The Modernizing Process in Turkey
Sociological Views
Politics, Society and Culture in Turkey
Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur in der Türkei

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Volume 3
The Modernizing Process in Turkey
Sociological Views
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Modernization is the intersection point of many issues. It is possible to examine almost everything concerned by the people under this title. There are some difficulties to write a book about an issue which have many extensions. Above all, it is hard to perceive where the book will begin and end. Even though you limit the issue with words, it is not such easy to put an end to your thoughts. This con-not-be-finished situation opens up a horizon to various beginnings. In other words, the things which have begun but cannot be finished can lead to a thought of that the text is left half finished. This sense of unfinishedness is actually a precursor of the birth of the end with a new beginning by making way of a sense of completion. Your mind has become pregnant for another book while the book in your hands has not finished yet. Of course it has to be put an end, even a temporary one, to all texts. The things stuck in your mind and the things which have not been said for now can be thought as a project of another edition. Here how the book in your hands was formed. It was hard to put an end and draw the framework of the book. We proceeded but we proceed by thinking that we are incomplete all the time. And this thought is actually a result of the broadness of the scope sphere of the modernization.

Modernizing expresses a serious transformation process for many countries. This transformation process can have tensions, pains and uncertainties. The fact that the social, political, cultural and economic structures produced by humans have also been transformed by humans can complicate this transition time to time. The reactions given by the countries to change can be differed in terms of many variables. While some countries challenge to change, some countries have determined their own dynamics by facing with the process. We have to keep in mind the ones which leave the historical sociological transformation in an indecisive and uncertain in-between form. This study in your hands aims to present the modernization process of our country to the reader in the light of theoretical and empirical researches.

While forming the framework of the study, we preferred to include the texts of the writers who have distinctive studies in their fields in different
topic titles rather than focusing to a special subject area. In this respect, a book that has matured with the subject titles such as state, democracy, woman, children, elders, urbanization, fellow-citizenship, migration, immigration and drama has emerged. The book involves striking data for the readers from all strata.

It will be good to give brief information about the content of the book for providing a perspective to the reader. As it is said before, this study has not formed by focusing any certain issue. However, there are texts which complement each other under the same roof. Therefore we can think of the subtitles such as family, woman, children and elder as a category. When we make a brief overview of the topic titles of the writers; Sibel Aydın has supported our book with her text about the child care payment project towards grandmothers which has started to be applied in a couple of pilot cities in recent period. The writer, in her related study, examines this pilot scheme with a feminist point of view through a critical eye. Hatice Karakuş Öztürk participates this study with an essay on the types of womanhood and motherhood on the basis of Turkish lullabies. The writer examines the Turkish lullabies as a mystery's nest in which the dilemmas experienced by the women who have children on many issues with a different perspective. The entrepreneur women in business life have been written by Sevda Mutlu. Mutlu brings the situation of the entrepreneur women who get stuck between the traditional identity and the modern identity as a result of the cultural barriers they face with into question on the basis of a field study. Finally, Olcay Tire and Murat Cem Demir examines the story of being woman in Turkey from past to present with an historical and sociological point of view. Childhood sociology is a new field of study for Turkish academia. This topic title which is a subject for a few voices has been examining by Türkan Firinci Orman. The writer brings the development of the childhood sociology to the attention of the reader in the light of a detailed literature. Finally, we can mention the essay of Sibel Kalaycıoğlu in this category. The writer interrogates the elderly care and the transformation within the inter-generational relations as a result of both of the extending of the life time and the modernization process with her essay on elderliness and the inter-generational relations.

Migration, urbanization, fellow-citizenship associations and public education centers are the other prominent topic titles. The migration experience of modern Turkey has been examining in the study of Kerem Özbey. The essay is formed on the basis of an emphasis that the migration which is one of the main sociological dynamics of the social transformation in
Turkey is determinative in discussing the fundamental issues such as citizenship designation, religious and ethnic identities and nation-state building. The urbanization process in Turkey which is another issue that is associated with the migration has written by Orhan Bingöl. Bingöl discusses the reflections of the process peculiar to Turkey by looking the fact of urbanization over a big picture. The role of the fellow-citizenship associations and public education centers which become prominent as a result of the structural movements such as urbanization and migration is one of the other prominent essays of our study. Aygül Kılınç, in her study, discusses the thesis of that in case of the public education centers can be used as so providing an effective and efficient service, the urban development would more qualified and the urban life quality would be improved. Ahmet Mazlum participated the book with an essay about the function taken on by the fellow-citizenship associations which play a role of a buffer mechanism within the urbanization and migration processes. Finally, Ayşun Yaralı Akkaya interprets the consequences of being a Syrian in higher education on the basis of the example of Van Yüzüncü Yıl University in her essay that she writes the data of a study based on the field.

İhsan Sezal in his chapter gives us an overview account of how structural changes as formations, transitions and reformations took place in the ninety five years of the Turkish Republic. Armağan Öztürk who examined the issue of the state, brought the transformation of the state in Turkey into discussion by using the categories of Tilly and Moore and with an historical-sociological content. Ali Erdem Akgül who starts with the effects created by the changes in technology on the citizenship and the state, interrogates the e-state applications and how this applications are perceived by the citizens and how the state-citizen relation has been changed on the basis of a field study on the city of Aydın.

Veysel Bozkurt who starts with the thesis of that the global transformations are affecting the living, working and thinking forms of all the humanity, in his study which examines the values in Turkey between the tradition and the modernity, participates our book with an essay that supports the thesis of that the society in Turkey has modernized by conserving its values in discordance with the 19th and 20th century modernization theories. Finally, the social structure and the development of drama in Turkey have been written by Sedat Bay. The writer interprets the stories of the people in Turkey on the basis of the drama examples.
Perception of Ageing in Different Socio Economic Groups in Ankara, Turkey*

Hediye Sibel Kalaycíoğlu**

1 Introduction

Old age is a phenomenon displaying diversity with respect to historical processes and varying from culture to culture. Old age is attributed different meanings in different societies. Yet, the consideration of old age as a “problem” covered by research and included in the discussions of various approaches is quite recent. The perception of the ageing process by individuals living in different societies is shaped in the context of the experiences of respective societies. It is the given structural and cultural formations of a society that determine whether ageing is perceived as “negative” or “positive” or as a “problem” per se. In this sense, social and economic differences in a society as well as cultural attitudes running parallel to these differences may diversify perceptions of ageing. Based on a field survey, this article examines how men and women from different socio-economic strata and age groups perceive old age and their expectations related to ageing. The primary importance of this kind of study is that it shows old age as a socially constructed phenomenon. Further, the study also makes a significant contribution by showing that social class has its role in shaping the perception of old age and that different socio-economic strata have their diverse forms of perception.

There exists quite a variety of conceptual and theoretical approaches to old age. Laslett says it is possible to speak about five different definitions of age as calendar or chronological age, biologic age, social age, personal age and subjective age (cited in Tekkeya, 2001: 151). In general, old age is attributed to physical appearance. Yet, old age has its cognitive and social reflections as well. A person, though appearing old, may have a keen per-

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ception and social attitudes characterising youth. Thus, Eckert argues that “researchers should focus on life experiences that give meaning to age rather than calendar age” (cited in Hamilton, 2001: 569). This difference between calendar age and what people perceive as their age is conceptualized by Counts and Counts (1985) by making a distinction between functional age and social age. While the former is related to changes in a person’s senses, appearance, mental and physical health and level of activity, the latter lays emphasis on what individuals experience in society rather than chronologic age. The allegiance to the idea of progress leads to the qualification of elderly people as “outdated” since they are not young any more. A good example is the deficit theory which incorporates perhaps the most conventional thinking about old age.

The detachment from life theory which is the first point of discussion among micro-theories related to old age is based upon the assumption that ageing is a natural and inevitable fact leading individuals to recede from life. (Quadagno, 1999: 24-5). The activity theory, on the other hand, was developed against the theory of detachment from life. Defending successful ageing, this theory argues that elderly people too have their psychological and social needs as young people do. As people age, they try to remain active and resist against isolation imposed on by social life; they want to maintain their middle-age activities and reinstate some new ones if they have to abandon some of these activities unwillingly (Rowe and Kahn, 1997). As another perspective, Atchley (1989) puts forward the continuity perspective emphasizing that old age is a life process and that personality is continuous. Atchley also underlines the duality between internal and external processes of ageing. Atchley defines internal continuity as a psychological inner structure consisting of patience, sense, experience, choices, tendencies and skills, which remains in memory. By external continuity, we must understand the relationship between the elderly person and his skills, environments and performance with respect to different roles in his past activities. Hence, this theory stresses that adolescent development is a process and that personality plays the most important role in adapting to old age.

The sub-culture theory addresses old age from a wider perspective applicable to other domains as well. According to this theory, when people are excluded in some way from the fundamental understanding/tendencies of society or when they come together around some common interests, they create a sub-culture of their own. Elderly people too tend to create such sub-culture since they are excluded from society because they are
faced with some physical restraints and loss of previous roles. This theory was basically criticized for gathering so called aged people in a single sub-culture category only on the basis of age while aged people constitute a heterogeneous mass in terms of religion, language, race, political opinion and cultural characteristics. Differing from others, the *exchange theory* is based upon micro-economic assumptions. According to these assumptions each individual seeks to maximize his benefits and minimize costs through rational decisions. In this context, human relations too are based on these rational relations of interest. In other words, “as modernization makes its way ahead the status of aged people falls down” (Cited in Onur 1986, Emiroğlu, 1995: 29). It is because “relative to young people, aged people have fewer resources usable for exchange” (Quadagno, 1999: 31).

After going over micro-theories for conceptualizing old age and ageing, it is considered that the theory best fitting to the theoretical framework of the research constituting the background of this article is *social constructivism*. Blaikie regards social constructivism and symbolic interactionism as ways of looking old age differently and adopts a stance which is a blend of the two (1999: 3). Social constructivism refutes the idea that old age has a simply natural and given essence. He agrees that experiences of each individual are largely shaped up by socio-cultural factors. Human beings give ‘things’ this or that meaning; consequently, meanings we attribute to objects or subjects derive from social processes rather than being inherent in them. These processes differ from each other through motifs and symbols reporting them and through the mediation of communication. Hence, moral and material experiences which differ for different groups (e.g. age, gender, living arrangements, socio-economic status) of elderly may lead to different meanings attributed to ageing. From here, we can draw the following conclusion: It is our understanding or conception of our experiences that shapes the world; and this stigmatizing, stereo-type judgements and images are of primary importance in construing old age. Social constructivism proposes to construe old age by using macro and micro analyses together.

2 *Ageing and Old Age Studies in Turkey*

The share of elderly people in total population is increasing with a specific momentum. While the population of the country is still young, it is ageing at a rather fast pace. Although some studies in Turkey state that there is no
significant proportional increase in population aged 65+ in the period 1935-1990 (Duyar and Özener, 2001), the number of aged people which was 1 million in 1960 has increased sevenfold now. According to 2009 data by the Turkish Statistics Institute (TÜİK), population at working age in the interval 15-64 constitutes 67 percent of total population. 7 percent of population in Turkey is at age 65 and over. This share is expected to reach 9.7% in 2025. Together with the share of old aged persons in total population, life expectancy too is rising. Life expectancy which was 54 years for females and 51 years for males in the 60s is forecast as 74 years for males and 79 years for females in 2030 (OECD 2000).

