously or unconsciously, fall in love with those of more or less equal background. The socio-economic limits in social relations and the concentration of households of the same socio-economic group in the same neighbourhood (though it is not always the case) encourage the acceptable choice of the partner in marriage. Furthermore, opposition of the parents in the case of an undesirable relationship is stronger than in Delihasanlar, because of the wider socio-economic distance between the households (p. 191). Even if the parents cannot stop

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[1] Economic mobility enables some of the households to accumulate wealth in a short time. This, however, does not help them to acquire social status in the village hierarchy in the same speed. On the other hand a wealthy household may lose its wealth without losing its rank. Thus, wealth and status do not necessarily converge to determine rank.

the disapproved marriage as in the example above, hostility between affines prevents friendly relations.

The size of the village provides sufficient choice to encourage intra-village marriages (46% in the sample). Some households with extreme wealth, such as the shopkeeper's, prefer to maintain affinal ties with urban people (He married his son to a girl from Hereke and one of his two daughters is married in Istanbul and the other in Ankara). Some young girls of Tavşancil, as I have mentioned before, prefer to marry townsmen (27% in the sample). Conversely, there are a number of young women of urban background married to the men of Tavşancil (8%). Those young men who have had higher education and non-manual occupations (such as army officers, technicians, etc.) in urban areas choose their partners in their new social environment (8%). Thus, forty-three percent. of marriages in the sample represent connections with urban areas. Such links are prestigious in Tavşancil.

Some villagers prefer to widen their social network through marriage than to strengthen existing intimate relations. For example, a family I know chose a girl for their son from outside though there were a number of eligible girls in their own social circle. Of course it would be wrong to claim that there was no previous familiarity between the two families at all. In a community of 350 households it is impossible to find two households which are completely strange to each other. Living in different streets, the members of these two households did not have much chance to know each other and never visited each other's residence

until the marriage negotiations started.

Individual qualities also affect the choice of a partner. Reticence and modesty are highly valued qualities in a young girl. Her behaviour is closely watched and inquiries made in the neighbourhood in which she lives (Davis 1970). Those who talk too much and argue with their elders are not considered suitable marriage candidates. For example, a girl was interested in my informant's brother, but his family did not think that she was a good match. The only fault they could find with her was her argumentative nature. They said she was "too clever by half". The villagers believe that it is the woman's duty to maintain peace in the family and this can be provided only by her reticence.

The individual qualities of the parents are taken into consideration too. Particularly mothers are expected to be a good example to their daughters. On several occasions people told me that those who often quarrelled with their neighbours did no good to their daughters. In addition to cooperative social relations and pleasant attitudes to the others, conformity to the moral norms of the society is required from parents (particularly from mothers of young girls). For example, an engagement was broken off by the parents of a young man on the grounds of the immoral life led by the mother of his fiancee. After her husband's death she had become a prostitute. People believe that these traits are hereditary.

Honour is also a most desirable quality in a young girl in Tavşancil but is more often mentioned here than in Delihasanlar, since the likeli-

hood of deviation is greater in this village (p.209). As it has been mentioned before, control over the courtship is looser than in Delihasanlar and failure in marriage as a result of such courtship is more likely. Those girls who have flirted before, however innocent the relationship, lose their honour in the eyes of the community.

The special skills such as tailoring, needlework and knitting are highly valued and make a girl an ideal housewife. Great physical strength is not required since women do not do hard work in the fields.

Physical beauty is the last and least important factor affecting the marriage choice of the parents of young men, though the mothers-in-law take considerable pride when the others agree on the beauty of their daughters-in-law.

The young men of the village are very closely watched by the elders and particularly by the parents of young girls. Bad manners are not approved. A reputation for drinking too much and for seducing girls lessens the chance to marry a village girl. Not only the parents of the girls but also the girls themselves believe that a man of this kind will not make a good husband and they try to keep away from him.

Occupation seems a very important factor in choosing a marriage partner. Being employed in industry gives a young man prestige and increases his chance of marrying the girl of his, or his parents' choice. First of all, it means no outside work at all for the wife. Secondly, the villagers prefer a regular salary to unpredictable viticulture. Those

who have had higher education and have white-collar work in towns are considered the best match regardless of their family background. (For example a village woman told me how her brother failed to finish the Technical University because of the village girl he was in love with. She said: "I told him not to hurry. Because, I said, as soon as you get your degree, you can marry any girl in this village.")

However sometimes the young people of the village disregard most of these normative qualities and force their parents to agree to their choice. For instance, a young woman whose mother was from Istanbul, said that her mother and her relatives there wanted to marry her in Istanbul. But she was in love with a village youth and persuaded them to accept her choice. She also added that she had never regretted it.

Weddings:

The wedding is one of the most important occasions for an individual in both villages. In Delihasanlar, where there is no other entertainment, a wedding party provides the most exciting event not only for the households involved but also for everybody in the village.

An engaged couple in this village are not supposed to see each other but the villagers say that there is always a way to get round the rules. Particularly the busy and crowded social occasions such as weddings and religious festivities enable young fiancees to meet secretly.[1]

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[1]There were no engaged couples during my stay, so my information is second hand.

Gift exchange takes place between the households of engaged couples at religious festivals. A sheep or a lamb is said to be the most popular gift for the betrothed girl at the Feast of Sacrifice (kurban bayrami). I have never heard a comment made on returning the gifts in the rare case of breaking off the engagement.

Mostly because of elopement, the engagement period does not last long; in fact formally announced engagements are very rare, and most of the people do not wear engagement rings.

In Tavşancil the engagement period usually lasts from one to three years. If the young couple fall in love in their early teens then the engagement period lasts longer. A girl I know fell in love when she was thirteen and got engaged when she was fifteen; when I met her she had been engaged for three years and she had at least another year ahead, since her fiance was doing his military service.

In the case of an arranged marriage some relatives and close friends of the father of a young man consult the parents of the girl in question, and when they are sure that the parents will not refuse the proposal, the mother and other kinswomen of the young man make the first official approach with a big tray full of gifts for the girl and other members of her household. In a week's time the tray full of sweets (baklava) is returned. This reciprocal gift exchange is repeated on religious festivals during the betrothal period. Some people say that the ritual is old-fashioned and most of the villagers prefer to save the money spent on

gifts for more vital needs of the household of the young couple. However, for some people, not to exchange gifts during this period is a sign of poverty, and indeed some of my informants claimed that the poor households were keener on gift exchange than relatively better-off households. For instance, my informant's brother got engaged during my stay and both sides, though poor, spent more on presents than they could afford. I was actually in the village at the Feast of Ramazan and I know my informant's parents borrowed money to be able to fulfill the expectations. The engagement period would last two years and the teacher's wife said that both sides would have been in heavy debt by the time the wedding was over. The parents should buy essential items for the young couple, she said, instead of showing off.

In Delihasanlar, a wedding is a communal entertainment and no invitation is needed to joint it. Relatives in other places receive a verbal invitation. And on the first day of the wedding some members or friends (usually the young) of the bridegroom's household go around the village to announce the occasion.

The wedding is the most important part of the marriage and as the villagers say, without the ceremony, marriage has no significance. Since the civil marriage is not performed in a ceremonial way its importance is merely in legalising the union in civil law.[1] Religious ritual makes

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[1] In 1926, the existing Ottoman Codes, based civil and personal law largely on Islam, were replaced overnight by new codes based directly on the European Model (International Social Science Bulletin, 1957).

the marriage complete and legal in the eyes of the public. Marriage has a sacred significancefor the villagers and it must be blessed by a religious man, mostly the imam in the name of God. In fact in most cases civil marriage takes place long after the actual marriage and particularly after the birth of the children in order to be able to register the birth of the children. As long as the union of a couple is recognized by the public and blessed by religious rituals, this is sufficient for the villagers.[1] For instance a young woman, who left her husband, married a young man in Delihasanlar long before she received her divorce from her previous husband. Her new marriage received ritual blessing and cohabitation was perfectly proper in the eyes of the villagers, though, she still belonged legally to another man. A year later she received her legal divorce but did not bother to ask for a civil marriage until the need arose. They had emigrated to town, and her husband was working in industry. Since a married man earns more than a single man in industry, it paid him to register the marriage officially.

The wedding, which took place during my stay in Delihasanlar was completed by a civil marriage which was,in the headman's absence, performed by one of the members of the Council of Elders on the second day of the wedding. This particular wedding lasted for three days. The

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[1] As Stirling says of the villages he studied, the people of Delihasanlar manage for the most part with very little reference to the State enforced legal codes. But though the official system does not have much immediate importance in their daily activities they do of course recognize,talk about and even use it side by side with the traditional code.

first evening a special wedding dinner was given by the bridegroom's household to the women of the village. Only the bride's kin were excluded from the party. After the dinner the young girls of the village danced. The next day a midday meal was given for the menfolk and a great deal of alcohol was consumed. (Weddings and religious festivals are the only occasions when men can drink). A small gypsy band was hired for the occasion and after the dinner the men danced in the streets watched by the women from a distance. In the evening of the second day, the bridegroom's household gave a big party for women only in one of the biggest houses in the village. Women from other neighbouring villages also attended. Everybody was dressed up. For the first time the bride put a wedding-dress over her kara don (p.37). She sat motionless whilst the others were dancing. Towards the end of the party she danced too. (The women later criticized her for having no respect for the customs of their village. She was supposed to cry loudly at the end of the party but she did not. When I asked her after the wedding was over she said that she had not felt like crying at all and she thought it was a silly custom.) The third and the last day of the wedding, while the men were enjoying themselves within the village, the women went away a short distance outside the village and danced in the open air. No man was allowed to watch them dancing. Only two young ex-villagers who had come to the village for the wedding wandered around to see the young girls. This behaviour led to a discussion on the bad influences of the towns on young men.

The villagers say that in the case of inter-village marriage, the

first two days of the ceremonies take place separately in both villages and the last day a convoy of men from the bridgeroom's village set off for the bride's village. This causes more excitement. Even in a intra-village marriage this ritual is performed and the bride in an oxen cart is taken around the village. In an inter-village marriage people also meet new people and the wedding is taken more seriously and formally.

During the wedding ceremonies, the room of the young couple is open to the public to display the trousseau (çeyiz) which is hanging on the walls.

In Tavşancil some of the parents insist on having a religious ceremony to strengthen the conjugal union spiritually, though it is only a complementary institution and it is the civil marriage which legalizes cohabitation. The intensive contact with the wider society has made for the acceptance of its norms by the people of Tavşancil. Relations with urbanized kin, friends and colleagues determine public opinion in the village and force the people of Tavşancil to conform to the norms of the wider society. Furthermore, the socio-economic dependence of the village on the outside society forces people to accept some changes. Thus the reception of new codes has been achieved in this village earlier than in Delihasanlar. Under special circumstances, religious marriage seems to suffice to legalize the union. For example, a young woman had left her home and gone to Istanbul. Her husband found another woman

whose husband was in prison. Since both were married, they could not go through a civil marriage; but the religious rite was performed to make the cohabitation respectable in the eys of the public. Some people believed that the civil marriage would take place as soon as their previous marriages were legally dissolved. This indicates that the marriage was seen as incomplete, though the situation was temporarily tolerated.

Not only the transitional period Tavşancil is going through, but also the variety of social links the people of the village have in the wider society, affect public opinion in different ways. It is, thus, difficult to find any general agreement on this particular case, as it frequently is in other matters.

A wedding does not concern everybody in Tavşancil. Only those who have been invited attend the wedding ceremonies. The invitations are given on the grounds of kinship, friendship and obligations, and a box of Turkish delight is sent to the household as an invitation.

The wedding I witnessed in the village lasted for two days and was arranged by the bride's household. The first evening only the young girls, the friends of the bride, came together to sing and dance. Some close kin elderly women watched them too. Nobody was dressed up. The next day the bride in her white bridal dress, escorted by her close kin walked in the streets of the village, and delivered sweets to the households on the list. The group was accompanied by a hired gypsy band. In the evening, just before the party started, a big wedding dinner was given

to kin and very close friends of both sexes in the garden. Then the women retired into the house where the entertainment took place and the men stayed in the garden to go on drinking and to watch the gypsy girl dancing. The members of both households and their close kin were invited to the party.

The next day a group of kin of the bridegroom came to the village with a number of minibuses to take the bride to her new home in Hereke. There a traditional rite was performed. A body of male kin of the bride took up position in front of the bride's house and refused to let the bride go until the groom's father handed over money. Another traditional rite was the escort of a group of kin and friends of the bride to her new house. People said that such traditions were dying out, and some marriages are celebrated by modern parties in hired halls with jazz bands.

Birth:

The people of Delihasanlar desire to have as many children as possible to increase manpower in the household. The largest number of children from one mother was eight children, and I only found one woman with this number (p.90). Since marriage takes place quite early for both sexes (between the ages of 16-18) the period of fertility is long and one might expect them to have more children than this. I have no evidence to explain this though I assume that high infant mortality is the most important factor. Birth control is not used in the village, not only

because the people lack the knowledge and the means, but also because they believe that contraception is a sin against the will of God.

However desirable, birth is not an occasion for celebration. The women take no precautions during their pregnancy and keep working until the day they give birth. They obtain no medical help except the aid of one of the elderly women with special skill. If it is a busy season and if there is no adult female in the household, they start working again next day. A woman I know was not seen for a day or two and when I saw her next time she said she had had a son. It was her third child and it was not news anymore. Only the first child causes excitement, particularly if it is a son. However, forty days after the birth it is essential to have a religious ceremony where "childbed sherbet" (loğusa şerbeti) is offered to the guests.

In Tavşancil, the number of children one has is deliberately limited (p.92-3). Birth control is widely used by the female population of the village. For example, I know a number of women, still young, who have had no children for ten years. Particularly after the birth of the second child, women take more precautions to prevent pregnancy. In the case of a mistake, secret abortion is used.

Birth, however, is a more important event than in Delihasanlar. Pregnancy is treated with special care, not only because it is rarer, but also the economic structure of the household enables its members to spare

time and money for this purpose. The pregnant woman usually has regular medical treatment during, and after her pregnancy. Towards the end she is not expected to do hard work. Full support is given either by her mother-in-law or by her mother and sisters. Usually the village midwife takes responsibility for the birth. A few women, however, prefer to go to hospital. For a week or two a mother stays in bed and is visited by relatives and friends. Some go to hospital to have a medical check for themselves and for the babies. Babies are handled with more care and more time is devoted to nursing. Some of the young mothers want to use new techniques in child care and they complain about the interference of their elders and say that their methods are old-fashioned.[1]

Forty days later a religious ceremony, as in Delihasanlar, takes place and "childbed sherbet" is offered to the guests. People also bring presents for the baby and the mother, according to their degree of relationship to the household.

Death:

Death is a village-wide social event in Delihasanlar. When somebody dies in the village, it is announced with a religious call from one of the hills to enable everybody, not only in the village, but also in other

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[1]There are a variety of sources from which new ideas about childrearing come, for instance, radio, newspapers, magazines and social contacts with townspeople.

neighbouring villages to hear the call and to attend the funeral which takes place on the same day. It is their last duty to the dead and everybody in the village stops working and goes to see the deceased on his/or her death bed. The women, according to their degree of relationship to the dead person, improvise an elegy and cry loudly beside the bed. The ritual I witnessed reminded me of a stage performance. I was with the headman's wife in the threshing floor when we heard the calling. She did not show any grief. The woman was old and ill and the death was expected. So we started off for the dead person's house where a big crowd gathered. On our way there she made jokes and we talked about other things. As soon as she entered the room, however, she started to perform her part, crying loudly and mourning as if she had a deep sorrow. Everybody burst into tears and they said that she was very successful in stirring emotions. After we left the house, she behaved as if nothing had happened. When I pointed this out to her she said that the dead person had asked her to mourn for her and she did her last duty. What matters is not the emotional sorrow one feels for the deceased person, but the fulfilment, in the eyes of everyone, of one's duties to him (Radcliffe Brown 1952).