In countries like Turkey where the majority of population is young, what is considered as the major problem is to find resources, in a relatively underdeveloped economy, to respond to the increasing demands of youth. Nevertheless, it can be said that social policies related to old age are slowly becoming a topic of discussion. According to Onat, rapidly changing social structure as a result of rapid urbanization and rural-to-urban migration brought about changes in family as well and family ceased to be a guarantee for elderly people (2002: 268). Meanwhile, limited coverage of social security schemes and inadequacy of social assistance mechanisms both make the elderly dependent to the family whose circumstances are getting more and more difficult and impose rather hard responsibility on family

1 As Onat maintains, while the Constitution of the Republic includes provisions for the security of elderly people and all Five Year Development Plans so far have addressed the issue, the proportion of elderly people covered by the social security institutions of the State has remained very low2 (Onat, 2002: 271).

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1 The Law no. 2022 on “Monthly Pension to Needy, Vulnerable and Unaccompanied Turkish Citizens over Age 65” enacted on 10 July 1976 introduced a non-contributory system of retirement providing some income security depending on the neediness status of applicants who have made no contribution earlier to the social security scheme. According to data as of the end of 2008, 18.2% of age 65+ population in Turkey (891,398 persons) benefit from pensions under the Law no. 2022.

2 According to official data from the SHCEK (Social Services and Child Protection Agency), as of the date 26 August 2010 there are 91 SHÇEK rest homes in Turkey with total capacity of serving for 8,873 elderly persons. Apart from this, there are also 32 rest homes managed by associations and foundations, 7 belonging to minorities and 119 private rest homes together serving 8,723 elderly persons. These figures indicate that public services for elderly care are extremely limited and insufficient.

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While there is no comprehensive literature on the arrangements of living of elderly people in Turkey, there are still some studies dealing with some dimensions of this issue (Aytaç, 1995; Aykan-Wolf 2000; Kalaycıoğlu-Tılıç, 2000). One of these dimensions is household composition which has its significant influence on family life and living arrangements. Household composition assumes different forms along with the lives of individual household members from adolescence to adulthood. Young household members, having lived together with their parents as nuclear family, then get married and may, in some cases, still remain with their parents during the early years of their married life until they can manage to sustain themselves. Adding grandchildren, this composition is called “extended family” in literature. When the young couple leaves the family, extended family is divided into two nuclear families. After years, extended family may appear again for some moral reasons or in case elderly parents or one of them need care and re-join their children or for some moral reasons. In Turkish society, the coping strategy or living arrangement developed by parents and their children on the basis of mutual support or what may be called “bringing resources together in a common pool” (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2000) is, as also stated by Kağıtçıbaşı, quite important not only for the fact that making children is a sort of guarantee for future but also that transient extended families formed during the early years of marriage support young people in their transition to working life and provide a guarantee for sustenance (cited in Aykan and Wolf 2000 from Kağıtçıbaşı (1982).

Touching upon the importance of family as an institution in this point, Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç rather seek to understand old age via such concepts as family and mutual solidarity. According to Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, family in Turkey serves as a significant mechanism of support (2000; 2001). While today only a small proportion of old age people in Turkey can enjoy retirement benefits, a large part of the remaining has to look for their own means or rely on the support of their children. This situation leads to some important divergences in the lives of elderly people. Solidarity in family structures in Turkey varies with respect to the role played by the aged person. For example in cases called central allocation, the oldest family member, as the head of the family, decides on the allocation of resources from

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3 According to 1990 data, only 14.77% of the elderly population in Turkey is retired (DİE, 1990).
the pool depending on the needs of the family. On the other hand, in cases of de-centralized allocation, solidarity is among families without any family head. According to Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, contrary to what might be expected, flow of mutual support in Turkey is not only from grown up children towards parents but also from parents to their children. In this context, such networks of reciprocal solidarity prove to be effective in overcoming some important problems as material support particularly for younger members and as moral support for the elderly (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2000, p. 524, 528-9). However, in cases where this mechanism is not working, individuals either young or old experience downward social mobility.

Another point is that rather than leaving their holdings as inheritance after their death to their children as a way to guarantee their future, old aged people in Turkey prefer to spend it for their children during their lifetime so that they can live happily with them (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2000, p.540; Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2001). Meanwhile, it is stressed as the other face of family solidarity that such transfers within families lead to various intra-family clashes and contrasting feelings (Kalaycıoğlu, 2003). While more prosperous aged people in particular do not face much trouble in this since their expectations from their children are not so high, there may be clashes especially in middle-income families. Since middle-income families can hold their present status through solidarity between the old and the young, their expectations are higher and solidarity gets more important too. Coming to low-income families, resources are already scarce and there is no expectation for sharing. However, in the case of low-income families this situation leads to distancing of the old and the young rather than clashes. Thus, social services institutions of the state must absolutely phase in for low or no income elderly people. According to Ünalan, on the other hand, elderly people in Turkey do not prefer to live together with other members of the family, but choose to lead an independent life alone in their homes while, at the same time, staying close to their children to provide for their spiritual and moral needs† (Ünalan, 2000, p. 3-4).

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† ½ of elderly people live alone while 1/5 live with their grown up children (Aytaç, 1998 cited in Ünalan, 2000).
2.1 The Research

The present article is based on a multi-dimensional field survey conducted in Ankara. The research includes 260 in-depth interviews with elderly people 65+ and their children and relatives between ages 30-50 years as the future population of the aged. The interviews are conducted in neighbourhoods inhabited by different socio-economic groups in Ankara.

In the selection of neighbourhoods and locations representing different social segments, the social mapping work by Murat Güvenç (2001) was used for Central Metropolitan Ankara. More specifically, for the selection of elderly persons and their family members for face-to-face interviews a purposive random selection method was used. Selections were made from lower-income (Mamak or Altındağ) districts, higher-income (Çankaya) district and middle-income (Bahçelievler, Keçiören or Yenimahalle) districts.

Since the research is intended to explore a rather abstract and subjective issue as “perception of ageing”, use of closed ended questions was not considered appropriate and it was decided to collect data through qualitative techniques. Consequently, a semi-structured interview form on the basis of open ended questions was developed, followed by in-depth interviews for one and a half hour with each elderly person. At another stage of the research, focus groups were formed on the basis of various criteria (i.e. sex, cultural origin, living arrangement, age) obtained from in-depth interviews and issues related to ageing were discussed in detail in these focus groups.

According to the conceptual framework that we use in evaluating the findings of the research, elderly people construct their ageing discourses with reference to the totality of material and cultural practices that they have experienced or become subjected to. In these discourses, the subject of being an elderly person is recalled and is also constructed during this calling. Whether material or not, practices here find reflection in language, and processes of meaning and understanding is mediated by language. These processes are re-materialized in social life or become embedded in material practices. This gives rise to a discourse which is continuously reconstructed and deconstructed. Since this discursiveness can never reach full totality, it both bears the potential of being continuously subject to deconstruction/impairment processes and remains vulnerable to external interventions. In this study, old age is seen as a “socially constructed phenomenon which is therefore always open to the act of another type of construction.” In other words, while old age is socially constructed, it does not have a fixed and unchanging character exactly for that reason. Hence the
construction of meaning of old age can vary from functionality to social age to biological ageing depending on the experiences of elderly people and their perceptions of social meanings in the society.

3 Research Findings

3.1 The Elderly 65+

Examining statements by interviewees from different socio economic groups, we see that old age is defined as both a personal and a social problem. However, the negative perception of old age differs by social stratification. Hence, we see the impact of differing experiences of ageing by different strata. According to the research findings, elderly persons from the lower socio-economic stratum accept old age from the point of helplessness and do not have high expectations from their family members. Elderly persons from the higher socio-economic stratum consider themselves successful, not attaching too much importance to chronic ageing, and also do not expect much from younger family members. Finally, elderly persons from the middle socio-economic stratum have highest expectations and they have negative perceptions of ageing.

Elderly persons from the lower socio-economic group regard old age over “functionality” in line with the theory of “functional age”, which leads to the formation of a negative outlook to old age and elderly people. According to this view, years when people were productive now remain in the past and consequently old people have turned to be in need of their social networks both materially and morally. In other words, an elderly person, once productive, is now dependent on his/her environment both materially and morally, since he is no more productive. Being not productive may even be seen as something harmful for close social relations. Such an understanding develops in the following way: An elderly person has his health problems; his perception has weakened; he is suffering losses in his five senses; getting more and more grumpy and mean because of physical and mental shortfalls and eventually losing interest in life. All these negative aspects make the elderly person dependent to his environment while he loses power and prestige in his social relations. To give an example, below are the words of 79 years old, primary school graduate married woman from the lower income group living in an extended family:
“So what can I do? My age is over. Electricity is gone and fuses phased out. You can live out the life given by God but without being needy of a spoonful of water.”  

Old age related perceptions of interviewees from the middle class, on the other hand, are not as strongly negative as above. They do not attribute “shortfall” or “difference” to personal reasons, but still they think they are isolated from society because of some structural barriers.

From a completely different viewpoint, a 77-year-old widowed woman from the higher income group, living in Ankara since her childhood says the following in the same context:

“Why should I live until 100 and be a burden to my environment?”

An important point worth noting here is that both see themselves “useless” and are worried about harming others while they live the rest of their life. On the other hand, interviewees again from the lower income group but of rural origin and having rather traditional families have relatively more positive views about ageing. Such persons regard old age as a period of maturity and accumulation of experience, which deserves respect. This group is more understanding towards elderly people; they take ageing as a natural phase in human life that they too will experience.

The outlook of interviewees from the middle and upper-middle socio-economic strata to old age differs from that of the lower socio-economic stratum depending on their level of holdings as well. Elderly people from lower income group regard old age as a period without any significant changes in terms of their relations to their children since they cannot realize material transfers to the young as socially expected in the society at large. Hence, in this group, it is observed that if such duty cannot be realized then ageing may be perceived even as a negative period for the end of hopes. On the other hand, for middle or higher income groups, instead of spending material resources for their own ends, such elderly parents may plan to channel their resources to their children or to charity institutions. For example, in case a big amount of money which may come in suddenly, these persons would rather donate to their children or to institutions with the reasoning “what more can you do with money at this age?”.

One other aspect is that elderly from higher and middle income groups are more sensitive to the perceptions of ageing in the society. While they

5 Starting from here, bold characters in italic quotations are by the author.
think elderly people should not be excluded from society, they stress that this exclusion is the result of structural processes external to them. In other words, even if persons in this group are sensitive in not excluding themselves from the rest of the society, they accept the idea that this exclusion is inevitable due to reasons beyond their control. For example, an elderly person we can consider as a member of this group says:

“If the community welcomes you as an elderly person that is a good thing; it is because they don’t have much consideration for elderly people.”

This suggests that a subjective understanding of the state of old age cannot remain out of the old age discourse adopted by the society. The perception ‘ageing and state of old age should be experienced as defined and adopted by the society’ is rather pronounced in this group of elderly people. Another example from the same group is a 66 years old retired army colonel who summarizes his exclusion as follows:

“Of course, I mean people do not want to accept it at the beginning. In old age, you understand that you are not as strong, good looking and charming as you once were. Even in a volleyball game you have young people on one side and elders on the other... In the past we used to allow elderly people in and now they allow us in. The society makes you understand this in some way.”

Again, it was observed that elderly persons from all three groups requested very little from society for themselves and other elderly people as demonstrated by such statements as “What can they do for us at this age?”, “It is not for us any more”, “I want nothing else but dying” etc. Also, an overall evaluation of research data, we can add that elderly persons and their family members covered by the research have mentioned stereotype judgements about old age and such judgements are held by both sexes without any significant difference. They are mostly regarded as in the saying “Yaş yetmiş, işi bitmiş” (If you are 70, everything is over). It appears that there is intolerance to and ignoring of elderly persons in such public spaces in Ankara as public buses, overpasses and shopping malls. However, when elderly people are concerned, there can also be a mention of some sensitivity, mixed with feelings of pity, bringing along respect under the given cultural context. Hence, societal attitude and behaviour towards ageing and aged people is manifested along a line which is marked by tensions mentioned above.

Given all these negative societal judgements relating to old age, even persons over age 65 avoid considering themselves in the category of aged
people. Indeed, when posed the question “Who would you call aged?” respondents from the group of age 65 + refer to others older than them with such descriptions as “Those unable to stand straight and care for themselves, who can move only with walking stick...” It is observed that these persons do not develop any awareness regarding their own ageing, but prefer to point out to the old age of others in their close environments or those seen on TV screens. In their responses to the question “What do you feel when together with elderly people?” such persons describe elderly people as a group to which they do not belong by using pronouns such as “they”, “them” or directly making such statements as “I have always respect for elderly people”, “I respect and feel sorry for them”, “I like elderly people”, etc. The tendency not to accept ageing is more pronounced among elderly persons from the middle and upper-middle strata who have their hobbies, contributing actively to civil society organizations or working. They think ageing has not brought along significant changes in their lives. Apart from these, those persons who have no acquaintance older than themselves and others at age 85+, qualified as the “oldest of the elderly” classify elderly people as “they are old as I am”.

3.2 The Relatives of the Elderly, 30-50 years

The family members of elderly persons who are in the age group 30-50 tended to respond to old age related questions over themselves and used the pronoun “we” while describing elderly people. Indeed, many interviewees in the age group 30-50 consider themselves as aged and refer to themselves first when ageing is brought up as an issue. It appears that due to the stress brought in by fast and tiresome daily life in big cities like Ankara as well as the impact of economic bottleneck in the country, the old age discourse affects even those family members of elderly persons yet in the age interval 30-50. Particularly persons from lower income groups feel themselves aged because of various problems encountered in life and relative deprivation. In some cases, this situation can be observed in physical terms as well. During the field survey, there were encounters with persons living in difficult circumstances, looking 65 years while actually only 45 years of age with their sunken postures and overly wrinkled faces. The tendency to consider himself as aged becomes more salient in the 40-50 sub-interval of the age group 30-50. Among persons from the lower income group, who have married and had children while still young,
the tendency to describe themselves as “aged” may start at much earlier ages. Factors that fuel this understanding include having grandchildren at relatively early ages, having few elder relatives living at some distance and early retirement. Below is what is said by a 34 years old married and working woman from low income group:

“Well, life circumstances wore me off. I feel like I am 60-70 years old. Sometimes you see people 60 years old saying ‘I feel like 15’, but not me, I do feel that I am aged”

3.3 Age Discrimination as Part of Subjective Experiences of Elderly

In order to evaluate the perception about the participation of aged persons to social life and to have some deeper information about age discrimination, which may also affect the subjective experiences of the elderly and their relatives, we also inquired about how it is perceived in the society when elderly people appear and wander in public places like shopping places, streets and city centres. Responses can be gathered under four approaches: (1) fully intolerant to elderly participation to social life; (2) accepting such participation by the elderly only if and when necessary and accompanied by younger persons; (3) accepting this participation if and when this does not interfere or harm their affairs; (4) finding the question about elderly participation to social life inappropriate for being discriminatory in essence. Attitudes regarding the exclusion of elderly people are generally influenced directly by three dimensions: level of education, income status and place of origin. As level of education and income is higher, related attitudes change from negative to positive. The tendency to be in affirmative or positive group becomes more pronounced as hometown changes from village to city and then to metropolis. It is observed that the attitude of those from western regions is more positive and affirmative compared to those from Eastern and Central Anatolia.

As level of education and income gets lower, the judgement “what do old people have to do out in streets, they should stay home” becomes dominant. The approach “They may go out if they avoid being a burden to young and working people” is the somewhat softened version of the earlier stance. It is clear here that elderly persons are considered as second or third class citizens and their presence in public places is made conditional to “not delaying young and working people”. For instance, a 36 years old...
high school graduate woman from the middle income group, working as secretary says:

“No it is not correct for an elderly person to hang around long in Kızılay. It is sometimes difficult even for us, younger people, to go and stay there. I am not saying that they should not go out at all; they may be out there for their needs. Their walking paths are different if they need to go out. I don’t think it is proper for them to walk out there in the crowd. I say ‘It is too crowded and they should better stay home.’ Can they be as agile as we are, is it possible? It is a problem for them to get on a bus or have food in a queue…”

Although confronted much rarely, negative judgements do not completely disappear among educated and higher income group members. In fact, a 48 year old male university graduate, doing business as a contractor, from the higher income group may display a similar discriminatory attitude towards the elderly:

“I think elderly people should not go into crowds in specific hours.”

Below are the words of a 50 years old woman with low income and education status and with relatively stronger traditional family ties:

“No, they should not go out alone. All elderly people have some younger affinities; let they be sons, daughters or neighbours. If they want to go somewhere they should take them together, covering their expenses if any. Otherwise, what the heck old people can have out in streets! Something bad may happen, a car may hit or they may stumble down, for example. I am 50 now and in many cases I suffer accidents like falling down and so. Just think about older ones.”

Another approach that tolerates elderly people’s being out in streets “only if necessary” still maintains discriminatory stance while allowing more life space to these people. In this approach, elderly people’s presence out in streets is tolerated only in case they have no companion to care for them and provide for their needs.

Positive approaches on the same issue mostly emerge in two forms. Firstly, there is the approach that sees no problem in elderly people’s outgoing to crowded spaces and city centres “if there is no risk for their health.” Here, elderly people’s participation to social life is not rejected leaving aside the concern for any possible accident (i.e. getting hit by a car, passing out in street, etc.).

Another approach to elderly people which holds a stance most distant from discrimination is the one saying that “of course they may go out like
others; it is their human right, should they stay home all the time?”. Examples to this positive attitude are as follows:

70 years old retired electricity technician, male, vocational school graduate and from the middle income group:

“I see no anomaly or anything wrong in their presence out in the streets. They are normal human beings after all.”

49 years old university graduate woman from the higher income group:

“I see it very positively. But do you take a look at pavements? (…) In Europe there are special arrangements on pavements at points where busses stop by which elderly people and even persons with wheelchair can easily get on. So the very old or disabled people can live there alone. At this age even I cannot walk safely on the streets of this city. I keep looking at the ground to avoid any accident…. What are we doing? We are saying stay home if you are old and disabled. That’s how we see the issue as a society. A bus may stop meters ahead of the stop, if any old passenger complains they say ‘So what? Does it matter to walk little longer?’ But if there is a bus stop at some point, the driver has to stop right there… When you have seen good practices, you make comparisons inevitably. Can anybody say our people do not deserve this while foreigners do? Why aren’t we at the same quality? (…) It is the only luxury of an old age person, taking a bus and seeing around.”

81 years old married male, a university graduate from the higher income group expresses his opinion as follows:

“Well I regard highly those old people cruising around. It is a very good thing to do for people at my age. Let’s suppose I can go to Antalya for two days then have a tour in Europe visiting Prague or Stockholm; I wish I could do it. People should not stop until the very last moment. It is absolutely necessary to seek for something, some excitement.”

**Discussion**

An overall evaluation of the findings of the research suggests that the moral and material processes materialized in social life or become embedded in material practices give rise to an ageing discourse by the elderly and their relatives which is socially constructed. In this study, old age is seen as a “socially constructed phenomenon which is therefore always open to the act of another type of construction.” In other words, while old age is socially constructed, it does not have a fixed and unchanging character exactly for that reason. Hence the construction of meaning of old age can vary from functionality to social age to biological ageing depending...
on the experiences of elderly people and their perceptions of social meanings in the society.

The perception of ageing differs in different socio-economic groups of elderly. Especially depending on social norms and expectations of the society about transferring their wealth to the children, elderly from lower income groups feel themselves as unsuccessful and ageing is also the end of their hopes. Hence, they cannot expect reciprocal respect or care from their children and feel lack of functionality with ageing. On the other hand, elderly from the middle and high income groups would heighten their expectations since they have fulfilled their reciprocal duties according to social norms. They will be still functional for their children even if they can be aged physically.

In terms of social meanings and attributes of the Turkish society, although traditionally it is expected that the elderly should be respected by the young and cared for by their children, the present context of societal attitude towards the old aged persons can be expressed as a case of age discrimination. Especially the younger age respondents have displayed views like “They should stay home, and if they want to go out they should be in parks instead of getting into crowds”. This social attitude is acknowledged by the elderly themselves and has considerable impact on their subjective experiences. Of course such factors as a transportation system not arranged for the needs of the elderly, poor urban design, absence of or too high pavements and too many overpasses have their share in this. Concerns about the health and safety of elderly persons are apparent in such statements made. Above all, the point we insistently seek here is to see whether interviewees, including elderly persons themselves, regard old people’s going out in public space and cruising as a “legitimate” act or not. Taking interviews in general, we can say that this act by elderly people is mostly not seen “legitimate”. Indeed, the proportion of those interviewees having positive attitude towards this act is not so high.

It can be said that elderly persons from higher levels of income and education (but not all of them) feel no shortfall in their participation to social life, partly for their higher levels of activities earlier. But it should be mentioned right at this point that the meaning and space of this participation is different for people from higher stratum. In most cases these persons have their private cars and drive to various urban activities and places of entertainment. In other words, they don’t have to mix with crowds and effect the daily life in the urban public space. Hence, in general terms, there is no such problem for these people. The problem is rather for those from the
lower and middle income groups who have to catch and get on buses, walk on pavements and climb overpasses.

Another important finding is as follows: In the eyes of “traditional” segments of society, walking around the town for entertainment and going out for this purpose is not a socially acceptable behaviour and even found “deviant” when elderly persons are concerned. Going out of home is approvable only if there is a specific thing to do there. This is a finding that supports the argument that traditional segments do not regard leisure time activities as a coping strategy and isolate themselves from urban activities. However, as mentioned before, this does not mean that people from these segments lead an absolutely empty life and have no social life at all. In fact, activities such as neighbour visits, special gathering days, religious ceremonies, weddings, etc. are the most important elements in the social life of these people. Another important finding about participation to social life is that people from the age group 30-50 are mostly intolerant of elderly persons’ presence and “crowding” of means of public transportation.

To conclude, it can be said that there is a general intolerance to elderly people in big cities Turkey due to the hectic city life not fit for the elderly people. The initiatives geared to build social awareness against discriminatory behaviour against these people are mostly lacking. Given this, both central and local governments have to contribute to the solution of structural problems in elderly people’s participation to social life by developing holistic policies. Such structural arrangements will help elderly people participate more to social life and with this enhanced participation they will no longer regarded as “minority” by younger age groups and recognized as individuals with the right to take part in social life. This study may hence be regarded as a first step pointing out to the need for building awareness on this specific issue.