While the women of the village were mourning in the house, the men fixed the sal the wooden carriage on which the corpse was to be strapped and they laid a fire to boil water which was carried by young kin of the dead person, to wash the corpse. Meanwhile, the material which had been prepared long ago, was taken out of the trunk to wrap the corpse. The

women accompanied the funeral to the outskirts of the village, where they performed their final mourning.

Forty days later, the dead person's household invited kin, relatives and some neighbours, not only in the village but also in neighbouring villages, to a meal at midday. The men were given dinner in the mosque after the religious ceremony, which was attended by everybody in the village, was over. On that day also all the villagers stopped work.

In Tavşancil only the relatives and the close friends attend a funeral, and even then those who work in industry, unless very closely related to the dead person, carry on their work. Mourning is a private matter and takes place quietly indoors by kin. They have a special coffin not an open carriage for the body as in Delihasanlar.

Divorce:

Divorce is the disunion of a married couple. In urban areas of Turkey, where the registered civil marriage is the accepted form, a marriage can only be dissolved in court. In rural areas, where the majority of the marriages are not registered, divorce simply means the separation of the marriage partners. Even in the case of registered marriage, some people do not bother to go to court for a divorce and dissolve the union themselves, which people accept as "divorce". And the marriage partners of a dissolved unit may, and indeed, do cohabit

with their new partners without the community raising objections (Stirling 1965).

I use "divorce" here to refer to any separation of or with Stirling's words "the complete ending of all rights and duties" between the conjugal partners (Ibid.). I, however, exclude temporary separation when kin of both sides are likely to persuade them to be reconciled. For example, the married daughter of a villager in Delihasanlar left her husband and returned to her father's house. Though she had been there for months neither herself nor others regarded her as "divorced". In the end her husband came to the village and with the support of her kin he persuaded her to go back with him.

Divorce is rare in both villages. In Delihasanlar only two women had been divorced and both were from other villages. Divorce is not considered as a solution to family trouble. In fact many people, other than the conjugal partners are involved in a divorce case that disagreement between spouses does not suffice to break up the marriage. Even in one of the nuclear households, where frequent and very severe quarrels took place between the spouses, divorce was not considered as a possible solution. Divorce after the birth of children is a sin, and could never be condoned by public opinion. To my knowledge no divorce took place when children were involved. For example, a young woman was beaten by her father-in-law and quarrelled with her mother-in-law. Her father wanted his daughter back. But she had two children and people persuaded him to let the matter drop on these grounds.

However I have never heard of a divorce case as a result of failure to produce children (Stirling 1965). As I mentioned before, there is an old couple with no children who never thought of divorce. Another young couple have been married for ten years and the wife has failed to bear a child alive. This raises a problem for the future of the couple, and the old couple were trying to adopt the husband's niece to look after them when they could no longer work. In the case of failure to produce a son, the daughter's husband carries on the household and inherits land and property (p.117). The only divorce I know of in detail arose for reasons of personal dislike. The divorced woman had left her husband forty days after her marriage. As she explained to me she did not like her husband (kanim kaynamadi). Though the official divorce did not take place for more than a year, nothing made her go back, and she was cohabiting with a young man in Delihasanlar when I met her (p.137). This union had received religious blessing and full acceptance in the community. In fact I was unaware of this until my second visit when I got to know the woman better. However, this is exceptional and a woman cannot walk out of her marital household unless she obtains her parents' permission. Her natal household is the only place to which she can return and she is rarely encouraged by her parents who do not want a public scandal. The religious ritual blesses marriage, and to breach such a semi-sacred relationship is regarded as a sin. Though Islam or "Şeriat" formally interpreted permits frequent and easy divorce, and it is indeed the case in many other parts of Turkey (p.149), in Delihasanlar marriage is

supported by the norms and the value system of the community and divorce is rare. It is interesting to note once again that both the divorces in the village concerned women from other villages.

In the rare case of sister exchange, if one of the sisters goes back to her natal home the other is to be returned too. In such a case the parents of the first to return condemn her the more severely since she not only breaks her own, but also her brother's marriage. For example, the headman's wife told me that she would never forgive her sister for leaving her first husband because her brother's wife had to be returned and since then her brother could not marry again, his life was ruined. Their parents have died and her brother has no home. He sometimes spends part of the year with her as an unpaid labourer and when he wants to earn some money he goes to town to work.

Since divorce is very rare in Delihasanlar, second marriages can usually take place after the death of the first spouse. For instance, there are six men and six women in the village who have married more than once, all except one of them, after the death of a spouse. As a matter of fact usually second marriage is a second marriage for both parties, who are less desirable as marriage partners (Fei 1939).

Thus public disapproval for disturbing the existing socio-economic order in both the household and the community, the fear of being punished by God in disobeying the holy law, and the importance of the welfare of the children, all discourage divorce in Delihasanlar.

In Tavşancil three men and five women in the sample had been divorced[1]. One of the three men gave the adultery of his wife as a reason for divorce. The other two, however, are frequent divorcees, because one of them was married eight and the other nine times. It was difficult to find out how many of the wives had died, and how many times they had had civil marriage (p.145). In the case of religious marriage, divorce is not a problem since there is no need to take the case to court (Berkes 1964). Thus I assume that most of their marriages were the products of religious contract which made the divorce easy saving time and court expenses.[2] This brings out an important point. Religious marriage in Delihasanlar blesses the union and maintains its stability whilst in Tavsancil it only serves a social purpose to legalize the union in the eyes of the public.

One divorced woman told me that she could not get on with her husbands. (She had married twice.) The other woman was from the Black Sea coast and said that her first marriage was a religious one and her husband wanted to marry a second woman too. She could not accept polygamy

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[1] I was unable to find out how many of the eleven remarriages were the result of divorce because of difficulties in the interviews.

[2] In Turkey, divorce in court is very difficult to obtain, unless either an objective evidence of adultery and violence is produced by one of the spouses, or an agreement between them is achieved on the grounds of mutual incompatibility (Velidedeoğlu 1957). If one of the parties object, the case may last for years. Men, in particular, complain about the difficulties in getting a divorce.

so she left and married her present husband.

In Tavşancil there is an increasing tendency towards the idea of divorce as a solution to family problems though actual divorce is still rare and is not approved by public opinion. The most common reason for a divorce threat is the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. For example, one of the young women in the village had left her husband and her baby and returned to her natal home. I talked to the mother-in-law and she told me that her daughter-in-law required a house of their own. According to the mother-in-law her son could not support a family and of course they would not help them if they left in defiance of the parents' will. I had an impression that the mother-in-law was quite pleased at the departure of her daughter-in-law and said that she would have a bigger wedding for her son on his second marriage. It was not unusual to hear in Tavşancil that some women who disapproved of their son's choice encouraged the sons to divorce their wives. In this case, there was a child of the marriage, and efforts at reconciliation were still going on when I left the village, though I doubt that it led to divorce.

The ready welcome of parents for their daughters encourages young women of Tavşancil to leave their marital homes more easily than in Delihasanlar even if it does not lead to an actual divorce. Particularly the mother-daughter relationship plays an important role in a young woman's married life.

Thus the manifest conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, the secularisation of marriage and the encouragement of the parents of both spouses make divorce more acceptable in Tavşancil, - even if on my figures, the actual number of cases is not significantly different.

CHAPTER VII

KINSHIP

Though the kinship network provides the main reference point for the social identification of an individual, in neither of the two research villages has it political importance; in neither are there organized conflicting lineage groups.

The people of Delihasanlar deliberately try to maintain good relations with almost everybody in the village and with close neighbours in particular. Individuals involved in disputes do not receive any support from kin on either side. For instance, the quarrel between the headman's wife and another woman in the village did not stop either of them from having friendly relations with the other members of the respective households. In the small disputes I witnessed the people were concerned to find a compromise between the disputing parties,(Hiatt 1965) not support them and split the village into two opposing camps.[1]

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[1]The villagers consciously or unconsciously cause conflict through gossip. For example, the failure of a match between two young people was caused by gossip and created tense relations between the respective households. The girl was taken by her father and married to an outsider. Gluckman argues "that people who are friends on one basis are enemies on another", and "conflicts in one set of relationships over a wider range of society or through a longer period of time lead to the re-establishment of social cohesion". (Gluckman 1956) In Delihasanlar, though there are no willage-wide conflict, gossip causes tensions in one social context, whilst it strengthens the relationship on another.

The village does not recognise patrilineal groups for any clear purpose, and I did not witness any violent conflict between opposing sides or factions based on any principle. This contrasts with Stirling's findings (Stirling 1965), and with reports of findings in other parts of Turkey. It is an open question whether the absence of lineage groups causes the absence of organised violence, or vice versa.

Severe disputes do however occur between close kin, especially brothers, cousins or second cousins, over unsolved land problems.[1] For instance, three of the seven groups of brothers are not on speaking terms with each other. Even those who have no open conflict, do not have close relations. The only serious quarrel which took place when I was in the village was the result of a land dispute between a man and his father's brother's son. The head of one household beat the twenty-one year old son of the other. The father and the grandfather of the young man decided to take action, but they were not supported by public opinion. Though some of the people agreed that they were right, they still opposed violence, which would disturb peace in the village. So, the arguments did not go beyond mutual cursing and threats and the victim took the case

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[1] In theory all the siblings have equal access to land. However, as I was told by the villagers their lands were not registered. Thus in the case of disagreement they cannot solve the problem in court. Land disputes arise amongst close kin not only over the size of the land they inherit but also over its value, since the plots of land are scattered all around the village and vary in quality.

court. However nobody had witnessed the actual assault and nobody in the village was willing publicly to support either side, at the expense of losing the friendship of the other, so it is difficult to see how a legal case could be established. Just before I left the village, the agressor sued for peace and offered to discuss a settlement. It seems to me that they were forced to compromise largely by the lack of outside support.

Though kin outside the household have far less importance for an individual than members of the household, close, even remote, kin and affines are recognized by the villagers. Almost everybody in the village assumes that he is closely or remotely linked to the rest of the people (Frankenberg 1957).

Kinship Network

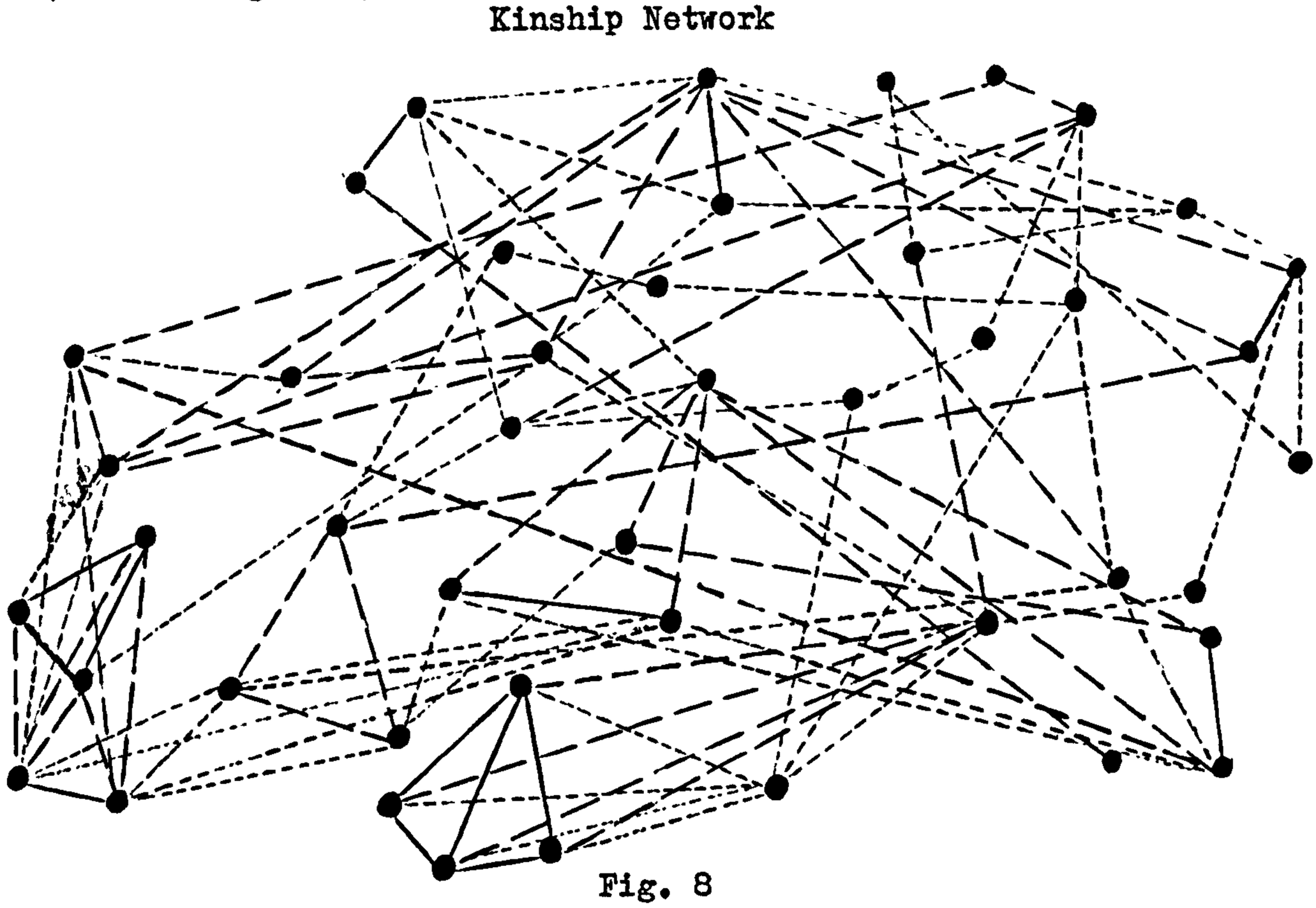

Fig. 8

Household Heads ●

Brothers ———

Close Kin — — —

Remote Kin and Affines -------

"Close" is taken from my informants. Roughly, it includes all first and second cousins.

Hence, continous land disputes between close kin, and overlapping kinship ties and the anxiety to prevent a village wide disorder may have a discouraging effect on the formation of certain lineages with the village.

The people of Tavşancil also try to avoid village wide conflict. However, informal social control here is less effective than in Delihasanlar, presumably as a result of integration in the wider society. (Homans 1951)

The villagers draw a clear distinction between neighbourliness and kinship as well as between kinship and affinity. Even within the kinship network, kin are graded according to their genetic closeness to the individual. Exchange of services, which are governed by mutual rights and obligations can only take place between close kin although small services can be exchanged between neighbours, friends and remoter relatives. For example, the sisters of the retired teacher's wife help her in collecting grapes and transporting them from vineyard to the village, since the retired teacher does not have a donkey. In winter when the teacher and his wife are in Ankara her sisters take care of the house and clean it from time to time. In turn, generous gifts are provided by the teacher's wife and the teacher himself helps them with their administrative problems in Ankara or Izmit since he has more contacts among civil servants.

The people of Tavşancil are also very careful in establishing firm kinship ties with those who have successes in life through education,

occupation and economic mobility, whatever their geneological links (Frankenberg 1957). Thus throughout the interviews a successful relative was mentioned enthusiastically whilst closer kin within the village were often ignored.

Though a neighbour or a friend will be preferred occasionally as a result of various kinship disputes, it is my impression that kin are given priority when services are needed. This, however, does not mean that the people of Tavşancil have closer relations with their kin than the people of Delihasanlar. Indeed spatial mobility lessened the frequency of interaction between kin in Tavşancil. Outside economic opportunities on the other hand have increased economic mobility which in turn has upset economic equality and has widened economic distance amongst kin. As Marris suggests, economic security discourages traditional loyalties (Marris 1961).[1] Economic inequality amongst kin lessens the expectations of equal returns. Fear of the increasing demands of a poorer relative, makes a well-off man more careful in his relations to his kin. The poorer people of Tavşancil often complain about the indifference of their better-off kin. Although not invariably, I found that closer relations were maintained between economic equals.