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Ottoman Heritage

The age of Jem has passed,
The cup alone in use remains

Nabi

Any comprehensive research about The Republican Turkey has got to start off with a brief analysis of the Ottoman Turkey for the very simple reason that the contemporary Turkey is what is left, both geographically and historically — and for that matter in its entirety — out of the Ottoman Empire, after the decisive defeat of World War I.

With this contention before concentrating fully on our selected focal point, namely that of structural changes in the Republican Turkey it is apt to mention briefly some of the salient features of the later years of the Ottoman Empire. An Empire which had reached its peak in the XVI. century, surpassed the other major European powers economically, militarily, technologically and culturally, but lost its superiority in the last two centuries of its 627 years reign due to multifarious factors generated both within and without and finally disintegrated into twenty nine nation states, The Republican Turkey being one of them(*).

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1 It is not our intention here to discuss the semantic origins and evolution of the “structural change” concept. This could be a subject matter for another paper. It suffices to say that what is meant by “structural change” here is the composition of new combinations in the various spheres of societal life which in varying degrees seems different than the previous one. This definition as it can be seen has a clearly distinctive sociological overtones and covers both “growth” and “development”, however they may be defined by the academic profession.
Crisis within the Empire were felt by the Ottoman rulers throughout the
late XVIII, XIX, and early XX centuries and need for reforms and change
were admitted undisputed and – to use the precise term as conceived by
the Ottoman elite – a long series of Westernisation attempts were carried
out desperately from around 1720's until the Empire's dissolution around
the 1920's. The main break at those attempts were, without any doubt, the
relentless and continuous warfare that the Empire found itself engaged in
with the many old and emerging Western powers. To cite all but one strik-
ing example starting from 1908 until 1923 first the Ottoman Empire and
then after 1918 her claimant successor the National Struggle Movement
were warring in many fronts with different powers. And when all had fi-
nally ended, in Lewis's words (1901, 241).

"There was indeed little room for hope. Exhausted by almost continuous war-
fare, the once great Ottoman Empire lay Supine in defeat… The Country was
shattered, impoverished, depopulated and demoralized. The Turkish people
beaten and dispirited…"

It must be added, however, that even the reform and Westernization efforts
which were carried out at the intervals were basically misconceived.

With hindsight economic and social issues and economic expansion in
particular should have been the prime concern. Instead, military, judicial
and political reorganisations and fragmentary reforms in the same fields
were given the utmost priority which by the nature of their piecemeal ap-
lications generated new instabilities.

Thus when eventually dissolved in 1923, at least two different but relat-
ed sets of problems, one economic and the other social and cultural, were
left – with cumulative side effects – to the newly born Republican Turkey
with the prevailing condition depicted so succinctly by Lewis in the above
paragraph.

The first of those problems were essentially centered on the issues of
non-industrialisation, premodern agricultural structure, the dominance of
low-productivity urban economic activities, absence of a viable skilled-
labour force, absence of indigenous entrepreneurial and managerial skill
pool, etc.

The second set of problems arose mainly from the perpetual quest for a
new socio-political and cultural identity. Here the fundamental issues were
how to catch up with the European superiority; how to reshape the trans-
formation of the Turkish people into a new mold and probably the last but
by no means the least, how, between the two cultures and two civilisations
– the Islamic and European – to choose and formulate and/or synthesize a new cultural identity.

Beset with these forbiddingly difficult problems, the new "Republican Turkey" of Kemal Atatürk attempted to transform its economically traditional and preindustrial and culturally dualist-partly traditional and Islamic and partly quasi-western – structures into a fully – Western one.

1.1 Towards a New State and a New Structure

The peace treaty of Lausanne, signed on 24 July 1923, confirmed the very existence of the new Republican Turkish State on an international level. For Kemal Atatürk, who was now the first President of the Republic, the turn had come to embark on the grand Westernisation programme touched upon above.

The programme, as it is depicted below, was put in force immediately; its completion, however, as envisaged by the founder of the Republic has not yet been realised even after ninety five years of determined pursuance. What has been achieved and what has not, in terms of transformation and structural change, will be observed after the close examination of the process during the Republican era up to the 1980's. This we intend to do in the time periods of decades since it seems that the Republican transformation process has passed through a socio-political and economic multi-phase which crudely outlined might be classified. Into what I would call – the "Turkish-Transformation Decades”.

1.2 The Turkish Transformation Decades

These are the decades which characterise the Republican years from its incipience to date and can be analysed under below headings.

1. 1920's: Decade of Westernisation; Experiments in economic development policies.
2. 1930's: Decade of economic "Etatism" (statism) and the extension of socio-political and cultural Westernisation.
3. 1940's: The autarchic economic etatism and transition to democracy.
4. 1950's: Decade of political and social liberalism; "mixed-economy" development.
5. 1960's: Decade of pluralist democracy and "planned mixed-economy".
6. 1970's: Decade of political instabilities and the continuation of the "planner: mixed – economy"
7. 1980's: Decade of second coup d'etat and a new economic/political set-up"
8. 1990's: The lost decade
9. 2000's: Justice and Development Party (JDP) in power
10. 2010's: Towards Islamist transformation

Notwithstanding those decades will be analysed in a more comprehensive way under four distinct periods which would reflect more clearly the path that ninety five year old Republic has been pacing up and down.

A-The Formative Years: 1920's and 1930's: Of the transformation decades which started in the 20's, the first two, could aptly be termed as the formative years. For these two decades under the unflattering direction and guidance of Atatürk did succeed in reshaping and recreating a new outlook for the newly set state.

B-The Transitionary Years: The decade followed Atatürk's death in 1938 and lasted until 1950's, under the one-party rule of Ismet İnönü could, conveniently be called as transition years in the sense that the decade witnessed a swift and hectic change in many respects towards its closing years.

C-The Maturing Years: Post – 1950's: The decade starting with 1950 can best be described as the maturing years for the very reason that although faced with many crises, the Republic continued to take the certain mold that was anticipated for it by its founders early in the 1920's.

D – Towards Islamist Transformation: Starting from the very early years JDP implemented step by step the policies that would make it easier the reinstitution of Islamic society which, in retrospect, seems to have been its veiled agenda.

Now, a concise accounting of those transformatory decades will be in order.
2 The Formative Years

2.1 1920's

Mustafa Kemal, who led the War of Independence against the occupying forces faced even a more challenging task of building a new nation and a new identity from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. And not surprisingly soon after the ending of the war he took the unexpected step of declaring Turkish Republic as the new form of political system on October 29, 1923.

Mustafa Kemal’s (soon to be called Atatürk, father of Turks) reformist outlook was noticed even during the turmoils of the war years. The sound establishment of the Republic, thus provided a much firmer outlet and opened the doors to ensuing waves of socio-political and cultural transformation.

The Sultanate, that conspicuous feature of the Ottoman establishment, was already abolished-only nineteen days after the armistice-in 1922, even before republic was acclaimed. That however, was only the beginning of a long and difficult process. The decade, in its remaining seven years, witnessed the following fundamental institutional and cultural changes:

i. 1923, The acceptance of Ankara as the new capital city.
ii. 1923, The founding of the (official ruling) People's Party.
iii. 1924, The abolition of the Caliphate (The Ottoman Sultan's nominal religious suzerainty).
iv. 1924, The closure of the religious schools and courts.
v. 1924, The new Republican Constitution accepted.
vi. 1925, Suppression of religious orders and expropriation of their wealth.

vii. 1925, Prohibition of fez and other traditional costumes and replacement of European headgears and dresses instead.
viii. 1925, Change of Old Muslim Calendar and Clock.
ix. 1926, The Wholesale Change of Islamic Legal Codes and the acceptance of
   a) The Swiss Civil Code
   b) The Italian Penal Code
   c) The German Commercial Code
x. 1928, The replacement of the old Arabic-based Turkish script with the Latin alphabet.
xi. 1928, Campaign for the elimination of Arabic and Persian originated vocabulary from the Turkish Language.
xii. 1928, The replacement of Arabic numericals with Western numericals.
xiii. 1929, The abolition of Arabic and Persian (as foreign languages) teachings from the middle school curricula (Ergin, 1978, 217-237; Lewis, 1961; Safa; 1938).

By the end of the decade, as the above catalogue shows, the cultural and institutional set-up of the Turkish Society had been thoroughly altered from the above. The economic set-up, however, remained intact and inactive. In February 1923, a high-level "economic congress" was held in Izmir with instructions – from Atatürk – to outline the economic policy to be implemented by the Republican Government.

The "Izmir Congress" favoured a liberal economic policy on Western lines which was implemented by the government until 1931. The policy meant that economic activities and Turkish industrialization efforts were, in effect, left to Private Enterprise. But lack of both private capital of a viable magnitude and/or entrepreneurial talent pool hindered the efforts of economic development. In addition, the "Great Crash" of 1929 in the Western World brought about a worldwide conjunctural drawback to the development efforts thus started. At any rate, it became obvious that Atatürk's main concern, in that decade, were cultural changes and the consolidation of Westernisation rather than economic expansion.

The domination of non-economic issues, throughout the 1920's can also be attributed to the fact that "economic advancement" was conceived as a natural extension of socio-political reforms. Hence, social and cultural reforms were carried on in the second decade of the republic as vehemently as before (Safà, 1938).

2.2 1930's

In the 1930's, Atatürk's Westernisation reforms were almost completed with the following major changes:

i. 1931, Adoption of the Western metric system.
ii. 1932, Arabic praying forms replaced by Turkish.
iii. 1934, The assumption of surnames (instead of the old system).
iv. 1935, Designation of Sunday as the weekly rest-day.
v. 1936, Founding of State Academy for Western Classical Music.
But the decade has a distinctive place in the Republican era, also for its "economic advancement model" accepted in 1931, which is widely known as "DEVLETÇİLİK = ETATISM or STATISM". With Etatism, the state now assumed full responsibility and initiative for Turkish economic development, the private sector having been designated a secondary role.

Etatism described as such was not a pseudonym for socialism. The importance of private activities were to be dominant in the areas where private sector had shown poor performance and deficiencies. In policy application, this meant that the state would no longer provide incentives for the private sector whatever the field of activity.

Etatism, in its basic outline, was nothing more than a framework for industrialisation. Agriculture did not have any important place in this framework, or "advancement" concept whatsoever (Eroz, 1982; Lewis 1968; Kongar, 1976, Türkdogan, 1982).

As an industrial economic development model Etatist development zeal slowed down and never again revived as adamantly and as strictly as before. In this, the shadow of the Second World War and major changes in the governmental cadres after Atatürk's death played significant roles.

3 The Transitionary Years

3.1 1940's

The 1940's are marked for their autarchic etatism in the economic sphere and involuntary adoption of Western democracy in the political sphere in the second half of the decade.

Although Turkey did not take part in the II. World War, its affect was harshly felt in Turkey. The mobilisation of human and material resources in readiness for any attack put the economy under considerable strain. To this were added the passive and autarchic attitude of the government with regards to economic policies. For this reason the decade is well remembered for its austerity measures, shortages, long queues and rationing.

It is mainly due to the discontenting feelings of the War years that a political opposition gained a speedy momentum, both on the political and economic front against the authoritarian government of İsmet İnönü immediately after the War ended.

The timing of an organised opposition was very opportune, for at the end of the War İsmet İnönü – till then the absolute power holder – de-
clared Turkey to be on the side of the Allies. In practice. What that meant was that transition into Western-type democracy was now inevitable.