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[1]The Ibo from the Eastern region have large kinship organizations in Lagos and each member contributes to the joint fund (Marris 1961). This fund is used for future economic crises of the members and functions as a bank. However, a member being promoted through education and having a secure job in the civil service is reluctant to pay the subscription since his future has been taken care of by an outside institution.

There are also differences of social and occupational interests amongst kin which cut across kinship ties. According to Martin, in modern society individuals are grouped according to the social activity they are engaged in and do not have identical interests simply by virtue of being kin (Martin 1957). In Tavşancil, for instance, the aims and the interest of a brother who works in industry will be very different from the one who is engaged in viticulture. Partly because of this, men have looser kinship ties than women who have less outside contact and less diversified interests.

Thus kinship ties outside the household unit in both villages are loose and the household is the most important kinship group (Campbell 1964).

In Delihasanlar the father-son relation is the most important kinship tie for the survival of the joint household (Leslie 1967). Father owns the means of production, and exercises considerable power. He has the responsibility of increasing the household wealth in order to provide for his sons. In turn he expects them to work for him, - in other words for the economic betterment of the household. Sons are the security for the survival of the household; they provide free labour themselves, and later introduce more manpower through marriage and begetting children. They depend completely on their father who alone can provide them with basic resources within the village.

Though daughters are treated affectionately by both parents and

work for the welfare of the household until their marriage, they are considered guests, since as soon as they are married, their membership of their natal household ceases. A woman's kinship loyalty is prioririly to her husband's household. At the beginning of my visit the tendency of the women to regard themselves as mainly members of their husbands' households made it difficult for me to find out their natal kin the village. This, however, does not mean that they stop seeing their parents. Even those who live in another village come to Delihasanlar to visit their parents once or twice a year. But they no longer have economic significance for their natal households (p.159).

Mother is an important figure in the household. She provides affection for her children and maintains the link between father and children, since the father has formal and distant relations with his children, particularly when they reach the age of 15. This formality helps him to maintain authority over his children, although this may or may not be his actual intention. Mother, on the other hand, has no such fear, as she does not intend to regulate her relations with her children on the grounds of power and continues to have informal and intimate relations with them. For example, when the 17 year old son of the headman fell in love with a village girl, he talked to his mother who took the news to the father, and persuaded him to agree with the choice. A mother supports her children when they have a disagreement with their father.

Thus a mother has the most intimate and informal relations both with

her children and with her husband. (Homans 1951)[1] Relationship between a man and his wife becomes closer over the years, when they have their own household unit where the authority and the interference of their parents are absent. Their relations are not only strengthened by mutual affection, sexual satisfaction and a common aim - that is the planning of their children's future, but also by economic interdependence (p.177). Most of the villagers, male and female, told me that their "best friends" were their marriage partners. In theory, however, men exercise power over their wives, though in practice, most of the decisionsare taken together. For instance, the headman wanted to buy beasts with the money earned from the sale of the crops, but his wife wanted a sewing machine. The arguments went on for weeks and eventually they bought a sewing machine.

In theory a woman has the same right as her brothers over the common household property; in practice she does not ask for a share, except for the piece of land she is given at her marriage (p.39). Instead of in the long run contributing to her natal household, she is destined to leave it, and she tries therefore to get out of it as much as possible. This attitude towards the common property makes the sisters rivals against each other, each endeavouring to acquire a bigger share while they still

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[1]According to Homans, if the relationship between A and B is of a particular kind, and the relationship between B and C is close and warm, the relationship between A and C will tend to resemble the relationship between A and B.

live in their natal household. They own very little, but argue about it from childhood on. For instance, whenever the headman's wife bought something for one of her daughters, the other openly quarrelled with her mother about it. Especially where their trousseaus are concerned, each becomes more anxious to obtain more than the other. The villagers say: "It is better to have a pig on the mountains than having two daughters at home".

On the other hand, brothers do not argue over their possessions even when they are children. Elder brothersseem to be pleased to give up for their younger brothers. Though they are potential rivals over the property, they keep quiet till their father's death. They work for the betterment of their natal household, since they know that it is to their advantage to promote its wealth. The more they give, the more they get in return. They know that neither can ask for a share as long as their father lives. Because of this long term peace between brothers, the villagers blame their wives for initiating conflict between them and thus disturbing the order within the joint household (p. 97).

It is true that a woman is an outsider in her husband's household and she is more concerned in protecting the interests of her nuclear unit (particularly her children) than in the betterment of the joint household in general, particularly in a large joint household where there is more than one daughter-in-law and where the property will be divided between the brothers. However rivalry between the sisters-in-law does not normally turn into an open conflict before the death of the household

head and does not threaten the structure of the joint household.

After the withdrawal of the control of the household head, brothers' wives raise their voice to demand shares for their children. Though the men of the village claim that they do not listen to their wives, they are influenced by continuous insinuations of their wives and it is the role of the wives, who are not bound by primary kinship duties, to make their responsibilities towards their nuclear units explicit (Freedman 1958).

The conflict between the wives of brothers, however, only hastens the inevitable. Every man looks to become the head of his own household and a full adult member of the community. As long as he lives with his elder brother, he will be treated as subordinate. A separation between two young brothers under the age of 30, who were trying to preserve the existing order in their joint household after their father died, took place in my first visit to Delihasanlar. Though older kin and village elders had assembled to persuade them to come to an agreement, the younger brother who was working in town, and whose wife had been beaten by his brother, insisted on separation. The insult done to his wife seemed to be a pretext to declare his independence. He accused his elder brother of having been selfish and despotic towards him all his life.

The relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is regulated by the economic structure (p.175). They depend on each other, and have no conflict over resources to divide them. Since brides are normally young (between 15-20) they are trained, and often moulded by

their mothers-in-law. Even the most severe arguments between them do not threaten the existence of the joint household.

The rivalry between sisters-in-law in fact, leads them to seek better relations with their mother-in-law, to obtain her support. Mother-in-law in turn takes advantage of the conflict between them. She sometimes encourages their rivalry to strengthen her close relation with each, though most of the time she tries to find a compromise for the sake of the household unity. An old woman I know, while she was watching her daughters-in-law separating crops and waiting to act as arbiter in case of dispute, remarked that her daughters-in-law never got on well; each would complain about the other to her. She was, however, on good terms with both of them, and said she could not understand why they were jealous of one another.

In Tavşancil, the relationship between father and son seems to have lost its economic importance. Father does not necessarily need his son's labour since outside labour is available. The son, on the other hand, looks outside the household for employment (p.185). It is in the interest of a man to keep his married sons at home.[1] He can thus increase the wealth and prestige of his household, and win renown even beyond the village. It is the sons who initiate separation.

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[1] However living together is not as profitable as in Delihasanlar, because of the higher standard of living and the ready-made consumption goods (p.103).

The son being the subordinate takes advantage of the new economic structure more readily, and as soon as he has his economic independence he rejects his father's authority, and partly because of pressure from his wife leaves his natal household to start his own household (p.200). Young people dislike and despise work on the land (p.206) and thus inheriting land becomes less significant (p. 67). But a man with considerable wealth to be inherited is likely to retain his son's loyalty and subordination (Freedman 1958).

Contrary to the loose father-son relationship which affects the structure of the household (p. 13), the mother-daughter relationship gains more significance particularly after the marriage of the daughter (Young & Wilmot 1957). Whereas other kin might regard a house at the other side of the village as a long way away, mother and daughter will visit each other daily regardless of the distance and exchange services. If a daughter has young children, her relationship with her mother becomes closer and her mother helps her in important events such as childbirth. There are at least four reasons for this close contact. Firstly, a higher percentage of intra-village marriages make visiting between mother and daughter physically possible.[1] Secondly, a young wife is less likely to live with her in-laws in Tavşancil and has more freedom to visit with and be visited by her own mother. Thirdly, her freedom is

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[1] Contact between mother and daughter who lives somewhere else is maintained by yearly visits (p. 87).

often further enhanced by her husband's occupation. If he is away from home during the day she need not ask for his consent for visiting. Fourthly, being alone, with no mother-in-law, she needs companionship, help and advice in her wifely duties.

A mother may even help a daughter resident in a joint household, as much as her mother-in-law who lives in the same household. One young woman I know, living with her parents-in-law, would leave her baby with her own mother whenever she went out with her husband, since her mother-in-law disapproved of the couple going out together. Even when there was much work to be done in the home she took the child to her own mother, in order to be able to do the work. When this happens, children can become more familiar with their mothers' mothersthan their fathers' mothers, despite living in the household of the latter.

Sisters, particularly after their marriage, become close friends. Almost all the women told me in interview that they regarded their sisters as their "best friends". Even after the death of their mother and even in the case of long distance between them they do not loose contact and keep in touch by correspondence and by yearly visits.[1]

The relationship between brothers is a different kind from the relationship between sisters. They rarely see each other even if they both live in the village. For example, the headman and his brother hardly

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[1] Young & Wilmott found that in Bethnal Green mother is the main link among siblings and after her death they loose contact with each other (Young & Wilmott 1957).

saw each other, and there was no relations between their households. The headman was often away dealing with his work in town, and his brother was a sheep breeder in the village. One evening, the headman wanted to discuss something with his brother but only invited the brother to dinner, and no-one else from his household. The conflict between them over the property is reinforced by their different occupational interests (Campbell 1964).

Fathers in Tavşancil say they are more fond of their daughters than of their sons and as far as I witnessed they are much more affectionate to their daughters, particularly when they are young. For example, a 7 year old daughter of a couple I know used to look forward to her father's arrival in the evenings to play with him. The mother did not have time to spare for her child. I witnessed one occasion in particular which struck me. One evening I was being entertained by the couple and the child would not go to bed. Her father went to the bedroom and waited there till she fell asleep. I found out that the couple shared their bed with their daughter, since she refused to sleep in her own bed.

Mother becomes an important figure when the children grow older and their informal and warm relations with their father become formal and distant. She sometimes threatens her children to report them to their father who has now become a symbol of authority, and sometimes defends them against their father. She shares her children's and, in particular, her daughters' secrets (p.124), and she supports them when they are in conflict with their father. Thus in Tavşancil the more formal and distant

becomes the relationship between a man and his children, the more important the mother becomes as a link between her children and her husband.

Though the relationship between a wife and a husband is of the utmost importance for the existence of the nuclear household, outside activities and different interests keep them apart (p.184). Men have more contacts with their friends and work associates; women with their female kin, neighbours and friends. For example, the retired teacher used to spend his time in the café and his wife visited her sisters every evening.

The mother-in-law - daughter-in-law relationship is another important determinant of the household structure (p.150). Conflict between them has become manifest as a result of the economic independence of the son and the support a daughter-in-law can obtain from her family (p.150). However strong the opposition of both sets of parents, friction between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law usually results in separation unless the son is economically dependent on his father.

In summary, it would seem that in both villages kinship relations outside the household have little significance for an individual. However, due to the socio-economic differences between the two villages, the relationships found within the household between its members, take a markedly different form.

CHAPTER VIII

DIVISION OF LABOUR

In this chapter I intend to describe the "division of labour" and to show that it has the effect of reducing conflict, especially in the household.

Delihasanlar:

Every household in the village is almost an independent, self-sufficient unit. Lack of occupational differentiation in Delihasanlar lessens the economic interdependence between its members, yet there is intra-village or "mechanical" solidarity (Durkheim 1933 /1893/). Common problems of everyday life, common culture and little contact with the outside world (Suzuki 1966) increases the interaction and strengthens solidarity within the village.[1] The villagers differentiate themselves as "we" from the rest of the wider society. They feel at ease in the company of people of their own kind. They often told me that they felt lost and strange when they went to town, and were glad to be back in the village. Thus, social and relative economic homogeneity in the village increase the frequency of interaction and solidarity and vice versa.

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[1] Campbell's data suggest that the economic self-sufficiency of the household lessens community solidarity (Campbell 1964). One possible factor seems to be the economic structure of the Sarakatsani community. Delihasanlar is a settled farming village where people are thrown together most of the time.

Furthermore, sex and age segration in some phases of social life, as well as overlapping kinship ties, cut across absolute household solidarity. As soon as the busy season is over, the men take themselves off to the coffee-house where they can exchange news and discuss their economic problems and politics. It is a men's world and the women, they say, having "much hair and little wisdom" (saçi uzun, akli kisa) do not have the capacity to grasp these issues. Men who tend to be with their wives outside their joint work, will be subject to public criticism for being weak and under the influence of women. Most of the women accept their inferiority to men and would not interfere in their decisions. There are few who believe that they are as capable as men to grasp any issue, particularly when the economic welfare of the household is concerned. I happened to witness a number of arguments of this kind between the headman and his wife. She did not want to accept the realities of the community she lived in.

The women of the village do not need to have leisure time to mix, since all the outdoor work is done together. Flax pressing and spinning, as we will see later, are done by the women of the neighbourhood in groups. Bread making is another communal activity which brings a number of women together around one of the six bake-houses in the village. It is possible to find a number of women by the only fountain of the village, doing their washing-up almost every day of the year.[1] They exchange news

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[1] Since there is no running water in any house in the village, the women set a fire by the fountain in the village square to heat up the water which is obviously much easier than carrying water to their houses.

and discuss family affairs. When they finish housework they gather in the streets to enjoy their leisure time, spinning, knitting and doing needlework. They say they usually spend the long evenings together in a house of one of them in winter. (They had just started meeting in the evenings when I left the village at the end of November).

Although the relationship between father and son is most fundamental for the economic existence of the household, they are hardly seen together outside work. Neither of them can be at ease with the other. The father, holding the position of power in his household, cannot ask his son's opinion in any matter and cannot discuss his problems with him. There is an institutionalized distance between them. And both tend to choose mates among their own age groups. (When I made an informal inquiry about friendship in the village, I often asked the informant why he had picked certain persons as his friends. Most of them said: "We are in the same age group" (yaşitiz), or (akraniz)).

Mother anddaughter, on the other hand, spend more time together and their relationship is much more intimate mostly because the mother does not have much authority over her children. Still there are certain things which neither of them can speak of in the presence of the other. A mother is not supposed to discuss sexual matters in front of her unmarried daughter, or a duaghter to make dirty jokes in front of her mother. This is why, whenever a young girl is free from work, she goes to join her friends to talk and behave more freely. After a certain age and

married status, the women mix regardless of their age. Especially when a young woman is in trouble, she will choose an elderly woman to talk to and to ask for advice since she has more experience in life. In general, however, she will choose her close friends among her own age group.

Furthermore, people exchange services in everyday life, and as we will see later, some economic activities such as flax threshing require outside help.

The villagers are well aware of this dependence and make every possible effort not to upset the order in the village (p.152). Of course, there is conflict in the village, as conflict is inherent in any society (Dahrendorf 1959). Yet apart from individual disputes, I did not witness any violent fight in Delihasanlar. The people seem to be proud of and content with this peace in the village and they say that "they are like a big family".

One example will illustrate how much satisfaction the village solidarity gives to the people. An old man, whose son had settled down in town and wanted the rest of the family to join him there, refused this offer saying that: "in the village if you are short of grain you can always borrow from others and you will never starve to death. But in a town nobody will help you."

Thus, sex and age segregation and overlapping kinship ties prevent the household from becoming an absolute, self-contained and independent

social unit and facilitates intra-village solidarity.[1]

Division of Labour in the Household:

Although it is difficult to classify the social phenomena as if they are entirely separate, for the sake of my argument I distinguish two kinds of economic activities, joint and segregated, which are determined partly by the structure of the household and nature of the task; I realize, of course, the difficulties of imposing a sharp distinction in all cases.

A household is almost the only economic "firm" (Benedict 1967) in Delihasanlar. The main economic activity[2] is mixed farming which necessitates full participation of all the members and the organization of activities takes place according to age, sex and status within the household.