Thus against the pressures within Turkey and from outside İnönü accepted to act upon the rules and institutions of such a democracy. As a result, on 7 January 1946, the Democrat party, the first true opposition party—was allowed to be founded. On the 21 July of the same year the first elections were held. The ruling RPP (Republican People's Party) government and its leader, Inonu, did not fulfill their promise. The elections were extensively rigged and force used to suppress the opposition sympathizers. Even so, the six month old opposition Democratic Party won 61 seats out of the total seats of 464. Notwithstanding all the abuses of power and repression, the opposition Democrat Party under the leadership of Bayar and Menderes grew much stronger in the ensuing years (Karpat; 1967).

On 14 May 1950 the first free and democratic elections were held. The results were stunning. The Democrat party had won 396 seats out of 472 seats, leaving only 68 seats to İnönü's Republican Peoples Party, 1 seat to the other opposition, Nation Party, and 7 Seats to the independents (Kongar, 1976; Karpat, 1967).

4 The Maturing Years: Post 1950's

4.1 1950's

The free elections of 1950, and the assumption of power by the Democrat Party is regarded in Turkish socio – political history as a turning point – a bloodless people's revolution – for the very reason that did it not only end İnönü's autarchic and dictatorial rule, but it also ended the twenty – seven years rule of "military -cum- bureaucratic elite".

The Democrat's much hailed promise was to break the bureaucratic barriers of the previous administration and open the doors of the state to people's easy access. More fundamentally, however, the Democrats claimed to have started a new era of political and economic liberalism.

The Democrat Party's development strategy was essentially based on the assumption that industrialization would be led by the private sector. Consequently, the private sector's share of manufacturing output increased from 40 per cent in 1950 to 55 per cent in 1958 (Asfour et. al. 1975: 2). The private sector also expended its share in total investments. During the decade its investment share was around 53 per cent, leaving some 47 per
cent to the public sector (Singer, 1977). Thus the Turkish private sector obviously gained a genuine impetus by the democrats’ development strategy. This strategy, however, did not exclude the state intervention. On the contrary, along with the booming private sector, the state enterprises too expanded throughout the decade. This co-existence of the private and public sectors in the economy meant that Turkey was now experimenting with a mixed-economy model of development.

Social liberalism of the Democrat’s, on the other hand, helped towards the formation of – to borrow Lerner’s concept – a more emphatic society (Lerner, 1958)*. It must be added, however, that the process of the formation of such a society still awaits to be completed.

4.2 1960’s

The decade started with the dramatic coup d’etat of May 27, 1960.

In the later years of the 1950’s, the Democrat Party’s development successes had turned sour with high inflation rates, stagnation in the overall economic activities, and chronic foreign exchange crises.

The economic bottlenecks, the political unrest instigated by İnönü and his RPP and grave suppressive measures taken by the ruling Democrat Party paved the way for an army intervention. On May 27, 1960, an army take-over took place, which was followed by a seventeen month interim period during which Turkey was ruled by the Committee of National Unity and governments of various military -cum- technocrat teams appointed by the CNU.

The CNU took two major steps which had surmountable implications, at least, for the two decades to follow. The first was a new constitution and the second the trial of DP politicians.

The task of drafting a new constitution was given to the Constituent Assembly which came up with lengthy text which was given the fine tuning by the CNU.

The new constitution was accepted by a 61.7% popular vote in referendum held July 9, 1961. The new constitution defined the Republic as a social, democratic state committed to the rule of law and basic human rights.

* Lerner (1958-50) defines “empathy” as “...the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow’s situation. This is an indispensable skill for people moving out of traditional setting.” put differently emphatic society is a “participant” society.
The new Constitution adopted a bicameral parliamentary system: one the Lower House or the Chamber of Representatives and the second the Senate.

In October 1961, free elections were held and a peaceful transition to multi – party Democracy achieved (Hale, 1976; Cohn, 1970).

The 1960 coup and its short-lived transitional regime introduced two fundamental concepts into the post – 1960 Turkey: first, the concept of proportional representation for the electoral system, and second, "Planned Economic Development"

With the first concept, Turkey entered the "pluralist – democracy" period of coalition governments, – except for the six years between 1965 – 1971 during which a simple party government, namely that of Justice Party, was achieved. With the second concept, a planned development period started in earnest.

The planning concept, as the product of the 1960 coup d'etat was – as it was then claimed – a rational reaction against the ill directed, low-level economic growth of the Democrat Party. Although the claim was challenged fiercely and shown to be not strictly correct, the concept of planning, itself was being accepted by all the political parties and firmly established into the "political economy" of the post – 1960 governments.

The plan did not bring any radical alternatives to the development model set prior to the 1960's. It did not attempt to dispense with the private sector, for instance. It even further stressed the importance and hence attainment of free market economy and the price mechanism (FFYDP, 1963; Bridge et. al. 1975). It did, nevertheless, introduce one novel concept into the development strategies to be followed. That was the concept of "social justice". The true content and implications of the "social justice", however, has since been a matter of differing interpretations and arguments. For some it has meant "more equal distribution of income". Yet for some others it has meant the goal of broadening economic development such that more and more people would be able to benefit from education, health facilities, housing, etc. (Bridge et. al. 1975). The latter interpretation can be attributed to the Justice Party, which gaining two of the elections in the 1960's with clear parliamentary majorities ruled the country and implemented the development plan programmes in these lines effectively until 1971.

The two plan periods in the 1960's and early 1970's strengthened even more the "mixed economy structure and strategy" that was evolved in the
1950's. The only difference between the 1960's, and 1970's has been not economic, but political. As briefly illustrated above.

4.3 1970's

Due to unending student unrests in the campuses, extreme leftwing urban guerilla activities in the major cities and division within the Justice Party ranks, an indirect army putsch took over on the March 12, 1971. Although the army forced the existing government to resign, it did not dissolve the parliament. Instead, a parliamentary, but non–partisan, government was formed to deal first with the anarchic situation prevailing in the country, and secondly to fulfil the "social justice" goal within the "planned economic development" strategy.

The semi-military regime of 12 March 1971 lasted until October 1973, but during the short period of these three years, governmental crises followed one another, and four different governments – derived mainly from the parliament, but loosely tied to the parties – assumed power. Although the political instabilities affected the economy, especially, in the earlier times of this transitional period, The Third Five Year Development plan was prepared and accepted without any delay.

In October 1973, free elections were held, which brought with it a permanent political crisis into the Turkish political scene by not producing a clear majority. The coalition governments that followed, ruled the country in an atmosphere of political uncertainties, nobody daring to estimate how long each government would last.

The early elections in June 1977 resulted in a similar predicament. The last three years of the decade witnessed three different governments following each other. Political Instabilities, and social unrest reached damaging proportions. Thus at the close of the decade, Turkey shuddered with the feelings of uncertainties in all the spheres of the societal life.

One of the most dramatic development of the 70’s was the military intervention in Cyprus and then de facto division of the islands. An issue which continues to be a majour obstacle in Turkey’s relation with the West, and EU in particular.
4.4 1980's

In the very first year of the decade Turkey experienced a new military takeover on 12 September 1980. The Parliament was immediately dissolved, and all political activities banned.

At the start it seemed that the new military regime was very mild in its outlook and philosophy. As time passed it became clear, however, that behind the mild appearance the National Security Council – which had the effective power under the figurship of General Kenan Evren, held a rather radical view which aimed at fundamental institutional changes. The institutions to be changed were the ones which characterised the post – 1960 era and which were believed to be the main causes of the above-mentioned ills; universities and other higher education schools being the main culprits. Hence higher education was restructured and a Higher Education Council introduced to overlook the higher education institutions in their overtakings thus affecting the autonomy of the Universities in particular.

The most fundamental change, however, was the New Constitution. Instead of bicameral parliamentary system a unicameral system was introduced. Separation of power was redefined in favour of executive. The scope of human rights and freedoms narrowed.

In 1982 NSC declared permission for the parties to be established for the election to be held in 1983. In the elections held on November 6, 1983 the Motherland Party founded by Turgut Özal secured the majority in the parliament and was asked to form the new government on December 13, 1983.

Özal’s years between 1983 – 1989 can be regarded as the period of economic liberalization and export-led growth. Özal who had strong trust in liberal values acted with great courage to introduce radical economic policies paving the way to a globally open economy and society.

Özal was committed to EU without any reservation. Hence Turkey on April 14, 1987 made the application for full membership.

Norman Stone (2010, 162) does not hesitate to call Özal as “the second maker of the republic”. Indeed Özal’s main concern was to shake up and change the old mind – set of people across the board from the civil servants to the military, from the business world to the media, from the politicians to the man on the street. (Sezal) The first three years were the peak performance years of Özal.

The Pace and speed of Özal’s transformation policies were bewildering and almost miraculous. As a result in late 80’s Turkey jumping the ladders
became a member of G20. It should be remembered that only ten years earlier Turkey was a country of shortages with long queues for the more basic staples.

There were, of course, harsh criticism of Özal’s years as well. The often voiced argument was that 1982 Constitution, which restricted some fundamental rights remained intact. (Heper, 2011).

4.5 1990’s

The party leaders and their comrades in arms who had been barred from the political activities following the 1980 coup d’etat had been leading an underground campaign for the reinstitution of their political rights as back as 1982. The support for that demand became so strong that finally Özal succumbing to the pressure called a referenda on September 6, 1987 on whether the ban on the old politicians should be lifted or not. The result was very close and lifting of the ban was accepted only with a margin of 75 thousand votes. Thus the Turkish politics, with the return of the old politicians, started to relive the pre-1980 style of belligerent politics.

Disappointed with the political milieu that Turkey was now heading for Özal opted out to become president as the term for the coup leader Evren was ending. On November 8, 1989 Özal became as the 8th President of Turkey.

The elections held on October 1991 started a new era which would last for a decade and have decisive shaping effects on the period to follow.

The first crucial result coming out of the election was that no party had a majority to form a government of its own. Hence a coalition government of the True Path Party and Social Democrat Party was declared under the premiership of Süleyman Demirel. (November 30, 1991)

On April 17, 1993 with the unexpected death of Özal Demirel was elected as the new president on May 8, 1993. With Demirel’s presidency Turkish politics entered a new unstable decade.

Between 1991 and 2002 Turkey had seven coalition governments each with different party combinations and five party leaders heading the governments.

Such political uncertainties naturally fed into economic chaos: high inflation, unmanageable foreign debt, rising unemployment, high interest rate etc.al resulted in a major economic crises of 2001.
Although stern political measures were put into effect with the help of World Bank and IMF the coalition partner NAP (National Action Party) forced the government into an early election with the hope to reap all the benefits of the new economic measures.

4.6 2000’s

Early election was held on November 3, 2002. The results were, in one word, staggering. The three major parties that were in power just before the election did not even get into the parliament each having the share of total votes below the 10% threshold. The True Path Party 9.54%, The National Action Party 8.3%, the Motherland Party 5.12%. On the contrary newly found party of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Justice and Development Party got 34.3%. The second party to get into the parliament was the Republican People’s Party with a share of 19.4%. With those results JDP got 66% of the members of parliament (365 members out of 550).

The new parliament had only two parties along with eight independent members.

On November 3, Abdullah Gül was called to form the JDP government. The new government appointed by the President on November 18 was, in outlook and composition as a centre right conservative democrat party as it had been claimed all along.

That image, however, started to change quite early with the 2nd JDP Government formed by Party’s founding and now acting leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

Since getting to power JDP has had eight governments in eighteen years which, in fact, means a new government every other year.