In nuclear and relatively small households some work is done

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[1] Social mixing between the sexes is much freer than most field research data (e.g. Stirling 1965), and my own observations in a number of other villages and in Tavşancil suggest. When I saw the women and the men in Delihasanlar talking to each other freely in the streets, I was astonished. The size of the village and overlapping kinship ties seem to be the possible explanation of this situation. As a result of lack of strain in social relations between opposite sexes, I found it much easier to communicate with the men in this village than in Tavşancil.

[2] Though seasonal migration takes place in Delihasanlar, the villagers never count this as a means of earning one's living but only to obtain enough cash to buy some household requirements.

jointly, more or less regardless of age, sex and status, with the minimum of specialization imposed by physical and social limitations and basic social rules. For example, in the busy season, between June and September, all the members of such a household are mobilized to perform the same range of tasks on the threshing floor. Winnowing, sifting or moving straw into the barn are usually done by adults since these tasks require greater competence. Children help their parents in leading the threshing-sledge or turning over the ears from time to time. They also take care of the beasts which need to be fed and given water in the evenings. Looking after poultry is the responsibility of the youngest member of the household. A young female member on the other hand takes over all the responsibility of housework during the busy season.

When the busy season is over division of labour between the sexes becomes more clearly defined. For instance, after the headman's family finished their work on the threshing floor, he and his sons started ploughing, sowing and reaping. His wife joined them once or twice. Though ploughing is regarded as the responsibility of men as physical strength is required, when there is a lack of manpower the women are as efficient as men at this task. For example, one of the relatively young household heads worked in Izmit for wages all winter and part of the spring, and his wife did all the agricultural work by herself.

Cleaning stables is also done by adult men. However, in the husband's absence, a woman can tackle this task. When the headman went away for a

week his wife had to clean their stable, - though she complained to me that her husband expected too much from her.

In a large joint household where a surplus of manpower is available, specialization in the distribution of work during the process of threshing, for example, is more marked though it is by no means rigid. Since almost all the members of the household gather on the threshing floor during this period, and the main aim is to complete as much work as possible per day, whenever there is a shortage of labour of a specific kind, the rest of the household will co-operate to finish it. However, usually, the younger members and the male members of the family will lead the threshing-sledge whilst the women are turning over the ears or straws. In the mornings, usually the experienced adult male member will lay down the ears on the threshing floor. In the evenings, when the threshing is over, the younger adults of either sex will do the winnowing whilst the women, young or old, will deal with the sifting. The removal of the chapped straws into the barn is the men's responsibility and the sweeping of the threshing floor is mainly done by women. Younger members take care of the animals. Old women, mothers-in-law usually stay at home and do the housework and look after their grand-children, whilst the daughters-in-law, being young and strong, work with the others on the threshing floor (p.128).

In a large joint household different members have responsibility for different tasks in every phase of economic activity.

An aged household head gradually relinquishes his responsibilities

and deals with jobs which require less physical strength, such as making repairs, pulling maize or pasturing animals.[1] Some of these large joint households also have secondary economic activities such as trading or crafts. Sometimes it is the father who does the trading, as in the case of the shopkeeper. Or a household head, as in the case of the carving machine owner, may do the farming, leaving the secondary economic activities to his son or sons. This division of responsibility between father and son not only enables the household to have additional economic means for income, which increases the level of wealth of the household,[2] but also decreases the possible tension between father and son about the distribution of power in the household.

Potential conflict between brothers is eased by seasonal migration, though of course it is never thought of in this way, but rather as the mobilisation of surplus labour for extra income.[3] However, I never saw

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[1] There is a close relation between the size of the household, the degree of wealth it possesses and the number of sheep it owns. It is outside the scope of this paper to discuss the precise relationship between these three factors. Wealthy households, however, are large joint households and own large numbers of sheep though some of the smaller households have considerable wealth and some poorer households own smaller flocks of sheep.

[2] Apart from lack of outside work opportunities, the desire to increase the wealth of the household can be an important factor in the preservation of the joint form of the household in the village.

[3] Seasonal migration often leads to permanent migration, and all permanent migrants began as seasonal migrants. The decision to emigrate causes conflict between a man and his son who wants to emigrate, since not only he but also his family will leave with him, which means shortage of labour supply in the household (p.95). (Yang 1945)

open conflict between brothers living in a joint household, where the authority was held by their father. The only conflict between brothers I witnessed, took place after their father's death (p.161). The younger brother who had gone to town to work, told me afterwards that "he had escaped from his brother since he had foreseen the inevitable result".

Although no formal rule determines the division of labour between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law as is the case for opposite sexes, (p.177) the daughter-in-law, being young and stronger, is expected to take over the heavy labour such as helping her husband in cultivating the land and in threshing grain. A mother-in-law, in turn, takes full responsibility for the internal work of the household. She cooks for the others, does the washing-up, and looks after her grandchildren. This kind of division of labour enables both to do their share of work more efficiently and in a less tiring way. For example, a number of times I heard the headman's wife complaining about the amount of work she had to do. She remembered, with yearning, the days when her mother-in-law was alive. She was looking forward to the day of her son's marriage which would relieve her from most of her outdoor responsibilities. By keeping a woman and her daughter-in-law apart most of the time and securing mutual interdependence, the division of labour decreases the potential conflict between them. Once a young woman was complaining about her mother-in-law. Knowing that the mother-in-law had another son in Izmit, I asked the young woman whether she would like her mother-in-law to live with him. She said: "we do not get along very well but I could not

manage without her. Even in looking after my child she is a great help." This does not mean conflicts never arise. From time to time arguments and even quarrels break out. One such very severe row took place during my first visit to the village and resulted in a separation which met with strong public disapproval. On my second visit to the village a year later, the daughter-in-law, who had moved to town with her husband, came to the village for a day and only a few young women talked to her. People could not forgive her for stirring up trouble within a household. This strong public reaction would seem to discourage young people from deviating from the norms of the village.

Conflict between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law does not threaten the joint household structure. The power of a mother-in-law over her daughter-in-law decreases over the years while the relationship between a man and his wife is being established firmly, partly as a result of joint work which they do. Thus arguments more often break out over small things. However severe the tension, separation is never considered as the final solution. For each, the advantages of dividing the household tasks far outweigh the drawbacks of sharing one household.

The wives of brothers are the only conflicting parties who are likely to be thrown together most of the time. Being both women and more or less in the same age group, they are expected to do the same kind of work. In a large household, for example, the mother-in-law only cooks and washes the dishes. All the rest of the housework and outside work is done by these young women. They may, and indeed they do, divide the work among

themselves. In one household I know, for example, the younger wife fetched water, took the midday meal to the men while they were working in the fields, or sometimes joined them to plough. The elder wife did the flax threshing and the heavy housework. My impression is that they avoided each other as much as possible. Arguments between brothers' wives take place openly and frequently without causing much anxiety, as conflict between them does not threaten the existing household structure as long as the household head is alive (p.160-162).

Even in the beginning of their married life a young couple, as a result of the joint work they do, spend more time with each other than with the other members of their household. The relationship between them is strengthened over the years, since they share a common economic interest. For example, the main subject of the conversation between the headman and his wife in the evenings was how much work had been done during the day, and how much more was left to be done before the season ended, and how much they would earn from the sale of their yield.

A few tasks are rigidly confined to particular people in the household. For example, flax threshing is entirely the responsibility of men; I never saw women helping men in this task. Since flax threshing must be done in a day or two because of fear of early rain, the help of kin and neighbours is required. This is the only work I know of that is done by a group of men who are not from the same household. The host gives a large midday meal to his helpers. This service is usually returned in kind in the same season, so that most of the men are busy for a week or

two with threshing flax. Sometimes the reciprocity in this process is postponed to future seasons or may be paid back in other kinds of services. As Whyte states "when life in the group runs smoothly, the obligations binding members to one another are not explicitly recognized." (Whyte 1943) Most of the favours are long-term investments and when an emergency arises, the individual who has done a service some years ago believes it is his right to ask for the return of his service, not only from the particular individual but also from his descendants. (For instance, when there was a conflict between two parties in the village, the headman supported the one whose father had done him a number of favours.)

Furthermore, those who are the only male adults in their households are not expected to perform the communal work (imece). I witnessed the flax threshing process in the headman's threshing floor. Some of the helpers were his kin and some others were just neighbours or friends, amounting to eight altogether. Some of his kin did not turn up because they were busy in their own threshing floors. I noticed that those who attended the imece were the members of large households where a surplus of manpower was available. In turn the headman was not expected to reciprocate since he was the only adult male in his household. He was often away to handle his administrative duties too. The free and formal lunch was also the compensation for the labour.

As soon as the men finish threshing and put the flax seeds into sacks ready to be taken to the town, the women get busy with the flax

straw. First they wash the straw and leave it to dry for a few days. Then comes the hardest process, pressing the flax straw. It is performed in the company of other women in the neighbourhood. It lasts from two to four weeks according to the amount of the flax produced. As the work has to be finished before the dry season is over (pressing takes place in October) those who have raised too much flax ask for help of those who have finished theirs. The hostess prepares a large midnight dinner for the participants of the imece since it starts at about 8 p.m. and continues till 1 a.m. Personal friendship plays a more important role in getting help than kinship. Usually the young women and girls are in demand for assistance and it is easier to attract these young people if the hostess has personal charm, (being talkative and a born joker and having good relations with her neighbours). I witnessed such a communal evening work where 10 of the 15 attendants were young girls. The hostess, a relatively young woman in her thirties, encouraged the girls to sing and told them dirty stories which made them giggle. It was a kind of entertainment for them to work together. Another evening there were three imece. One of them obtained 11 people to assist, the second one only 5, whilst the third one failed to get any help. Even the married daughter of the third household preferred to join the group in the first household. The next evening the hostess of the third household, a woman in her sixties, had to make a promise to buy calico for those who would help her, in addition to the large midnight dinner.

While the women are busy with flax pressing, combing and spinning,

the men to to the woods to get fire-wood or repair their tools and carts or make new carts. I never heard of a woman doing any of these tasks.

The village women are horrified by the idea of going to towns by themselves. This self perpetuating situation and the monopoly of external relationships by men validates the superiority of the men in their households. It is the men who take the grain and flax seeds to the market and buy the household's food supply for the winter. The women barter flax straw and grain to purchase calicos and cotton from travelling traders who come to the village every fortnight during the summer.

The housework, on the other hand, is done by the women. No man in the village would try to clean the house, do the washing, or cook and make bread. The men, incapable of these tasks, consider them degrading. Ability to handle a man's work, such as ploughing, is an asset for a woman, but woman's work is out of the question for a man.

The household is the basic economic institution; the division of labour within it, along the lines defined by kinship and sex, strengthens the interdependence among its members and maintains the "organic solidarity" (Durkheim 1933 [1893]). Yet organic solidarity in this sense is somewhat different from organic solidarity in wider society. Members of a household have personal and intimate relations which are regulated by mutual rights and obligations, whereas in the usual sense of the term, these intimate elements of interdependence are missing.

To sum up, in a community of farmers where there are no alternative occupations, the only division of labour is within the household, where

some allocation of tasks is technically necessary. This internal "organic solidarity" is one source at least of household stability, though plainly the details of the allocation of tasks and of the relationships which this allocation affects, are in part the result of local, national and religious traditions.

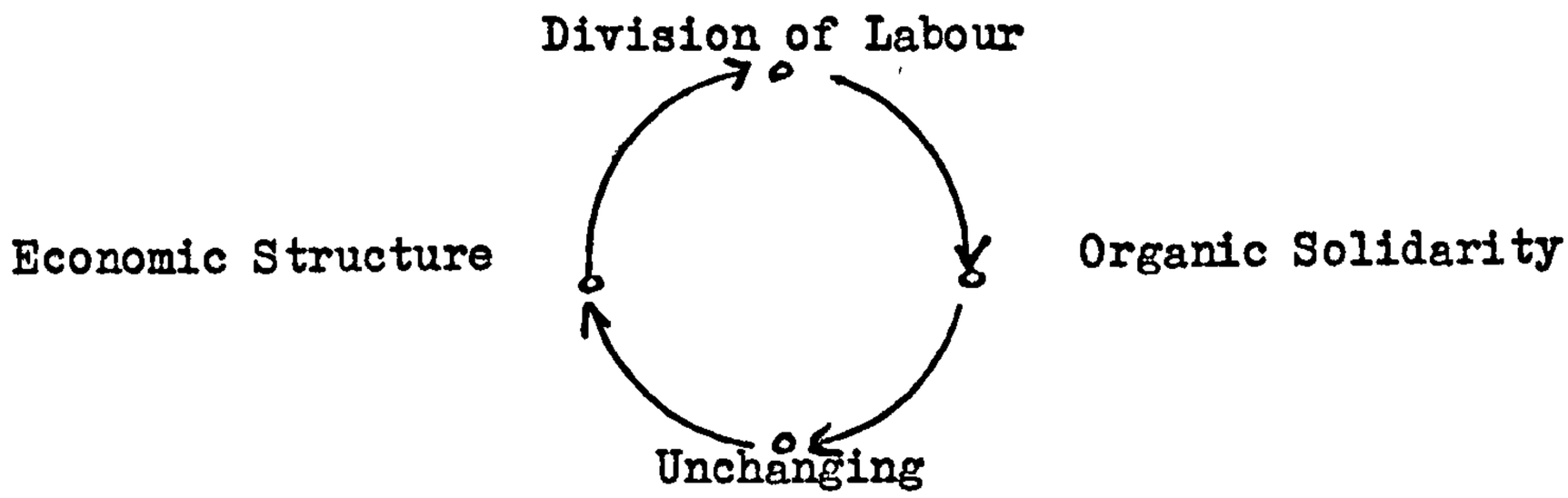

Fig. 9

Tavşancil:

For a variety of reasons Tavşancil is a heterogeneous society. Firstly, the old established people of the village distinguish themselves from the newcomers and immigrants (p.63). Secondly, there are differences in wealth in the village, and hence differences in consumption, wide enough for us to speak of "stratification". Due to the increasing status differences, exchange relations become differentiated (Epstein 1962). Some people, by providing services and lending money to the others, become influential. For instance, the baker, one of the richest men in the village, is known for his generosity; he permits the villagers to buy on

credit and he sometimes waives the debts of poor people. He also lends money at very low interest. The people for whom he has done favours are obliged to return the services whenever they are asked. He is highly esteemed and respected. The other rich man, the headman, uses his wealth to enlarge his social network outside the village (p.78-9).

Thirdly, occupational diversification, due to availability of wider choice in economic activities, results in differentiation of economic interest within the village, whilst it increases the dependence on and integration in the wider society (Epstein 1962). In the village services are returned in cash not in kind.

Intra-village solidarity is much less in Tavşancil than in Delihasanlar though, of course, the villagers still identify themselves as "we", particularly when there is a conflict between the village and another place (Williams 1956). For instance, at a wedding I saw, the girls from Hereke had an argument with the girls of Tavşancil and all the people supported the village girls regardless of the rights and wrongs of the argument. They often say that the people of Tavşancil are much better than the people of other villages.

Division of Labour in the Household:

Easy access to the industrial centres in the area and commuting facilities have increased the number of people employed in industry (p. 68). This has decreased joint economic activities among members of the household and has resulted in conjugal role segregation in the family.

At the moment it is only the men who go out of the village to make a living. (There are only two women, both widows, in my sample who work for their living.)

Even for those who are still engaged in viticulture, their relative prosperity enables them to hire outside labour for hoeing, pruning and spraying. Only in the very poor families are these tasks done by the members of the household.

The elderly women say that formerly women used to do the same work as men in the vineyards. However, recently it has become a matter of prestige and a proof of level of wealth not to allow women to work the land (Epstein 1962). They also believe that it is the urban way of life not to expect any hard work from women.