Sezal & Sezal (2017) analyze those eighteen years under four differing periods:

i. Normalization and reinstitution of civil governance (2002-2007)
iii. Consolidation of power base (2009 -20011)
iv. De-secularization, de-democratization, re-securitization and shift to authoritarianism (2011-2016)

In the last two years shift to authoritarianism has increased with new measures taken particularly the state of emergency.
It has become clear that eighteen year rule of JDP is taking Turkey to a different path away from the fundamental values that the founding fathers of Republic so cherished and promoted.

Turkey will be deciding in the coming two crucial elections, one Local and the other Presidential election, which path she desires to be led either the path Atatürk foresaw for Turkey or the path for full Islamist transformation.

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Values in Turkey

Veysel Bozkurt

1 Introduction

Despite the increasing reactions in some countries, the modern/global transformations we experience affect the way people live and think. Science and technology are developing at an extraordinary pace. Capital, goods, ideas and people (in a legal or illegal way) flow from one part of the world to another. As in many other countries, the current socio-economic changes are affecting Turkish society and its cultural values.

Turkish society started a process of modernization/industrialization hundreds of years after Western European countries. However, the tension between traditional and modern values, the origins of which go back to the reform movements in the Ottoman Empire, have reached a new stage today.

In this study, after a brief review of literature, the values of Turkish society will be analysed. Values are standards that tell us what is right and what is wrong in determining our goals and behaviours. They are abstract ideas shared about things we socially desire. Values offer us criteria for what is good, bad, beautiful, ugly, moral, immoral, or desirable and unavailable. In modern pluralist societies where diversity prevails, the value orientation is extremely complex (Thomson and Hickey, 1999). Just as in other components of culture, values are learned in the process of socialization and are closely related to our needs (Rokeach, 1973).

Some social theorists, such as Engels and Marx (2013), claimed that economic structure determines cultural values, while other social scientists have claimed that cultural values affect the economic successes and democratic developments of societies (Weber, 1985; Landes, 2000).

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2 Academic Literature on Values

Weber (1985) argues that the puritan culture/personality type plays an active role in the emergence of capitalism in the well-known work, Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism. This culture/personality type emphasizes hard work, asceticism, responsibility, rational thought, saving and anti-hedonism. Based on Weber's arguments, social scientists have developed numerous scales to measure puritan ethics. Among these scales, the Mirels and Garrett (1971) scale is used mostly because of its higher reliability coefficients (Bozkurt, Bayram, Furnham and Dawes, 2010). However, social scientists such as Bell (1973; 1996), Lasch (1979), Bauman (1987), Sennett (1998) and Inglehart (1971, 1977), have claimed that the puritan spirit that created capitalism is dead or dying.

Some sociologists, such as Berger (2010), have argued that the puritan ethos maintains its vitality in developing countries, while Daniel Bell and Bauman have claimed that the new type of personality in late capitalist society has become a "hedonist consumer". John Carroll (1977) defines this new culture/personality type as remissive, and Lasch (1979) as narcissist culture/personality.

A milestone in the works on values was The Civic Culture research of Almond and Vebrä (1963). This study examined political systems and culture in the USA, Germany, Mexico, Italy and England. In the 1960s a group of sociologists led by Inkeles from Harvard University conducted comparative research measuring individual modernization trends in countries such as Argentina, Chile, Pakistan, India, Israel and Nigeria (Smith and Inkeles, 1966, Inkeles and Smith, 1974).

In addition, they also developed a scale called OM scale (Overall Modernity Scale. In this scale, Inkeles et al tried to determine the trends of modernization of societies. Values and indicators were examined such as political participation, active citizenship, occupation, education, age, consumption values, and openness to new experiences, political identity, religious/secular orientation, scientific approach, contraception, women's rights, urbanization and social class behaviour. Some of the questions and arguments in the scale of Inkeles et al were also used in the questionnaire of the World Values Survey (WVS), in which Inglehart built a theoretical framework in the 1970s.

Another study published in the second half of the 1960s on values was the Rokeach Value Scale. In this scale, Rokeach (1968) classified the values into two groups as instrumental and terminal with each group consist-
ing of 18 questions. Rokeach's value scale includes the following values under the heading of instrumental and terminal values (Labor and Lion, 2013): independence, true friendship, imagination, ambition, responsibility, a comfortable life, cleanliness, social recognition, helpfulness, politeness, mature love, self-control, inner harmony, cheerfulness, social recognition, self-respect, forgiveness, capability, logic, equality, pleasure, intellect, happiness, salvation, a sense of accomplishment, courage, an exciting life, family security, a world at peace, wisdom, a world of beauty, love, obedience, broad-mindedness, and honesty.

Most of the values listed above are also in the Schwartz Values Scale. This scale consists of a total of 58 values divided into 10 sub-groups (Schwartz, 1992, 1994; Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990). These values are: power, achievement, hedonism, self-direction, stimulation, conformity, tradition, security, benevolence and universalism. Schwartz reduces these 10 dimensions to four different super-dimensions: self-enhancement, self-transcendence, conservation, and openness to change. The reliability coefficients are increased in the super dimension. This is one of the scales widely used today to measure values in the field of social psychology (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987; Spini, 2003, Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990, Schwartz, 1994). In Turkey, a large number of academic studies have used the Schwartz scale to measure values. (Bacanlı, 1999).

Research carried out by Kağıtçıbaşı (1990; 2005) about the values in Turkey has an important place in this field. However, the research in social psychology can be greatly extended and there are limited studies by sociologists and political scientists in the field of values (Tezcan, 1974, Çarkoğlu and Toprak, 2006; Aksit, Senturk, Küçükural and Cengiz, 2012). The Turkish Values Research, which was a part of the World Values Survey, is the most extensive and long-lasting study about values (Ergüder, Esmer, Kalaycıoğlu, 1991; Esmer, 2012).

The theoretical framework of the World Values Survey was based on Inglehart's "The Silent Revolution" study (1971, 1977). Since 1981, this research has been applied in different countries under the coordination of the University of Michigan Social Research Center. Inglehart et al published hundreds of books and articles on values from their work (Inglehart, 1971; Inglehart, 1977; Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart, and Norris, 1997; Inglehart, 1990; Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005; Inglehart and Norris, 2003; Abramson and Inglehart, 1995). Although this research considered the value transformation of advanced industrialized
countries at the outset, over time it has been applied to nearly 100 countries.

The World Values Survey generates a value map of traditional / secular and survival / self-expression dimensions. In addition, there are subscales within the World Values Survey that include dimensions such as autonomy index, materialism and post-materialism.

3 Modernity, Globalization and Values

On the other hand, modernity is one of the main subjects of sociology. There has been no consensus among social theorists about how to define modernity from the beginning. Disagreements on the subject of modernity continue today (Cohen, 2006). However, one of the conclusions of the founders of social theory, such as Comte, Durkheim, Marx, Nietzsche and Weber, is that there is a reduction in the effect of religion on social life parallel to the modernization process (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1997; Berger and Zijderveld, 2009; Casanova, 1994). Classical social theorists have argued that the processes of industrialization, urbanization, and rationalization will undermine the effect of religion in modern society. However, contemporary social scientists are not in as much agreement as the 19th century theorists on the relationship of modernity and secularization. For example, Berger (2008), who had previously been a strong advocate of the secularization thesis, later stated that he was clearly mistaken. Sociologists working on the sociology of religion such as Smith (2008) and Casanova (2007) have criticized classical social theories about secularization. However, analyses based on the data set of the World Values Survey (Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Bozkurt and Yeşilada, 2017) have obtained results confirming the thesis that countries are secularized parallel to the economic development process.

The contradictory claims of social theorists and field research reveal a number of new modernity approaches such as radical modernity in social theory (Giddens, 1994), multiple modernity (Eisenstadt, 2000), and non-Western modernity (Göle, 2004). Unlike the postmodern writers, the late modernist theorists view it as an "unfinished project" and claim that they are experiencing processes of modernity different from those of the theories of classical modernity.

As Inglehart has pointed out, early theories of modernization represented a break away from traditional values, and these theories are quite sim-
ple and deterministic. These theoreticians claim that socio-economic change brings social, cultural and economic change together. However, nowadays, analyses based on large data sets such as the WVS show that the change is not linear. While industrialization brings rationalization, secularization and bureaucratization, the post-industrial society brings a new human-centered culture such as self-expression, autonomy, freedom of choice, and quality of life.

In post-industrial societies, individuals learn critical thinking, political participation increases, and people become less able to be manipulated by others. The development of free choice and self-expression values leads to the development of democracy. According to Inglehart, the changing values are reshaping religious beliefs, motivation for work, birth rates, sexual norms and increasing demands for democracy. Modernization allows people to control their environment and encourages rational thinking.

Concepts such as reason, science, and progress, which are vigorously defended by the thinkers of the enlightenment and which at the same time are regarded as the distinctive features of modernity, are now being questioned more and more. Even some sociologists, such as Bauman (1997), blame modernity and its instrumental reason for the massacres of the 20th century.

On the other hand, as Giddens (1994) points out, modernity is a globalization-oriented process. The modernization of societies also refers to globalization. It brings societies closer together and creates changes in values. The young people of today are socializing in environments different from the prevailing values in the environments where their families are socialized. The emergence of global media, technological development, the flow of goods, the flow of individuals and capital, has also accelerated the change of values. Globalization creates similarities, especially in consumer behaviour patterns (Noble and Schewe, 2004).

On the other hand, there is an emphasis on rapid change and a chaotic new world. According to this, in the current era cultural continuity is decreasing and eclectic and pluralistic values are becoming widespread (Kochan, 2009). Based on the findings of the World Values Survey, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) argue that there are fundamental changes in the field of values parallel to the globalization process. They argue that developed countries, with increasing prosperity, move from materialist values towards post-materialist values. According to Inglehart's findings, there is a strong relationship between economic development and people's happiness and life satisfaction. However, this relationship is more like a
curved line than linear. Data shows that those living in rich countries are happier than those in poor countries.

After the Second World War, the industrialized countries were enriched as never before seen in history. The arrival of the welfare state also brought about unexpected changes with and end to hunger and economic insecurity in these countries. Satisfaction of physiological and safety needs has led to an upward trend in Maslow's needs hierarchy in developed countries. In particular, post-materialist values such as belonging and self-expression have gained priority. The change of values has manifested itself especially among generations. While older people give priority to materialist values, young people who have come into the world in a more prosperous period give priority to post-materialist values.

Insecurity in politics creates racism, submission to authority, and the need for authoritarian leadership. For example, the Great Depression in the 1930s increased racist and authoritarian rule in many countries around the world, whereas increased prosperity and security create opposite trends. For example, in today's affluent societies, people emphasize self-expression, cultural diversity and tolerance rather than obedience to authority and racism. Of course, changing values also affect economic growth. The Protestant ethics, to which Weber attaches particular importance for the development of capitalism, have been largely abandoned today in rich countries. On the other hand, an emphasis on puritan values maintains its vitality in developing countries where materialist values dominate (Inglehart, 2000).

3.1 Data

In this paper, the values of religion, democracy, trust, gender discrimination and materialism / post-materialism in Turkish society will be examined in comparison with German and Egyptian data. Germany is an advanced industrialized country. Egypt is less developed and has a large Muslim population. The purpose of this comparison is not to examine the values of Germany and Egypt, but to clarify the Turkish values for the readers. The World Values Survey 2010-2014 dataset was used in this study. The people surveyed in this wave consisted of 1605 participants from Turkey. There are 1523 participants from Egypt and 2046 from Germany. The stratified random sample was used in the study. Detailed information about the data can be found on the WVS web page.
3.2 Values between Tradition and Modernity

As in all societies, the values of Turkish society are the product of a long historical accumulation. While the values of Turkish society are influenced by the socio-economic changes brought about by modernization, they also affect the modernization process. As 99% of the Turkish population are Muslim, there is an inherited collectivist culture. In comparison with Western European countries, the industrialization and modernization process started much later in Turkey. Currently, Turkey is engaged in manufacturing with low technology and is classified as a country with a medium level of development. It was ranked 71 of 188 countries in the 2016 Human Development index.

4 Religious Values

Germany, Egypt and Turkey are countries at different stages of socio-economic development. In comparison with Germany, Turkey is a country with a predominance of traditional values. For example, only 13.1% of those living in Germany stated that "Religion is very important for me," while the rate of this response in Turkey was 68.3%. However, religion was stated to be very important in life by 94.1% of the respondents in Egypt. Similarly, while 65.1% of the German sample stated a belief in the existence of God, the rate was 99.2% in Turkey (See Graph 1).

![Graph 1 Important in life: Religion, WVS 2010-2014](https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845291154)
There are also significant differences between the countries in respect of qualities desired in a child. In Germany, the proportion of the sample demanding religious children is extremely low (12.1%), whereas in Turkey this rate is three-fold higher (39.7%) and it increases to 83.4% in Egypt. Naturally, parents teach children the values that they will need in the future (Bozkurt, 2017) but at the same time, people want their children to learn the values they consider most important (See Graph 2).

![Graph 2 Important child qualities: Religious faith WVS 2010-2014](image)

More than a hundred years ago, Nietzsche said, "God is dead." However, the results of the current value surveys do not confirm Nietzsche's argument as 65.1% of Germans stated a belief in God, and this rate was 99.2% among the Turkish respondents.

Science and technology have a critical role in the modernization process of societies. Therefore, almost all societies today are engaged in an incredible struggle to thrive in science and technology. Socio-economically underdeveloped countries in particular seem to be much more willing to develop in science and technology. Thus, Turks and Egyptians appear to be more optimistic than Germans in respect of the statement, "Science and technology are making our lives healthier, easier, and more comfortable". Science and technology, especially in developing countries, are seen as a way to reduce poverty and increase welfare.
In the 19th century, social philosophers addressed the conflict of science and religion. As mentioned above, it was claimed that secularization would increase in parallel with the development of modern society, (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1997; Berger and Zijderveld, 2009; Casanova, 1994). However, a large majority of people in contemporary Egypt and Turkey do not place science in opposition to religion. In both countries, people are desirous of modernization (scientific technological development) without giving up religious values. Again, in these two countries, an overwhelming majority of people think that religion is right when religion and science are in conflict, whereas that response was only given by 15% of Germans (See Graph.3).

In comparison with countries with knowledge-based economies, such as Germany, Turkey is a country dominated by religious values. However, it is a highly secularized country compared to other countries of the Islamic world. An exception to this are the Turkish-speaking Republics, which were under a secular Soviet regime for many years. Turkish-speaking countries, which are mostly Muslim, are more secular than other Muslim countries at the level of their own development, under the influence of the anti-religious Soviet regime, which they experienced for about 70 years.

5 Democratic Values

Despite some hesitations after economic or political crises, it can be said that democracies are becoming more and more widespread throughout the world. The majority of people around the world say they believe in the im-
portance of democracy. Similarly, the majority of people in Germany, Egypt and Turkey imply that they believe in the importance of democracy. However, what is understood as democracy can be quite different from one country to another. For example, while the majority of Egyptians see democracy as obeying rulers, a large majority of Germans do not agree with that view. Turkey has a place at a point between the two countries. There are opposing opinions about equal rights for women. While the majority of Germans see democracy as a necessity for women to have the same rights as men, very few Egyptians agree with this view and Turkey lies somewhere between the two countries in this regard.

For approximately half the people in Turkey, democracy is seen as the religious authorities interpreting the laws. The proportion of those who agree with this idea among the Egyptians was much higher, whereas in Germany, which has a Muslim population of about 5 million, this ratio was well below 10%.

Tolerance to different races, thoughts, or beliefs is one of the important components of democratic cultures. In both Germany (85.9%) and Turkey (63.2%), the majority of people were against the idea of "I don't want neighbours from different religions". However, the proportion of those who agreed with this view in Turkey (36.8%) constitutes a problem in terms of democratic culture. Again, the proportion of those who say they do not want migrant workers as neighbours is close to the proportion of people who say they do not want neighbours from different religions (See Graph 4).

![Graph 4. Would not like to have as neighbors: People of a different religion](image-url)
6 Trust

Trust is a relationship capital. If the level of trust in a society increases, then the transaction costs will be low. Trust is an important incentive for economic development and democracy. (Fukuyama, 1998, Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). In societies that have internalized the rational / legal values of modern society and have reached socio-economic stability, the level of trust is relatively higher. The WVS reveals that the level of confidence is higher in Scandinavian countries. Turkey is among the countries with a low level of confidence. According to the latest wave of WVS data, only 12.3% of the Turkish population indicates that they generally find people to be trustworthy. This score is better than Turkey in Egypt (21.5%) and in Germany, 45.3% of people think that most people can be generally trusted (See Graph 5).

Societies that have lost confidence empower themselves to search for powerful leaders who will solve their problems. In general, the gaining of power by strong leaders leads to the retrenchment of democratic institutions at the same time. Political instability, terrorism, economic crisis, and increasing uncertainty and insecurity have strengthened the conservatism in Turkey since the 1990s. In this period, a significant proportion of voters in the centre has moved to right-wing parties. According to the WVS data, the rate of those seeking strong leadership rose from 37.8% in 1994 to 50% in 2012 (See Graph 6).

Graph 5 Most people can be trusted

![Graph 5](https://example.com/graph5.png)
Political participation, which is one of the most important parameters of political modernization, has always been limited in Turkey. Political opposition in Turkey does not have as much of a legal guarantee as in the West. This has been one of the factors limiting political participation.

7 Gender Discrimination

In addition, modernization brings certain improvements in the demand for education and the status of women. In education, gender discrimination is an important question. The majority of people, in both Turkey (67%) and Egypt (64%), do not agree with the idea of "A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl" (See Graph 7). Increasing demand for education, especially for girls in countries such as Egypt and Turkey, could improve the position of women and accelerate modernization in the future.
On the other hand, gender discrimination continues to dominate working life. Two-thirds of respondents (66.5%) said that men would be better business executives than women. This rate is about 80% in Egypt, whereas one in four of the Germans agreed with this view (See. Graph 8). Although gender discrimination is a problem in all countries, this rate is much higher in the countries that are late in the modernization process.

Modernization increases the demand of education for both women and men. However, in the working life, the values which justify the disadvantageous position of the woman are preserved. In Turkey, 57.8% of respondents think that "when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women" (See Graph 9). This rate is much higher in countries such as Pakistan and Egypt. However, 16.8% of Mexicans, 7.7% of Dutch, and 5.7% of Americans agree with this idea. Gender inequality does not
depend solely on the level of economic prosperity of the countries. The interpretation of religious values greatly affects the position of women. In comparison with other Islamic countries, Turkey is a country where the position of women partially recovered and became relatively secularized. Especially in recent years, rapid economic growth has increased the demand for education in society, including for girls. Industrialization deeply affects all parts of society, including conservative groups.

8 Materialist / Post-Materialist Values

According to Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs, there is a hierarchy in the needs of the individual and, if the basic needs are not satisfied, it is more difficult to meet the higher needs of the individual. Maslow classified the hierarchy of needs as physiological (eating, drinking, sleeping, breathing for basic survival), safety (work, health, family, property security), belonging/love (friendship, family, sexual proximity), self-esteem, and self-actualization (virtue, creativity, and naturalness).

According to Maslow’s theory, most people in rich countries have satisfied their basic physiological and safety needs. Therefore, the need for self-esteem and self-actualization motivates people, especially among the middle and upper classes. People place more emphasis on quality of life, tolerance, diversity and living in a better environment.

Abramson and Inglehart (1995) argues that when countries go through the welfare state phase, material needs are satisfied, whereas post-materi-
alist values prevail. Indeed, as seen in the Materialist/Post-materialist 12-item index, Egypt is the nation with the most emphasis on material values. Germany is a country that has largely satisfied its basic physiological and safety needs. Therefore, Germans give material values less priority and post-material values more priority when compared with Turkey and Egypt (See Graph 10).

Materialists emphasize values such as security, power, achievement, technological development, and Puritan work ethics. Post-materialists put forward values such as freedom, diversity, quality of life, tolerance (Baştürk, 2013). While 71.1% of Turks attach importance to the hard work of their children, this rate decreases to 18.4% for Germans. Nevertheless, after the Second World War, the German success was largely explained by their hard work.

In short, in Inglehart's model, the Protestant European countries are in the group of self-expression and secular/rational values. Latin American countries are located on the axis of traditional/self-expression, whereas the heirs of the relatively poor former Soviet countries are located on the axis of secular-rational and survival values. However, Turkey is classed together with Muslim and African countries. It is among the countries that adopted traditional values and survival. In all the measurements made by

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**Graph 10. Materialist/postmaterialist 12-item index**

![Graph showing materialist/postmaterialist values for Germany, Turkey, and Egypt](https://doi.org/10.5771/9783845291154)
the WVS between 1989-2012, Turkey was placed outside the group of self-expression and secular-rational values.

9 Conclusion

There has also been a silent cultural transformation in Turkey, albeit slow-moving. Economic growth encourages secularization, despite the conservative government in power. On the other hand, tradition reproduces itself with modern technological possibilities. Similar to the non-Western modernity thesis, Turkey is modernizing quite differently from the West. In other words, it is modernizing on one side, but on the other hand, it preserves a significant portion of traditional values differently from the Western European experience. Unlike the 19th and 20th-century modernization theories, Turkish society is modernizing by preserving some parts of its traditions. At least this is indicated by the findings of the World Values Survey.

Values are closely related to the historical-cultural experiences of countries; at the same time, they are reformed according to the changing needs of the society and the individuals (Rokeach, 1968). The value priorities of poor countries are economic growth, job security, risk/uncertainty avoidance, achievement and commitment to work. However, rich countries have value priorities of quality of life, self-expression, freedom and living in a more beautiful environment.

Modernization and higher education are closely related concepts. Education affects people’s mental capacities, access to information and their values (Welzel, 2007; Pettersson, 2007; Schwartz, 2007). As levels of education rise, so traditional values will trend towards modern/secular values. As mentioned above, the development of modern/industrial civilization brought new values with it. As industrial societies of the past evolve towards post-industrial assembly, hedonist values are taking the place of puritanical values.

In this respect, a study comparing the values of students in Australia and Turkey reveals significant results. According to the findings of that study, while Turkish students emphasized puritan values, Australian students placed more emphasis on hedonist values (Bozkurt, Bayram, Dawes and Furnham, 2010). Similar findings can be seen in comparative studies by Arslan (2001).
Turkey is a rapidly changing country. In a study conducted on university students (Bozkurt, 2000), young people in Turkey were seen to be increasingly influenced by the values of the hedonistic consumer society. There is a parallel development with Inglehart's findings in this regard.