Grape picking is a protracted economic activity because the villagers are forbidden by the authorities from sending to market more than a fixed number of crates a day. Thus they need no labour outside the family. The members of a household set off early in the morning, at about 6 a.m. The men ride the donkeys, which are used to transport the crates back to the village, and the women take buses to the vineyards which are situated on either side of the highway. They finish cutting the bunches at about 9 a.m. and then they sit down to separate the rotten grapes with special scissors and to wrap the bunches and put them into the crates. They return to the village by about 3 p.m. As soon as the men finish loading the crates onto the lorry to be transported to Istanbul, they go to the coffee-shops. The women on the other hand have enough time to do their housework which is their main concern. At the end of the picking season

they boil the grape juice to get molasses.

Those very few who have olive trees do the picking jointly too. Then the men take the olives to the privately-owned olive press and the owner's services are paid in terms of olive oil.

The smaller contribution of women to the economic activities of the household makes them less important for its welfare. Conjugal segregation makes the women, particularly those whose husbands are employed in industry, ignorant about the economic activities of their husbands (Sweetser 1966). This ignorance of the women leads to social segregation between spouses (Dahlstrom 1967), and indeed husband and wife spend much less time together in Tavşancil than in Delihasanlar (p.166). Both sexes look for companionship outside the household unit and this results in closer ties between the women and their kin, in particular, their mothers (p.163). This does not mean that the interdependence between husband and wife has lessened. On the contrary, segregation of work roles increases the interdependence between them for the survival of the nuclear household. Furthermore, increasing influence of the urban way of life leads to a new kind of companionship between wife and husband. For example, a young woman I know told me that her husband rarely went to coffee-houses in the village. She said: "I always get changed before my husband arrives home. He likes to find something to drink ready; I prepare it for him and we drink it together. I am interested in his work and in his problems and persuade him to talk about them. I never go out when he is at home. If a man finds a companionship at home, what more

can he ask for?" Some of the young women I know try to close the gap by reading newspapers and listening to the radio.

While interdependence between the conjugal partners is increasing, the dependence of members of the large joint household declines. The joint household is no longer an ideal form for the villagers. The availability of outside labour in viticulture decreases the importance of the size of the household for its survival. Furthermore, outside institutions provide both new training facilities for the young members of the village to learn new skills which will enable them to make their living outside the family firm, usually in the industry, and also lessen their economic dependence on their fathers. There is no longer any division of labour between father and son since their work is completely unrelated.

In poorer households, the son, earning wages, becomes more independent (p.104). Economic independence encourages him to claim equal rights with his father, which the father is reluctant to recognise. Struggle for power in households leads to frequent clashes which usually result in separation.

On the other hand, the sharp division of labour between opposite sexes, and modern ways of life which provide most of the consumption goods, such as bread, ready made, enable the women of Tavşancil to do their housework efficiently without needing any help. They become competent in housework at an early age under the supervision of their mothers. In addition, they can learn new skills in their spare time, such as tailoring and making modern cakes, in the courses in the village

which have been started by The Ministry of Education. This does not only enable the young women to become skilled house-wives independently from their mothers-in-law, but also to argue the superiority of the new ways in housework to the traditional ways. This is why young girls often look forward to starting their married life in independent house-holds.

The potential conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law becomes open because of a lack of clear cut division of labour between them. They are thrown together in the same kitchen and as the proverb says: "two women are too much for one kitchen". Most of the arguments arise about the amount of work to be done. Mother-in-law expects her daughter-in-law to do most of the work; on the other hand, the daughter-in-law, moving into an established household, feels herself as a stranger and does not take her responsibilities seriously. There are, of course, other factors involved, such as differences in opinions, tastes and views of modes of life. Young women of Tavşancil do not want to learn the traditional way of life, but to change it.

In none of the joint households in my sample were there two married brothers (p.101). The potential conflict between them is reduced not only by separation, but also by occupational differences (p.164-5).

In summary, the changing economic structure and employment opportunities lessens the importance of the household as the sole economic institution providing work and income for its members. This decreases the need for the division of labour among members of a joint household while

increasing the mutual dependence of marriage partners. Absence of internal division of labour lessens the dependence of people on being members of a joint household, and increases the interdependence between the conjugal partners. This in turn leads to changes in family structure (Reynolds, Lamphere, Cook Jr. 1967).

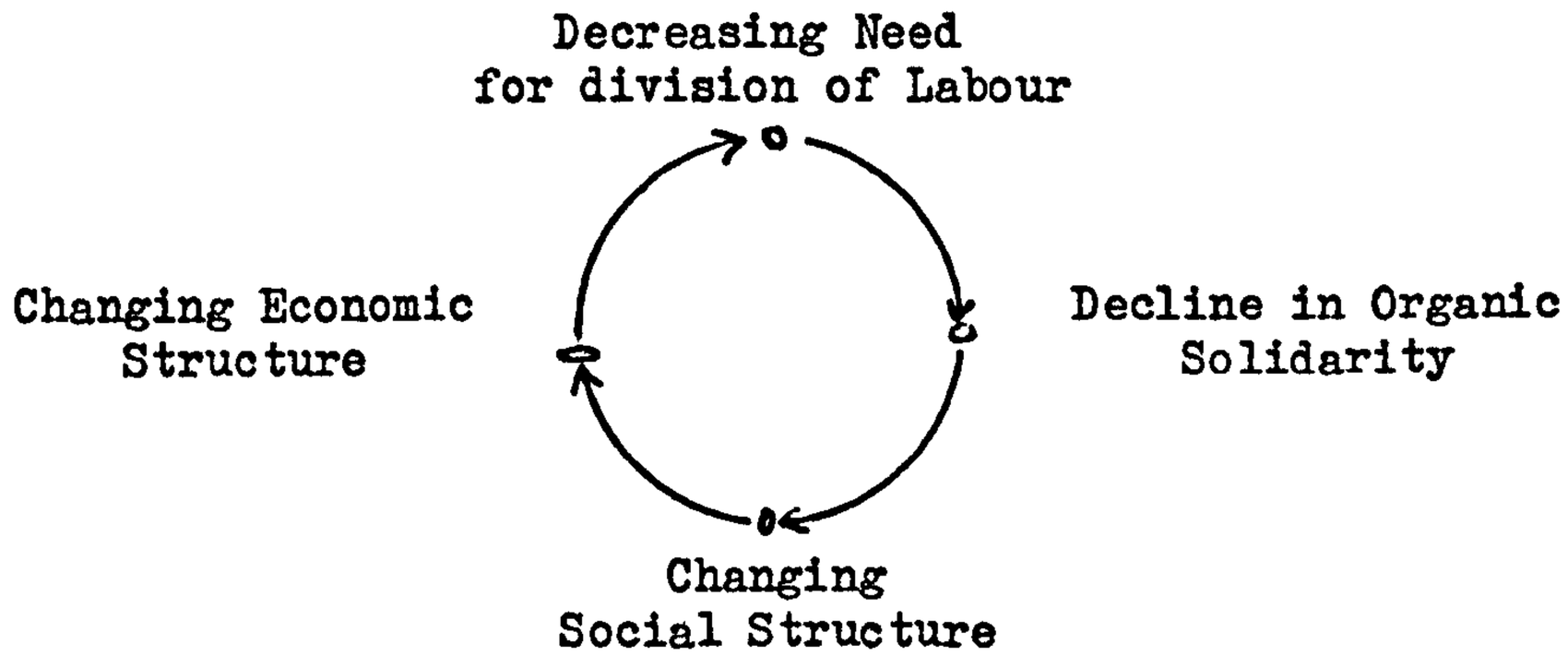

Fig. 10

CHAPTER IX

CONTRASTS

In this last chapter I intend to bring together the most striking contrasts between two villages.

1. Position and Layout:

Delihasanlar is a mountain village, not far from two major towns, Kandira and Izmit (p. 33), but the lack of an all-weather road makes communication with them difficult. It is a relatively isolated community, and in winter often is completely cut off.

Tavşancil, on the other hand, lies on the most important highway of the country, linked to the major towns, Gebze, Izmit and Istanbul by road and by rail. Even before the construction of the highway and railway it had access to urban areas by sea.

2. Composition of the Population:

In Delihasanlar 315 inhabitants live in 45 households. All the members of the community are closely or remotely linked by marriage and kinship. Although kinship and affinity run between villages, there is no household of which all members are outsiders to the community. In other words there has been no immigration of family units (Stirling 1965).

Thus the village is an homogeneous community.

In Tavşancil 1,296 people live in 350 households. According to some villagers, in the last 100 years half of the village population immigrated in family units from other parts of the country. (Demographic stability has been maintained by emigration). In my sample there were five families who had recently immigrated from as far as the Black Sea Coast, - and even Albania. Both indigenous people and immigrants confirm that the acceptance of newcomers take two generations. Belonging to different cultural sub-groups, immigrants introduce new norms and values into the community although after a generation or two they themselves become well integrated in it. Tavşancil is a relatively heterogeneous community.

3. Economic Structure:

Delihasanlar is a grain growing peasant society. No economic diversification exists though some villagers, such as blacksmiths, claim certain skills. Each household is a relatively self sufficient economic unit (Stirling 1965). Lack of outside labour and manpower reinforces the division of labour within the household by age and sex and increases interdependence among its members. There is little complementary interdependence between the households though borrowing and mutual help does take place. Dependence on the wider society is increasing due to the increasing demands for outside products. However, needs for outside goods are still limited;

the villagers consume most of their own produce, and obtain much of what they consume from local resources. Bartering is still the basic process in economic exchange, particularly within the village. One of the important means of obtaining cash is seasonal labour migration. This, however, is not regarded as a means of increasing wealth by the villagers but as a means of supplying cash for emergencies (Brown 1957).

In spite of the existence of wealth differences within the village, the majority of the population belong to the section which I call "middle wealth group". Only a few households have a reputation for holding considerable wealth, and very few households are at either end of the economic scale. However, wealth differences do not affect the style of consumption in the village. Very similar life-styles among the different wealth groups can easily mislead an outsider about the uneven wealth distribution in the community.

Agricultural skills are still primitive and traditional, and there is a resistance to innovation and to recommended improvements in ploughing techniques. If an outsider tries to convince the villagers about the advantages of the new techniques, the villagers answer: "We found (inherited) these things from our ancestors and we do not intend to change them".

Thus Delihasanlar is then a relatively self-sufficient peasant community where the techniques are still traditional and where cash, as a means of exchange, is in very little use.

The people of Tavşancil started growing grapes some 150 years ago, and this introduced a cash economy to the village. With the intervention of outside agencies, techniques of viticulture were improved over the years. The recent acceleration of industrialization near the village provided new opportunities for work in industry for the young male population. This increased the level of wealth of the village on the whole and created new wealth groups which do not fit into the traditional socio-economic structure (p.204-5).

While each household unit is not self-sufficient in Tavşancil, the existence of socio-economic differentiation in the village does not make the village an independent unit; on the contrary, it increases dependence on the wider society. The institutions providing labour, manpower and consumption goods are outside the village, and although most of the households are still engaged in viticulture, quite a number are entirely dependent on industry for their economic survival.

The various jobs available in industry and the civil service require different skills; these in turn increase occupational diversification as well as differentiation in wealth (Epstein 1962). However it is not only the amount of wealth one holds but also the way it is spent which determines one's place in the economic scale within the village. Since these two determinants do not always correspond this can be misleading for an observer. However, wealth is usually used as the means of raising one's standard of living which means importing modern consumer durables, and this makes it easier to differentiate between various wealth levels particularly

at either extreme of the economic scale.

In short Tavşancil is an integrated community; and is entirely dependent on the wider society to provide jobs, external manpower and household requirements.

4. Mobility:

Geographical Mobility:

Three types of geographical mobility can be distinguished in Delihasanlar.

Most of the young male population of the village are seasonal migrants. This often results (after a number of years in a steady job) in permanent migration. Apart from three men who went to Germany for a year or two, few have emigrated to work outside the province. Another source of population movement is intermarriage among villages within the area. Very few village women marry townsmen. I was able to trace 62 people who had moved to towns to marry or more frequently, to work, either in family units or by themselves during the last 15 years. 52 of these went to Izmit, 7 emigrated to the other industrializing towns of the province and only 3 went beyond the province.

In Tavşancil easy commuting discourages permanent geographical mobility among the industrial workers. A very few people do prefer to move to one of the neighbouring towns instead of commuting to work, mainly because of increasing disputes in joint households (p.108-9). Only those who have a

higher education and become civil servants in the government, and those who have married to townsmen, move away.

Geo/graphical mobility here covers a wider space than in Delihasanlar. According to the information provided by those in the sample, there are 148 ex-villagers who live in urban areas. 65 of them live within the boundries of the province; 14 in the capital city of the province, 38 in Hereke and 13 in the other county towns of the province. 44 of the rest 73 who are spread all over the country, live in Istanbul and another 10 live outside Turkey.

Thus 14 percent. of the whole population of Delihasanlar live in urban areas within the province of Kocaeli and 34 percent. of the sample population of Tavşancil live in urban areas all over the country.

In Delihasanlar geographical mobility does not necessarily lead to upward social mobility in the short run. Those who emigrate to work in industry are unskilled workers and it often takes at least two generations before the young succeed sufficiently in education to gain entry to higher prestige occupations (Lipset and Bendix 1957). Furthermore, the emigrants normally settle in one area and interact with people of their own or of neighbouring villages (Hart 1969), partly as a result of easy communication amongst themselves and partly as a result of difficulty in being accepted by urban people. Also their attachment to their land, and their need for economic security in the new environment, at least in the beginning, enforce the maintenance of strong ties with their village, and encourage them to

retain some of the style of rural life. Thus the pressure of small community norms continues to exist in their new social environment.

In Tavşancil, on the other hand since a villager who works in industry does not need to move to an urban area, those who emigrate are usually highly qualified. A government appointment might take them to any part of the country and they are thrown together with other people, mostly with their colleagues in their new settlements. Their degree of education, their profession and their relations with urban people hasten the changes in their style of life and the integration in their new social environment. Acceptance of new norms and values, however, weakens the ties between an urbanized ex-villager and his kin in the village. If a close relationship is maintained the social status of their urbanized kin enable kin in the village to claim esteem. The kin in the village not only become into closer contact with urban values, but also get better equipped with information about wider society. This gives them superiority over the others (Rao 1966), particularly in a society like Tavşancil where the people are interested in the happenings of the wider society. However, as Brown and Schwarzweller say, there is a relationship between social class in the areas of origin and socio-economic status attained in the areas of destination (Brown and Schwarzweller 1967). In Tavşancil usually those families whose wealth enables them to meet the expenses of education and whose close contact with the wider society increases their evaluation of education, send their children to higher schools. Thus successful urbanized

ex-villagers' kin in the village have higher status anyway.

Economic Mobility:

In Delihasanlar economic upward mobility is more difficult to achieve than in Tavşancil. There are various factors involved in economic stability in the village. Firstly, lack of job opportunities outside the household unit makes it difficult to increase the wealth of the household rapidly (Mair 1969). Secondly, it is almost impossible to obtain education beyond the primary stage which may be regarded as a basic means of socio-economic mobility. Thirdly, the economic structure of the village discourages economic mobility. And fourthly, there is a resistance to any change in traditional farming techniques and crops. Hence those who have a reputation for being well-off today are the members of wealthy households in the past.

In fact a few households, as I was told, became downwardly mobile in the economic scale as a result of division of land among heirs (Stirling 1965, p.196). Today, however, seasonal migration enables some large households to accumulate wealth and permanent emigration prevents the further division of land. These large households are the wealthiest kinship groups in the village. Though there is a relation between wealth and the size of the household, I do not have enough evidence to say which is the causal factor. Some relatively better-off households are small and nuclear, while a few large households are poor.

Only a very few poor households have recently become relatively well-

off. One of the household heads had had a paid job as a forest worker for a few years and another started a new kind of cash crop. For the people of Delihasanlar, however, any kind of rapid improvement in the economic structure of an household is believed to be the result of illegal transactions since they have a saying "born poor, die poor and born rich, die rich". Though they also very often say that the rich of today are the poor of tomorrow and vice versa; they are, on my evidence, only referring to temporary economic crises and not to structural economic change in the household.

In Tavşancil, on the other hand, three factors enhance the likelihood of upward mobility. Easy access to towns enables the people to obtain education; the recent acceleration of industrialization around the village provides new means of earning money, and both the relative readiness of people to accept modern techniques in viticulture and the increase in land prices which results from the demand for housing and industrial investments, provide opportunities for economic gain. When economic mobility is accompanied by educational mobility, geographical and social mobility follow it. Economic upward mobility does occur so fast in the village that social mobility appears to lag. The people of Tavşancil tend to recall the days of poverty of the newly rich and look down upon them despite the efforts they make to impress others by their style of life (by constructing new houses and buying modern furniture). This is partly caused by the anxiety of the people of higher status in the village, as they see the

recruitment of newwealth groups as a threat to their established position (Dube 1958). In the new value system achieved status is competing with traditionally ascribed status. The villagers also suspect rapid economic development in one's life-time and talk about dishonesty in obtaining wealth (p.205). By contrast, there are a few households which have lost their wealth but still have higher status in the community because of their social background. Thus in Tavşancil economic mobility does not necessarily correspond with social mobility, unless the increasing wealth is complemented by educational and occupational mobility which take more time than the economic growth.

Though the villagers are inclined to criticize the new wealth groups they also try to find new means of increasing their level of wealth. I assume that economic factor will be the most important determinant of social status in future as it is already developing in this direction (Epstein 1962).

Social Mobility:

In Delihasanlar, the great difficulty in obtaining post-primary education, the absence of occupational differentiation and of opportunities for economic gain lessen chances of moving up the social scale. It is only the individual's life cycle which enables him to claim relatively higher social status as a result of marriage, seniority and the number of children he has. Some individual virtues such as hard work, good temper, generosity may enable the holder to win higher prestige in the community, but even

these virtues are believed to be inherited and one's family background usually determines one's rank in the village.

In Tavşancil social mobility, though it lags behind economic mobility, usually results from it. It provides the means of obtaining higher education, a major help in moving up the social scale. This can only apply, of course, to the second generation of the newly recruited rich households in the village. However, a few young members of poorer households have similar chances to move up the social scale educationally, as a result either of the sacrifices of their families, who provide economic support during the period of their training, or their own efforts in learning new skills and in enlarging their social network among relatively influential people in towns. Marriage also provides a means for social mobility particularly for the village women, though within the village the marriages between different socio-economic groups occur very rarely.

5. Household Structure:

Table XXVII

	Average Size of the Household				Household Types		
	Nuclear	Joint	Fragmentary	Average	Fragmentary %	Nuclear %	Joint %
Delihasanlar	5.7	8	-	7	-	49	51
Tavşancil[1]	3.7	5.3	2.4	3.7	17	69	14

[1]The Tavşancil figures comprise only the people in the sample.

Table XXVIII

Average Number of Children
in the Household

Delihasanlar	3
Tavşancil	2

As it can be seen from the table above the joint household is the widely accepted structure for the residential kinship group in Delihasanlar. All the nuclear households are in fact the remnants of joint units and to my knowledge there is no couple who started their married life in a nuclear unit. The people still accept this pattern as the only structure for the family. The joint household structure is strengthened by the economic structure of Delihasanlar; the household is the only economic "firm" providing work for its members (Stirling 1965). The lack of outside manpower increases interdependence among the members of a household and lessens probable conflict between disputing parties and encourages the preservation of the existing household structure. Large households with extra manpower prefer seasonal migration to separation since this is the means of increasing income for the household. When a seasonal migrant decides to move to town for good it causes serious arguments between him and his household head; the migrant family in town is still treated as a part of the joint household in the village for the first few years (p.95).

Economic structure, however, is by no means the only factor in determining the household structure in Delihasanlar. The basic values of the

community, the complete dependence of the young generation on their elders for learning basic farming skills, in the absence of outside institutions, and minimal contact with the outside world serve to maintain the joint household.

In Tavşancil, on the other hand, the majority of households are nuclear units. It is true that some of these nuclear households are the remnants of joint households. However a considerable number of them have broken away from joint units as a result of conflict, and a few of them started their married life in a nuclear unit although some are still dependent economically on a joint unit (p.111-2).

The household is no longer an economic "firm", providing labour and manpower for its existence. Increasing opportunities for work in industry attract the young people of the village and enable them to become economically independent at an early age (Epstein 1962). The availability of outside manpower reciprocally lessens the dependence of landowners on the labour force of a large household. Availability of manufactured goods decreases the need for an inherent division of labour. Conflicts within the household are thus not constrained and become public through separation. Outside institutions provide the means for the young people to learn new skills and lessen their dependence on their elders for traditional skills. And finally, the close contact with the outside world and with urban values enables the people of the village, particularly the young, to perceive advantages in nuclear family life and to argue explicitly for change (Rodgers 1964).

In Delihasanlar there is no fragmentary household. The existing household structure makes this improbable since the marriage partner of a deceased individual goes on living with the other members of the ex-joint household. Where there are no children, close or remoter kin take care of the widow or widower. If the death happens at an early age then a second marriage is arranged for the widowed person.

In Tavşancil almost one-fifth of the households in the sample are fragmentary. Since separation from a joint unit takes place before the decease of the household head, widows and widowers are often left all alone. It is not only the children who are unwilling to take in widowed parents but also the elders who refuse to join their children's house-holds, even though they may accept economic support from them. There are also a few widowed women who work for their living.

6. Literacy:

Table XXIX

Literacy Rate

%

	Delihasanlar	Tavşancil			
		Prim.	Mid.	High	Total
M	76	77	10	4	91
F	33	68	1	-	70
T	53	72	5	2	79

The art of reading and writing the new alphabet has been taken as the criteria for literacy. Little contact with the outside world and the absence of any means of practising the art of reading makes the formal literacy irrelevant for the people of Delihasanlar. For women it is regarded as completely unnecessary. Literacy usually means a knowledge of religion and the ability to read the Koran in the village; those who cannot are called "illereate". I had to rely on the information the villagers gave. I however, assume that the literacy rate is much lower than the figures shown in the table since the villagers do not have the means of practising their knowledge of reading even if they have finished the primary school.

In Tavşancil, on the other hand, close contact with the wider society, the need for complicated economic transactions and the necessity of primary school education for employment in industry increases the importance of literacy in the village (Stirling 1965). A few families spoke of plans to continue education of their boys beyond the primary level, but the proportion is negligible. In spite of the fact that a few girls having reached training colleges, the majority regard secondary education for girls as morally dangerous and incompatible with femininity.

7. Kinship Relations:

Plainly most households and most individuals in both villages use their kin for many purposes - daily visits, sociability, rites de passages, loans

and help in crises, favours, information, help in quarrels. In both villages, kinship is permissive, and since siblings frequently quarrel, and some cousins are ignored, people do not co-operate with all their kin, but only a selected part of them.

Kinship does, however, work differently in the two villages. In Delihasanlar physical distance seems to be an important factor in maintaining close kin ties, even though the villagers remember close kin somewhere else.

In Tavşancil, the far greater differentiation on the other hand means that people have a wider range of motives for remembering or forgetting, contacting or avoiding their kin. People are proud of their more successful kin, but not keen on their less successful. They resent the attempts of the better-off to brush them off, and of their worse-off kin to exploit their success.

Literacy and transport are also important factors in maintaining firm kinship ties with kin somewhere else. Frequent visits and correspondance help to maintain kinship relations.

8. Changing Attitudes:

In Delihasanlar, the determinants of social status are fairly clearly defined, straightforward and homogeneous. Wealth, that is, primarily, land holding, is the most important, though the way wealth is used is more important than simply owning it. Sex, age, religious learning and piety

and certain personal virtues, are also relevant factors.

Components of social rank are interwoven closely and one leads to another. An old man may well be head of a large household with a fair amount of land, and reputation for both religious wisdom and skill in farming. However, among a number of respected old men in the village none seemed to have all the qualities required for leadership and their influence was mainly limited to their own kin groups.

The villagers accept their place in the village social hierarchy without questioning the validity of the norms and each plays his own part as it is imposed by the society. The poor do not compete with the rich; women do not argue about the position of women; the young accept the superiority of their elders in every field (Tönnies 1961).

In Tavşancil determinants of social status are more complex and confusing. Occupational diversification, differences in education, and new skills learnt in various institutions have not only increased the objective factors involved in a new stratification system but also have disturbed the subjective assessments of status in the community. People seem to be unable to give a standardised and homogeneous definitions of rank in the social hierarchy. Wealth is again the most important determinant of social status; but not only is use, but also how it was obtained affects prestige. Those who have held wealth in their households for generations despise the nouveaux riches (Gerth and Mills 1948). Those who have gained their wealth recently praise the virtues of enterprise and industry by which a man makes

his fortune in his own life time. Poor people make noticeable sacrifices in order to be able to buy the symbols of modern life, and thus to lessen the social gap between the better-off and themselves. Some who fail in achieving their competitive economic goals will declare that these rich people are no better than themselves, and attribute others' success to illegal or immoral means.

Thus there are different views (Bottomore 1962) and many people in Tavşancil question the validity of the old value system. Nobody accepts his traditional place in the social hierarchy. Instead, everyone seeks to emphasise that aspect of the new values which enables him to claim the highest status, at least in his own eyes (Epstein 1962). This increases tension and competition between different status groups. Old people still claim that no training can surpass the value of long experience, which is the monopoly of age, while the young with new skills and better education think that the old are absurd, and their knowledge irrelevant to the needs of modern society. Young women talk about equality between the sexes. Some try to extend their social networks into urban areas, in the hope of increasing their prestige within the village, whilst others maintain that close contact with the town defiles rural purity.

As they accept their place in the village hierarchy, so also the people of Delihasanlar accept their place in national hierarchy. They know that urban people look down upon them and they admit that being illiterate, they are socially lower than city people. On the other hand, they tell each other that urban people are entirely dependent on them for

food and this gives them a feeling of indispensibility. They try to avoid urban people even in towns, since they feel uncomfortable with them, yet they do not show anger or hostility towards them.

The people of Tavşancil on the other hand feel most disturbed because of the attitudes of townspeople towards them. They often claim that urban people are no better than themselves, yet they compete for status with urban people. They strive for a more urban outlook, while they criticize urban values. This ambivalence increases their hostility towards townspeople and they do not miss a chance to express scorn for them.

In Delihasanlar farming is the most highly esteemed occupation. Though they think highly of some of the professions such as doctor, judge or any civil servant, they say that human beings can survive without all these professionals but not without farmers. In particular, working in industry is not approved by the villagers. Some of them claim that even if they were certain that they would be paid well in industry they would not go to work in a factory since that would mean giving up their freedom and working under orders. They like to be their own masters and to work in the fresh air.

In Tavşancil, by contrast, people, especially the young are ashamed of working on the land. It reminds them of their being peasants, - a dirty job (Banfield 1958). Working in industry, even as an unskilled worker, is

considered urban and therefore superior and this anxiety to become urban increases the labour flow to industry. Of course, skill and professional status are highly esteemed. The village contains many workers, unskilled and skilled, and a few technicians and traders. The very few professionals have moved away, proudly remembered by their kin and friends.

In Delihasanlar village norms and values are much more widely accepted by the community members and the conformity is much higher than in Tavşancil. The relative isolation of the village and its small size discourages deviant conduct. The community exerts a tremendous pressure on its members through informal social control (Stirling 1957). Despite small variations in personal opinions, what is right for one is also seen as right for the rest of the villagers. Absence of controversial opinions makes the village homogeneous not only in expressed values but in social behaviour (Dahrendorf 1959). Existing social institutions are accepted as they are without question; the alternatives are not known or at least ignored. For example, no one suggests changing the system of joint household. Even disputes do not break down this consensus, since the disputants agree on the norms. Migration perhaps is slowly undermining their general acceptance of the joint household as the norm, but only gradually, so long as emigration is limited.

Furthermore, even a migrant family in town cannot escape from the social pressure of the village. Security against unemployment or serious illness requires kin in the village. They live close to other rural people

in urban areas where the rural norms and values are recognised and observed with as little change as possible. The big cultural gap between rural and urban people acts as an insulation against sociability with towns-people. Even the behaviour of the young single men in town is closely watched and those who indulge in smoking, drinking and going to the cinema are not considered eligible as husbands for the village girls.

By contrast with this strong informal control in the village, the village has no institutions for formal control or the formal settlement of disputes. Nor do they use state institutions, since these are external to the community and locally irrelevant. They belong to an alien society (International Social Science Bulletin 1957) and do not answer the needs of the village, and are in some respect incomprehensible. Difficulty in communication with urban professionals also prevent them from making use of formal judicial institutions. But the villagers do possess some semi-formal institutional arrangements of their own. For instance, in the process of household fission elderly kin formed a body of judges to allocate the property between the separating parties (p.161).

In Tavşancil the strength of traditional village norms and values is decreasing rapidly. Many villagers are in close contact with wider society. The impact of these contacts is far from simple and homogeneous. The acceptance of new norms and values depend on which section of the national society they derive from. Secondly, their impact varies with the specific relationship of the villager to the outsider. Increasing

heterogeneity of norms and values creates new social distinctions and thus alters village social structure.

Despite the continuous conflict between different status groups within the household and within the village, the people of Tavşancil can more easily avoid or ignore general public disapproval and deviate from the old values since they can often find moral support within or outside the village (Homans 1951). The young men, being economically independent at an early age, drink both within or outside the village, regardless of the disapproval of their elders. Young girls do not cover their heads carefully with scarves when they go out, though the elderly women tell them that they will burn eternally in hell fire if they do not. Some, particularly those whose work or studies take them away, (Koyano 1964) even dare to wear mini skirts. Again, in spite of the disapproval of the elder generation, birth control is practised by the young women of the village. Informal social controls no longer effectively prevent deviation. The young, the educated and the professionals are aware of urban norms and values, and desire above all to get rid of their peasant image.

On the other hand, in Tavşancil the formal controls of the State are used more frequently. Weakening informal sanctions drive the village to their use in order to maintain order, and the village is much closer to the wider society which customarily uses them. Johnson claims that social change may occur as a result of the failure of social control (Johnson 1961, p. 553). My findings reverse this causal connection; it is the increasing

contact with the wider society and the resulting changes in almost every aspect of life in Tavşancil which decrease the importance of informal village social control; but of course this in turn makes change easier, so that the two processes reinforce each other.

Practical problems of comprehensibility no longer exist as in Delihasanlar. And this also encourages the use of social control means of the wider society. Even the quarrels between neighbours were taken to court to be solved.

Though the people of Delihasanlar do not pray five times a day, particularly in summer, the men of the village take their religious duties seriously and attend Friday prayers regularly; absence from the mosque raises strong public criticism. They fast during Ramadan and all the children are sent to the Koran courses in the mosque to be given basic instruction in religion. Most kinds of every-day behaviour have important religious connotations. Failure to marry, for example, is a sin.

In Tavşancil there are quite a number of people who do not attend the mosque even in the month of Ramadan and the mosques in the village are half empty. The old women complain about the absence of the young, who defend themselves by saying that they are too busy to attend the long hours of prayer. Some young girls do not fast on the grounds of their weak health. There are even those who argue openly against the religious

beliefs of their elders. When a young village girl was told by her grandmother that her arms would be burnt in hell because she wore sleeveless dresses, she replied "there is no hell".

9. Morals:

In Delihasanlar opportunities to break the rules are rare (Banton 1965). Effective informal social control, and the impossibility of escape from sanctions within the community discourages deviation from the norms. Only once did I hear an accusation of sexual impropriety against a woman or a girl in the village. Though sexual intercourse may take place between the eloped couples prior to their marriage, this is accepted as a norm by the community and passes without comment. Adultery between married people in the village, in contrast to the other villages in Turkey (Stirling 1965, p.211) is apparently unknown. When an old village man wanted to sleep with the widowed mother of his daughter-in-law, the villagers could not believe that such a thing would happen in their community.

On the other hand in Tavşancil, the villagers always gossip about loose morals in the community. I was told quite a number of stories of adultery between married people. Though what they do is not approved by the society as a whole, they can still find friends and supporters in the village. A few women did have to leave the village, as the villagers say, after they became prostitutes, but even these come back to visit their kin in the village, not without adverse comment and gossip.

Although romantic relations between young people are expected by the majority of the people and the parents pretend that they do not know anything about this, some of the girls meet severe criticism because of their permissiveness or because they change boy friends. The conflict between traditional and modern norms and values results in different moral judgements about the same reported behaviour.

An increasing number of discussions and arguments on morals in the village indicates the existence of deviance from old moral values. The present is clearly a transitional period for Tavşancil; the new and disputable morals of today may become the accepted norms in time (Hozelitz-Moore 1960). The present heterogeneity of the community, on the other hand, makes it impossible to assume that there will be no further differences of opinions on morals. Furthermore, as Stacey says, non-traditionals of today may well be traditionals of tomorrow (Stacey 1960).

In this last chapter, I have tried to make a list of contrasts between the two research villages. Since these villages are different social entities, I cannot explain these differences simply by communication. Though the degree of contact with the wider society seems to have an important role in the direction and the speed of changes, socio-economic structures and the historical development of these two villages are also involved.

APPENDIX

1. Choice of the Topic:

Social institutions and values in all societies are continuously changing though the speed, direction, causes and effects of change vary from one society to another (p. 8).

In all the "underdeveloped", or "developing" countries of the world, some of the local changes are imposed directly by outside forces, usually the government, others are initiated spontaneously within villages as a response to changes in their social situations, of which improvements in communication is a necessary condition.

Turkey, my own country, is such a society; - hence my interest in social change. Among the people I knew I could observe two stages in the process of change. The first stage in changes in the socio-economic structure and it is a relatively rapid process and much easier to observe since it is structural. This stage is followed by, perhaps I should say causes, a second stage, changes in morals, values and social relations. It was this second stage of change which fascinated me most, as a result of my unsystematic observations of the people around me over the years. Thus when I had the chance to do research I chose "change in social relations" as a topic.

2. Choice of the Field:

It might seem easier and more fruitful for a student of social change

to study "change" in urban areas since there is a greater concentration of social innovations and statistical data is more readily available (p.233). However, in a country like Turkey, where 75% of the population live in the countryside and are engaged in agriculture, a study of social change in an urban area, would not have been a fair representation of the speed and the nature of the social change in the country (Fei 1939 and Srinivas 1966), though the regional differences make any generalization difficult even for rural Turkey.

Furthermore, my interest in the particular field of social change required me to establish informal relations with my informants, in order to be able to understand the working of intimate social relations within and between households. This would have been very difficult, if not impossible, in a more complex society.[1] It is much easier to collect data in small scale societies (p.238). In small scale societies the network of social institutions is simpler and easier to understand through participant observation; which in turn, it is plausibly said, helps us to understand the complex institutions of larger societies (Whyte 1943).

In addition, I had had some previous field experience on surveys in rural societies and this was a third reason for my choice. This experience, I hoped would enable me to establish rapidly close relations

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[1] Bott and her team had difficulty in being accepted as friends by their interviewees (Bott 1957). Interviews were arranged in advance and the interviewer did not become completely a participant observer since he was treated as a guest.

with my informants; and indeed with a few exceptions I lost little time in getting myself accepted (p. 225, 227).

3. Choice of the Province:

Since my main concern was with communication and industrialization (p. 6) I looked for areas of recent industrialization. Out of several possible areas, I chose Kocaeli, because I had already done a social survey there for the Ministry of Reconstruction, and knew some civil servants who could be of help. I was familiar with some parts of the province which made it easier for me to choose my two villages.

4. The 'bureaucratic approach' to the field:

To eliminate the probable difficulties with the authorities during my research, I chose the longest and most formal but the safest approach to the field. The chain of official correspondence started with a letter to the Turkish Attache in London, which was followed first by a letter from him to the Ministry of National Education, then by an official letter to the Governor of Kocaeli and, finally, letters to the four Subgovernors of the province. I then visited each county to get in touch with the local civil servants who gave me general information about the villages in their districts and helped me to choose the research villages.

5. Some important points in the criteria of choice for research villages:

Since social change is a long and slow process the limited time at my

disposal precluded study of just one village. Ten months were available for fieldwork and a comparison of two villages seemed most appropriate.

To be able to see the effects of communication which was the main concern of the research, I deliberately chose two villages whose communications were in striking contrast (p.188)

It is impossible to say much about the remote past of these two villages since no historical records are available. According to the villagers themselves, both villages have at least three hundred years behind them. The information given by the village elders in the more developed village also indicated similarities between them in the past. In the isolated village these institutions have remained almost unchanged, in the other the changes are very considerable. Thus both villages settled in their present locations long ago, and I can only assume that they had a similar way of life in the past.

My other criterion in the selection of the villages was the minimisation of cultural differences. Though it is arguable how far one can speak of different "ethnic" groups, the cultural composition of the province is certainly heterogeneous; customs and self given identities vary considerably, particularly among those who have entered Turkey as refugees during the last century (p.21). To avoid the extra complications of historical and ethnic differences, I chose villages which were sunni and made no claim to particular ethnic origin.

Differences in communication and industrialization obviously entail differences in economic structure. In Delihasanlar, for example, the

villagers told me that they could not grow grapes because there was no road; grapes need to be transported daily. But the excellent road to Tavşancil also clearly enables officials to have a more direct influence on the economy. Hence the relationship between economic structure and communications is a complex one.

6. Difficulties in Interviewing:

When the Subgovernor of Kandira introduced me to the headman of Delihasanlar, he offered me his hospitality without apparently expecting any immediate return. The Subgovernor explained to him who I was and what I intended to do in the village in a way that he could understand. Right from the beginning, I made no attempt to disguise my real purpose though I had little hope that the villagers would understand it. I was partly right. Though the headman seemed to comprehend what I was doing, he himself made up different stories about me. As a result there were different interpretations of my presence in the village.

Some villagers, particularly men, assumed that I was a very important person in the government and as one of them said: "This girl can turn the world upside down if she wants". This was partly put about deliberately by the headman, who wanted villagers to maintain respect for me, and partly by my first appearance in the village with the subgovernor. To the villagers subgovernor represented the highest government authority and they concluded I must be more important than the subgovernor since he troubled himself to take me to the village. Despite all my efforts I

could not shake this belief.

The other view was that I was a government agent who was spying about their level of income and the size of their land for tax purposes. That was partly my fault since I started asking direct questions about their income and expenditure in my very first visit, although I had been warned about the possible consequences. My anxiety about the length of time available led me not to waste a minute in filling the questionnaires. Their general mistrust of any government representative (Williams 1956), and I was one to them, made it very difficult for me to obtain reliable data on the economics of the household (p.41).

Later they accepted me more fully, and their confidence was maintained almost a year later on my second visit to the village. For a year they had been expecting an official interference from the government but nothing had happened. So they came to the conclusion that after all I had not lied to them and I was only a student, as I had told them. However they continued to believe that I was sent by the government and was doing the research for the government. Otherwise why should I go to their village and why should the subgovernor be bothered to take me to the village?

After I established friendly relations with them they started questioning me and were interested in my future. One day an old village man asked me what I would be doing after I finished my "school". I told him that I would most probably be employed in one of the universities. He smiled unconvinced, and said: "Is the government so stupid to employ

you, who have been living in the villages, at a university". Seeing themselves at the bottom of the national hierarchy (Banfield 1958, p.64 and Stirling 1965), some of the villagers were convinced that I was no better than themselves since I was living with them and like them. If I were an important person the government would not waste me (in their own words) in a village like that.

The women of the village, who had much less contact with the outside world than the men, had more difficulty in understanding the work I was doing. First they thought that I was a relative of the subgovernor (who had brought me to the village). To them a man and a woman must be either married or relatives to travel together. For a long time they could not believe that I had no kinship link with the subgovernor. Nor did they attribute any political importance to me, as the men did, since I was trying hard to dress like them and speak in the way they did. This lessened the distance between them and me and enabled me to maintain friendly and informal relations with them. Indeed, I obtained most of my data from the women of the village.

During my second stay I had finished the questionnaires and was not publicly taking notes. The village women wondered what I was doing there. I was there because I liked the village and the people - taking a pleasant mountain holiday; plainly I could only confirm this interpretation as often as they asked. Some women even suggested I became a teacher in their village after my studies. They declared that they would not hesitate to send their daughters to the school if they had a

woman teacher.[1] They could conceive of no higher occupation for a woman than to be a teacher.

Only a few men, including the headman, seemed to understand the work I was doing. One of them was an old man who attributed great importance to education and to educated people. He himself had attended evening classes which were organized to teach the new alphabet to the people after the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey (Kazamias 1966). The other men had urban kin whose children were students at university. Some of them seemed to think of the work I was doing with a kind of story writing. The headman told me that one of the ex-teachers of the village had written a novel about their village and he had read the draft and liked it very much. He was certain that it would be published one day and become very successful.

In Delihasanlar I had to stay with the headman's family as a guest since there was neither a room to rent nor any food to buy in the village. In turn I offered money which was strongly refused by him and offended the family. He said: "You can only pay us when the grain in the entrance hall is consumed. At the moment we don't spend money for you". They were not money centred and did not expect any immediate return for their hospitality. Though I gave them various presents, I can never repay them for their hospitality and help in every way.

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[1] According to the latest news, the new teacher in Delihasanlar is a woman; I wonder whether she has made any difference in the attendance of girls.

I arrived during the harvest and for the first few days the headman accompanied me to the threshing floor to introduce me to the villagers and to win their co-operation in the interviews. After a while he became so involved in my work and started asking the questions for me and made the interviewees answer the questions in the way he wanted. Still he was very helpful, particularly in checking some of the information such as the extent of the household land holdings and the level of income. I cannot be certain, however, whether the information he gave me was always accurate. Even the data I got from his registration book is not altogether reliable, since the civil marriage may take place long after the actual marriage and may be registered late, or the registration of birth may be postponed for a while for some reason or other (p.137).

When I became acquainted with the villagers, I asked the headman not to ignore his work for me and went on interviewing by myself. My questions were often interrupted by the questions of the villagers. In the beginning I was annoyed by their inquiries, particularly about my personal life. It did not take long, however, for me to realize how wrong I was. Was not I asking them very personal questions? I was an outsider and for the first time an outsider was visiting their village for such an unusual purpose. So I answered their questions patiently. Two things about me puzzled and worried them. One was whether I had any male kin to look after my mother and me. When I told them that we were both economically independent and did not need to be looked

after, they looked puzzled and unsatisfied, because to them a woman could not take care of herself and needed a man's support. The other question was about marriage. Marriage was God's order; not to marry was a sin (p. 210). They said they could not understand how a nice person like me could commit such a serious sin and they felt sorry for me because I would be punished in the other world when I died.

Though I did not collect much information in my first visit in Delihasanlar I found this transitional period very useful, since it satisfied the curiosity of the villagers and helped to set up friendly, informal relations with them. I also picked up village dialect, which lessened misunderstandings for both sides.

Despite mutual friendly relations, I do not know exactly how far they trusted me. After all, I was an outsider. Even when their confidence in me was complete I still could not accept all information at face value. First, they are likely often to report what, in their view, ought to happen rather than what actually happens. Secondly, their perceptions of facts and events are necessarily coloured by their assumptions and their immediate impressions and interpretations. My closer relations with certain people in particular affected my data for second-hand information and reflected their points of view.

Equally, despite my own deliberate efforts to be objective, my own personal impressions, interpretations, and my involvement with people must have coloured my first-hand information and prevented me from seeing some realities of village life (Redfield 1956).

Though there was no difficulty in reaching Tavşancil, I asked the subgovernor of Gebze to take me to the village to introduce me to the headman. It was about 2 p.m. when we arrived in the village and there were only a few men in the shopping centre (p.59-60). The subgovernor was anxious to get back and he asked one of the villagers to take me to the teacher who was a young woman. I explained to her what I intended to do in the village and asked her help in finding accommodation. While I was there a few neighbours came to find out who I was and what I was doing there.

In the evening I went to see the headman in his office which was full of men who did not approve of my presence there. I introduced myself to the headman who did not take much notice of me. I asked him whether I could borrow the registration list of the village to copy, and left the office. After I finished copying the list I took it back to him a couple of nights later. This time he treated me differently, since he had been in Gebze and seen the subgovernor who had told him who I was. I realized however that I could not expect much help from the headman of Tavşancil, whose business took him away during the day (p.74). And I could not go to his office in the evening and mix with the men, since their attitudes were different from those in Delihasanlar, and my being an outsider did not change this. Thus I turned to the girls I met in the teacher's house and to the teacher for help.

Meanwhile, with the help of the teacher and a neighbouring girl, who

became a close friend of mine and the main source of help in my work, I found an old woman who agreed to let one of her rooms to me. The next day, however, just as I was about to move in, she sent word that she had changed her mind. I felt I could not stay with the teacher, whose guest I was, any longer because she would not accept any money. I went to see the headman to ask his help. He said he had no sanction to force anybody in the village to let a room to me; nor could he accommodate me himself, much as he would like to, as his children might disturb me. I was desperate and decided to choose another village.

The schoolmaster who also was a local man had heard about the difficulties I was having in finding accommodation in the village. He took me to his aunt, who was living on her own; she offered a room, and everything was settled. In the evening, however, his wife, and his daughter who had come to the village from Ankara to visit her parents, came on a visit to the teacher. They argued with me that it would be difficult for me to live with an old woman[1] and offered me one of their rooms free of charge. With the persuasion of the girls in the same street, who did not want me to move to another street, I accepted the offer. After a while I realised how embarrassing it was for me to stay with such a well-off family since I was unable to return their hospitality.

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[1]The main difficulty in finding accommodation was that tenant-landlady relationships were not seen as impersonal ones. The villagers considered that I should find a room with a lonely woman and not join a family.

Furthermore the wife of the schoolmaster wondered why I was going out all the time (a girl must not be in the streets) and wanted me to stay at home to keep her company. Still I found my close connection with a family of high social standing very useful in getting myself accepted (Deans and Eichhorn 1969).

In Tavşancil I made a big mistake in the beginning of my field work. Relying on my previous experiences in rural areas in Turkey I thought it would be much easier for me to be accepted by the villagers if I behaved like them and was humble and friendly with them. I had not realized the big difference between the other villages and Tavşancil. Thus I went to the village in shabby clothese to lessen the social distance between them and me and talked to the people in a very informal way. Apart from those with whom I got closely acquainted, this tactic brought me only disdain. Clothes were a symbol of wealth, shabby clothes meant low status in their eyes. They were well aware of the existence of status differences within towns anddid not see urban people as one social group, as did the people of Delihasanlar.

The people of both villages knew that the urban people looked down on villagers (Stirling 1965); but the closer contact with townsmen in everyday life led the people of Tavşancil to feel much resentment than the people of Delihasanlar at their scorn. The people of Delihasanlar accept their place in the national hierarchy and the superiority of townspeople. They regard themselves as different, and keep themselves distant, from urban people. Thus they are fairly immuned

from feelings of inferiority. On the other hand, the people of Tavşancil are a part of the wider society, involved in a complex set of relations with townspeople, sharing their norms and values. They strive for status in the national hierarchy and try to change their traditional peasant image. They see urban people as their rivals, and are more openly hostile towards them. My impression is that this hostility results from their unwillingness openly to recognize the superiority of townspeople. This, however, does not prevent them from imitating the people they often critized in every aspect of their social life (p. 206-7).

The size of the village was another disadvantage for me in getting to know people and to be known in the village right from the beginning as I had done in Delihasanlar. When my field work came to an end there were still people who did not know who I was and what I was doing in their village. To some of them I was just the guest of the schoolmaster. Or I was doing a piece of work for the government. (There had been some civil servants in the village who had asked questions about the quality and the quantity of food consumption). The other assumption, particularly at the beginning, was that I was a government spy and reporting everything in the village to my superiors. This is why people were very careful in talking to me and even the friendly ones were not willing to give any information about their private lives. The old woman I mentioned before had changed her mind about letting her room to me, as I found out a year later, because her daughters told her I was from the

police and might find out that she was a 'bohçaci', a person who sells smuggled goods or ordinary goods which have evaded customs or internal tax. These stories ceased after a while. My residence as a guest of the schoolmaster who was not only highly respected but also had a reputation for being honourable and kind, the visit of my mother to the village and the news circulated by the people who knew me from the start, persuaded the people of Tavşancil to accept me and what I said about the real purpose of my stay. They even told me how much they appreciated my efforts to behave like them and to adjust myself to the village life.

My early mistakes meant that quite a number of people refused to be interviewed. Those who accepted the interview did not invite me in, and gave me short answers so as not to waste their time with me. Some of them even made fun of me and of the questions I asked. Though this upset me in the beginning, it did not take me long to realize that these reactions were themselves evidence for me since I was interested in their attitudes. Their relations with outsiders were primarily determined by wealth and then by less important factors such as family background and occupation, not by urban background and personal qualities, as was the case in Delihasanlar.

When I went back to the village a year later I received a warm welcome from the majority of my interviewees. My formal visits were usually followed by friendly and informal conversation and coffee or grapes were offered. The interviewees started to take some interest in

me and asked me questions about myself and my studies. It was easier to explain the nature of my work to the people in Tavşancil. Many villagers had relatives or friends who had been or still were at university. To those who could not comprehend the idea of graduate research, a village man who had been doing his Ph.D. in the U.S.A. was cited as an example by the village girl who accompanied me on most of my visits. Particularly in the beginning, I found her very helpful in introducing me to my interviewees; people are reluctant to talk to absolute strangers.

Even later I found it quite useful to have her with me when I was asking questions about kinship relations. Despite the hospitality and friendliness I received from my interviewees they never gave up of being careful in talking to me, particularly about their private affairs. That distance between us was partly caused by the size of the village where I did not have the opportunity to meet my interviewees daily, which made the maintenance of informal relations much more difficult than in Delihasanlar. Furthermore, the economic structure of the household and the movement towards acceptance of a city way of life kept the women busy at home and discouraged me from knocking on doors any time I wanted. When I visited them I was treated as a guest but not as a casual friend. So most of the data on kinship relations was supplemented by my assistant (this was what I called her) who knew all the gossip in the village; though of course I had to treat even her views of village affairs with some caution.

Thus my very informal and casual relations were limited to the people who lived in the same street with me and their kin and close friends. I had a chance to observe them closely in their everyday lives. Whether they were in the sample or not, the close and informal contact with them enabled me to have first hand, detailed data for my survey. In most cases I did not meet all the members of interviewed households, and talked only to the women folk. The men were away during the day and the sharp sex segregation in the village discouraged me from going to the village shopping centre to talk to the men. I could only talk to the men in family gatherings if they joined the women folk.

Though the women of Tavşancil seemed to tolerate what I was doing, they were puzzled when I asked them very personal questions. They could not find any scientific significance in questions about their private lives. What could their simple lives have to do with science. Sometimes one would say: "Write down this one, this can be a topic of a novel". And would tell me all the details of some love story. At first I thought this material irrelevant to what I wanted to know, but later I realised that it was extremely useful. So the women of Delihasanlar and the women of Tavşancil both thought that I was collecting material for a novel. It was only the men in Tavşancil who attributed any scientific importance to the work I was doing.

I had assumed that having somebody from the village with me during

the process of interviews would decrease the probable mistrust of the villagers in me. But I soon found out that the close association with a girl from a lower status group lowered my social standing in the eyes of the wealthy people of the village. It was only after I moved to the schoolmaster's house and deliberately paid visits alone to my rich informants that they changed their attitudes towards me. When I arrived in the village with my car a year later some of these rich people were most impressed.

7. Some advantages and disadvantages of studying one's own society:

My choice of Turkey as my research field was partly patriotic, partly prompted by the scarcity of empirical social research in the country by both Turks and foreign social scientists, in spite of the vast social changes, - both planned and unplanned. Only later did I realize how advantageous it had been for me to do my field work in my own country.

First of all I did not waste any time learning the native language and had almost no communication difficulty. I had to learn a little local dialect which was completely unfamiliar to me and the local meanings of common words. I also had to learn to avoid vocabulary and idioms which were unfamiliar to them.

Very considerable cultural differences exist even between rural and urban society in Turkey as elsewhere. Some of the educated urban people in Turkey find it easier to adjust themselves to a foreign western

culture than to a rural segment of their own society. Cultural "mistakes" made at the beginning of a research project may lessen the chance for a supposedly native researcher of gaining the confidence of the people he is studying. For instance, a sophisticated woman of urban background in Turkey went to a village to do a survey. And without realizing the sharp sex segregation in the rural areas, she started discussing the methods of birth control with the men of the village which made any further inquiry by her impossible. The previous experiences I had in rural areas minimised my adjustment difficulties and saved me from starting off on the wrong foot.

Being a member of the society I was studying, I had certain disadvantages too. First, cultural involvement prevented me from seeing some parts of their behaviour objectively and from giving them the same importance they deserved, at least in the beginning of the research. Secondly, I assumed that I could use my own social background as tacit evidence for what was going in the communities I studies. Thus I failed to look for and check on facts which would have been the first questions in the mind of an outsider, because I already knew. I had not yet realized that living in a society does not necessarily and automatically give its members a thorough knowledge of it.

However, the existence of urban-rural differences enabled me to detach myself to a considerable extent (Srinivas 1966). A researcher, with a considerable amount of intellectual background, sophistication and urban culture will tend to see the rural community he is studying

from outside.

Another danger for a participant observer is too much involvement with the people he is studying. As Whyte says, a full participant may find it difficult to see the things clearly (Whyte 1943). One can achieve clarity and objectivity only in retrospect. Particularly if the researcher lives in the community too long it becomes very difficult for him not to get involved emotionally with the people. One researcher alone does not have the chance to share problems and personal difficulties with others of his own profession. I found it very difficult at times not to mention my problems to my local friends. Yet to do so was to invite the danger of misunderstandings. They would be sure to pass on the news which could have worsened my relations with the others and thus reduced the flow of information. I often had to find a quiet corner, and to remind myself what my main purpose was in the village.

8. Method:

I did not need to use a sample in Delihasanlar since the total of the households was only 46 in 1966. Tavşancil, however, had 350 households, and I could not possibly interview all of these. I obtained the village registration list from the headman and I picked every fourth name on the list. Since the households were numbered from one end to the other of the village, this sample included one or two houses in every street and prevented any geographical concentration in particular localities, which might have reflected particular (p. 60) socio-economic

levels. It also created some problems. Some of the house numbers in my sample turned out to be stables; others were deserted and no longer habitable. Some were houses of emigrants or outsiders who only used their village houses occasionally and could not be found for interview. A few also refused as I have said (p.227). Instead of 87 households of my sample of one quarter of the whole village, I actually interviewed 71.

The questionnaires were designed before I arrived in the villages; they aimed to obtain basic information about the socio-economic structure of the household in the villages. A copy is to be found on p.

I must admit that these questionnaires were of little use to me. First of all some of the questions were of no use in either village, and some only of use in one or the other of them (Deans and Eichhorn 1969). Secondly, I did not realise that the villagers would be unwilling to answer the questions on economics. It was however as I found out, not only that they were reluctant to give any information on the subject but also that they were in any case unable to say anything reliable about household economics. Particularly in Delihasanlar, where the land was not registered, and was spread in small plots all over the area, the villagers were unable to give the precise size of their property. Moreover, as I mentioned before, size of the land is not the only determinant of one's level of wealth since the fertility of the soil, the utilization of land, and secondary economic activities all contribute to household economy.

Furthermore, the questions on expenditure turned out to be meaningless, particularly for the people of Delihasanlar who made minimal use of cash and whose consumption was mainly provided by their own produce. Even the villagers in Tavşancil were genuinely unable to give accurate figures of their expenditure and just said they spent all they earned. I realised that I, myself, would have difficulty in answering such a question since I do not record my daily expenditure. I sometimes was misled both by those who wanted to impress me by an astronomic figure of expenditure, and by a few who gave a low figure to hide the real amount of money they spent, for fear of being known to be very rich and different from the other people. This happened particularly in Delihasanlar. It was only after I observed the people closely in both villages and obtained indirect information from the locals about the wealth distribution in their communities that I was able to have a rough idea about household wealth levels.

I also failed to get any information on debt, particularly in Delihasanlar. They neither told me from whom they borrowed money nor the amount. They said that everybody in the village was in debt at times. And when I insisted on asking to whom they were in debt, they said:"to neighbours" which is a very vague concept including everybody from kin to the people in neighbouring villages. In Tavşancil some informants freely told me how much money they borrowed and from which persons or institutions. Most informants, however, were women who either knew nothing about their husbands' debts or were unwilling to disclose their

husbands' business.

My neatly prepared questionnaire also lacked questions on kinship which were quite important for my research. So I set up a schedule on kinship, a copy of which is to be found on p. 242, for my next visit to the villages a year later.

The questions were intended for every member of the household. In Tavşancil, however, I was unable to interview most of the men in the households in my sample.

The schedule I used was by no means inflexible. I let my interviewees give me as much information as they wanted. Some of them talked a great deal about their cousins or nephews or nieces or remoter kin, particularly if they were doing well in life; closer kin were often ignored where relationships were strained. I also recorded the present socio-economic status of kin and the frequency of contact which enabled me to have data on links with the outside world and on geographical mobility, and on the effects of physical distance on kinship relations.

Sometimes interviews turned into informal conversations on family histories, giving individual case histories which I was able to use in a variety of contexts. For example, one of my informants told me about her difficulties with her mother-in-law when they lived together and the story of their separation. Some of the interviewees, on the other hand, were reluctant to give any information on kinship relations which they considered entirely family matters and not to be discussed with an outsider. In such cases my assistant gave me such information as she knew.

I did not see any point in asking questions on the frequency of interaction between kin or relatives within the village in Delihasanlar where almost everybody met everybody every day in the streets or in their fields. In Tavşancil, on the other hand, apart from frequent interaction between mother and daughter, the relations between kin were much less frequent and much less uniform; this was partly due to physical distances within the village, partly to the women's involvement in housework. Thus a further question was needed to find out the frequency of kinship relations.

I realized, however, that with a very few factual exceptions, formal and direct questions always confused interviewees. They became embarrassed, and their information was unreliable because they would say what they thought I wanted them to say. Though the questionnaire method may seem easy and straightforward, it is not the best method for obtaining information from villagers and hence for understanding how the small-scale societies work. I would have had little reliable information if I had depended entirely on my questionnaires. To give one simple example, I asked whether the informant had been at school, intending from this to judge the level of literacy. But I realised that this gave a misleading impression, particularly in Delihasanlar, where there was no chance of maintaining the skill of reading by practice (Banfield 1958). The level of literacy in the village was much lower than the responses to my questions indicated (p. 202).

Gathering data through observation and informal conversation is a

long process. The researcher has to be concentrating the whole time in order not to miss important points. He also needs continously to select what information to record or memorise. And the data obtained through informal conversation and observation does not enable the researcher to establish quantitative relations. Still I believe that this is the safest technique in getting first hand and reliable data since the informants feel more relaxed, initiating the conversation themselves (Trow 1957). For instance, most of my interviewees who could not give a reason for their choice of certain people as their "best friends" when I interviewed them first, talked freely about the conditions which fostered their friendship with the others when they were just chatting with me.

I found that three main factors determine the technique to be used in a social survey; first the social context - size, complexity and social level of the members of the society which is to be studied; secondly the scale of the survey itself; and thirdly the kind of information which the field worker intends to collect.

Though my field work took place only in two villages which were small and relatively simple communities and the research aimed to collect data on changing attitudes and kinship relations, I still made use of all the possible methods according to the information I needed. I was able to obtain information on demographic and basic socio-economic structure of the household through the questionnaire. Although the reliability of the answers is to be suspected, this data enabled me to

have a crude idea about socio-economic composition of the villages. I also asked direct questions on kinship. Otherwise it would have taken me much longer to find out who was related to whom. Without this information I would have been completely lost in Tavşancil. But it was only after I established informal relations with the villagers that the data I had collected before, gained meaning. I had known, for example, the differences in the size and socio-economic structure of the household after I filled the questionnaires in my first visit to both villages. What I did not know was what the socio-economic factors caused those differences. I could have asked more specific questions, had I expected those differences to occur. I however very much doubt whether I would have had satisfactory answers.

Because of the nature of the information I needed, I relied mostly on participant observation and informal conversation with the informants. The size and the socio-economic structure of Delihasanlar enabled me to have informal relations with the majority of the villagers, especially with the women folk, whilst my relations in Tavşancil were limited to a small number of people. This made me more careful and cautious in making any statement about the operation of the social institutions in Tavşancil since I was not as certain as I was in Delihasanlar about the data I had collected there.

QUESTIONNAIRE

I

Household

Village (Köy) No. Date of Interview

Name	Relation to the Head	Sex	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Father's name	Date of latest Marriage	Edu- cation	Main Occupation	Other handicrafts	Land Owning	Comments

II

Housing

No. of Storeys	Use of Storeys	No. of Rooms	Living	Guest	Bed (married)	Bed (single)	Stable	Store

III

Household Economics

A. Live Stock

Name	No.	Way of Breeding	Purpose of Breeding	Keeping and Marketing

B. Occupation

Farmers

Questions.

Do you own land?

Size of the land.

How long have you had it?

Main production (kind, quantity)

Way of cultivation.

Marketing.

Hired manpower.

Landowner-Tenant-Worker Relation.

Support Labour.

III

Household Economics

B. Occupation (contd.)

Others

Kind of Work.
Place of Work.
Duraction of the Work.
Previous Work.
Working Relations.
Communication.
Seasonal Migration.
Earnings.
Rewards in kind.
Cash sent home.

C. Economic Contributions

Questions on Economic Contributions	Non-Residents		Outside
	Those whom you support	Those who support you	Earnings of Residents
Who is he?			
Relation to you.			
Residence.			
Working Place.			
Total Earnings.			
Kind of Work.			
Why he is not resident.			
Amount of money sent.			
Supporting process.			
a. Occasionally			
How often?			
b. Regularly.			

III

Household Economics

D. Debt

Debts	From Whom?	How long?
How much?		
Issues arising through it.		

E. Annual Expenditure

Expenditure	Food	Clothes	Furniture	Tools	Repairs	Others
Quantity.						
Cash.						
Cash or Credit?						
Place of Purchase.						
Relations with Sellers.						

F. Occasional Expenditure

	Celebrations			
Expenditures	Wedding	Funeral	Religion	Medical Treatment
1. Place.				
2. How often?				
3. Kind of things.				
4. Money spent on it.				
5. Relations with Sellers.				

Schedule on Kinship

1. Parents
   a. Where do they live?
   b. What are they doing for a living?
   c. How long have they been living there?
   d. How often do you see them?
      Do you visit them?
      Do they visit you?
      Do you write?

2. Children who live outside the household unit
   a. Where do they live?
   b. What are they doing for a living?
   c. How long have they been living there?
   d. How often do you see them?
      Do you visit them?
      Do they visit you?
      Do you write?

3. Siblings who live outside the household unit
   a. Where do they live?
   b. What are they doing for a living?
   c. How long have they been living there?
   d. How often do you see them?
      Do you visit them?
      Do they visit you?
      Do you write?

4. Father's Siblings

   a. Where do they live?
   b. What are they doing for a living?
   c. How long have they been living there?
   d. How often do you see them?
      Do you visit them?
      Do they visit you?
      Do you write?

5. Mother's siblings

   a. Where do they live?
   b. What are they doing for a living?
   c. How long have they been living there?
   d. How often do you see them?
      Do you visit them?
      Do they visit you?
      Do you write?

The questions above were asked to the household head, his wife, and his parents separately.

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