One of the most influential areas of modernization is the position of women. Equal work opportunities and higher education lead to meaningful changes in gender roles. Women's education, participation in working life and increasing competition also affect the way the family regards the child.

Traditional societies are known to be societies where, based on the theory of Durkheim (1984), there is a dominance of similarities. In these societies, trust in strangers is low and tolerance of differences is relatively low. It is common values that hold people together. On the other hand, traditions in these societies are the individual preferences of people. However, there is an increasing awareness of values such as equality, freedom, political participation, open mindedness, open discussion, tolerance, and pluralism, choosing law instead of violence, independence, cooperation, and respect for the environment. Nevertheless, the direction of socio-economic development is not uni-directional and its effect is not irreversible. For example, deep economic/political crises turn people towards values of survival, even in developed countries. Indeed, the economic and political crisis has also profoundly influenced the values of society in Turkey in the 1990s, but it is not right to expect industry to automatically change the values in a certain direction. The process does not proceed with a straight determinism. While values such as science/technology/development are rapidly adopted in the modernization process, traditional values can remain for many years. Furthermore, as previously stated, there is not a single route to modernity. Countries outside the West follow the modernization process in different ways from those of Western European countries. The effect of this is undoubtedly felt most in the field of values.

Bibliography


An Evaluation of E-Government and Citizenship Relation: in Aydın

Ali Erdem Akgül*

1 Introduction

Government institutions can only stand by having a citizen oriented governing understanding in this information age in which technologic development has a fast pace and globalization forces all systems to change themselves.

Changes in technology effects the society in terms of economic, political, social and cultural areas and as a result new processes of change come into life. Citizenship and government are also affected from these changes. In this process, citizenship, government and government-citizen relation also change. Classical understating of government citizenship relation change and citizens expectations from government increase. Citizens become more demanding, participating and active. In response to these expectations, government make certain changes to meet these demands. E-Government's projects and applications must be inspected in this process.

Citizenship, in most basic definitions, means legal bonds between government and citizen which determine rights, duties and responsibilities against each other. Throughout the history, citizenship is both demanded by citizens and given by governments as a statue and identity.

What “Citizenship” means for a citizen; this has to be researched. What kind of changes happened in this process should also be determined. Does citizenship means only living in boundaries of a country and belonging to a government? Or does it mean being more active in many aspects of society and being aware of all rights and responsibilities? What kind of changes happened with E-Government’s projects and applications? There may be many changes along with these questions and with this research, these changes are evaluated in terms of social aspects.

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E-Government provides governmental information access for citizens, government and private institutions, faster, cheaper, more efficient and more transparent. E-Government aims to decrease problem rates between citizen-government, government-private institutions and government and non-governmental organization. Because e-transformation underlines the importance of organizational learning, innovation and entrepreneurship and expects government to innovate itself continuously (Şahin, 2008: 45, 46). E-Government is expression of government understanding which will stand with information and communication technology, increasing as the time passes by.

Coming into life due to effect information technology; e-government applications and social aspect of its relation with citizenship form the base of this research. E-Government applications not only relate governmental issues but also it effects all society. Hence, it should be analyzed well as it has potential to effect and change relation between government and society. Did such a change happened? If so, what are its potential and results? In this research, it is aimed to obtain these kinds of finding.

2 Conceptual Framework

2.2 E-Government

Government is a political issue that exists for centuries. Country, society, ruling power and legal-political order form the basics of government.

Government is the most widespread, sophisticated, developed, organized one of all political foundations. It consists of many institutions regardless of they are tiny or large. For this reason, government is named as “institution of institutions”. Ruling power relations and political issues generally happen in it. As a result, government forms general frame and cadre of all political activities (Kapani, 1988: 43).

It is also vital to underline this point that, government and idea of governing may face certain changes during the time. It is still seen nowadays that government may experience some changes.

Information technologies became one of indispensable facts of individuals and societies life and lead formation of new governmental methods. E-Government is pioneer of these new models.
E-Government project aims to give institutional services to citizens by using all means of today’s modern technological and communicational facilities in a faster and more efficient way.

According to Şahin (2008: 52, 53), e-government means using information and communication technologies in institutional services production and service to citizens. Information and communication technologies are not only used in production and service of institutional services but also used to simplify and develop the processes between government and all other institutions. Apart from these, these information and communication technologies also play a vital role in e-transformation process and are important tools in digitalization of government. According to Bhatnagar (2008: 13), e-government means presentation of institutional information and services by means of internet and other digital tools. E-government is reform in governmental process which is carried out by means of information technologies. E-government is becoming more and more important worldwide.

In short, e-government is a reform process and it should lead citizens to information by giving them social, political and economic opportunities. However, for efficient usage of e-government, apart from time, source and political power, sociological perspective is also vital. Culbertson (2004: 60) stated that e-government is just not technology, it has social and cultural effects.

As well as all countries all over the world, also in Turkey, unbelievable rapid changes in information and communication technology made governmental reform a necessity. As a result of these processes, e-government applications became more important day by day.

2.2 Citizenship

“Citizenship” is a statue that brings certain rights and responsibilities along in a political society. Citizenship is a legal bond that connects a citizen to a government and defines every single citizen political responsibilities. Citizenship does not only mean having a national identity, but it also gives right to participate directly or indirectly in societies government. Hence, social aspect of citizenship should not be neglected in this research.

“Citizen” word is derived from the word “cite” meaning people living in a city. In its political meaning, it means being a member of a cite of
group (Bouineau, 1998: 109). Citizen in its modern meaning (citoyen, citoyenne) was first used as a term after French Revolution to underline the symbolic equality and end of aristocratic discrimination. Modern term of citizenship is a constitutional term used to define rights and responsibilities of citizens. Modern citizenship cannot respond to the needs of societies that gained a multicultural identity with international immigrations, globalization that have been increasing rapidly since 1950’s. Today, national citizenship is leaving its place to terms such as multiple, multicultural, post-national, diasporic, transnational, ecological, radical democratic citizenship (Kaya, 2006: 98). As a result of this, this term has to be evaluated and analyzed carefully as it deserves to be done so because this term leads many new concepts.

While inspecting relation between e-government and citizenship, it is necessary to evaluate and mention about changes in term “citizenship”. Changes in technology also effects societies both socially and culturally and reveals new changing processes.

Citizenship with its most basic definition is a term that explains citizens’ legal bond to the government. However this bond is not only legal but also it is sociologic, religious, cultural and political (Tsaliki, 2007: 162). Citizen in its modern meaning, means a member of society who shares same rights and responsibilities with others who live in same country (Ünsal, 1998: 4).

Acquisition of citizenship rights started with French Revolution and since then, it was always a slow process. According to Wallerstein (2003: 122) with French Revolution, people in a society began to be called citizens. And people’s naming as citizens was a result of social pressure.

Terms such as globalization, information society are the most valid examples of mankind’s third revolution names as communication-information revolution. The reason why citizenship once again became the focus point of all discussions, is “changing nature of citizenship”.

“Citizenship” began to change in terms of geographical-national and statue due to the international immigrations, information technology and international capital. Nowadays it is clearer that, information technology has effects of citizenship. Both citizenship’s and information technologies changing nature effects and changes “citizen-government” relationship.
3 Research Methodology

In this study based on a field survey, it is aimed to study the "e-government-citizenship relation" sociologically and the issue is limited to Aydın city center. "Survey" technique was applied via face to face interviews in all neighborhoods in city center. Closed-ended, open-ended and semi-ended question types were used in the survey. In the analysis of data obtained from the surveys the SPSS 18 program (Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences) was used. Descriptive analysis for determining the current situation was done with this research.

Also, purposeful/purposive sampling technique was used in this study. For the purpose of taking advantage of the sampling techniques; to cover different segments of society, in accordance with the purpose of reaching all segments in all neighborhoods it is aimed to provide maximum variety in the city center of Aydın. Thus, the detection and resolution of the current situation is aimed to be provided. Rather "user-centric" approaching to the subject, it is tried to obtain more data in the context of the relationship between e-government and citizenship.

In this research, number of questionnaire was determined according to number of people living in districts of Aydın city center. Population of Aydın city center according to 2013 census was 201,812 and 650 questionnaires were carried out in this research. As many other social researches, this research has also its own limitations in terms of time and place. In this research, "e-government – citizenship" relation is aimed to be analyzed sociologically and at the same time this research population is limited to Aydın city center. Apart from this, when changing nature of societies is considered, this research also covers the time it was carried out. Survey in this research was carried out between the dates “1.11.2013 and 15.12.2013”.

4 Research Findings and Discussion

4. 1 Data of General Characteristics the Participants in the Survey Application

The survey consists of a set of sample 650 people. Considering the gender distribution of the sample set, the rate of male population is 49.5%, the rate of female population is 50.5%. Data on the age distribution of those
who were included in the sample set is as follows: Ages between 18-24 years 27.1%, ages between 25-32 years 31.5%, ages between 33-40 years 17.5%, ages between 41-48 years 10.5%, ages between 49-56 years 8.6%, ages between 57-64 years 4.0% and ages over 65 years 0.8%.

Data of respondents’ marital status in the sampling is as follows: 47.8% single, 47.1% married, 2.3% widowed and 2.8% divorced. Within this research, the data of respondents’ education status in the sample is as follows: 0.6% illiterate, 3.2% literate, 15.4% graduated from primary school, 27.7% high school and vocational school graduates, 10.5% college/university students, 35.4% graduated from university or college and 7.2% post-graduate. Respondents’ vocational/work-oriented data in the sampling is also as follows: 20.2% civil servants, 6.2% workers, 9.1% artisans, 6.2% self-employed, 21.8% private sector employees, 1.1% industrial-trader, 13.2% students, 5.7% were retired, 16.5% unemployed.

4.2 Data of the participants approach to "E-Government and Citizenship Relation" in the context of perceptions:

Table 1: "Do you have any information about e-government?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you have any information about e-government?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportion of who have any information or aware of e-government (electronic government) is 71.4% in the sample set. The rate of 28.6% is not aware of it. So those who were included in the sample surveyed, part of 71.4% use e-government; or even though has not used, has information about it. The rate of 28.6% have no information about the e-government or are not aware of it.

People who have given no answer to this question (Table 1) in this survey have been exempt the particular questions in the context of e-government practices and the survey questions were stated as the evaluation of a particular cluster should not respond to this section.
Table 2: "Making any public process/official business on the internet"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Making any &quot;public process/official business&quot; on the internet</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rate of citizens located in the sample set who do any "public process/official business" over the internet without going to a government office is 49.1%; the percentage of people who do not do on the internet is 50.9%. At the same time, these findings indicate that; while 71.4% of the proportion of those have information about the e-government; the ratio of using these applications is 49.1%. It means a specific sector is aware of the existence of e-government; but hasn’t used these applications yet.

Table 3: “Which one of below expresses your ideas about e-government applications in Turkey?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which one of below expresses your ideas about e-government applications in Turkey?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
<th>Valid Percentage</th>
<th>Cumulative Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not useful</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far behind developed countries</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t think it is safe</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very useful</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>53.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It saves time and money</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It increases transparency and accountability</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>88.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cluster who shouldn't be responding to this section of the survey</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Findings related to "e-government services in Turkey" are as below; “Not useful” 4.1%, “Far behind developed countries” 29.5%, “I don’t think it is safe” 8.6%, “Very useful” 11.0%, “It saves time and money” 29.5%, “It increases transparency and accountability” 6.0% and “No idea” 11.3%.
Most important findings of this research show that, our e-government services are far behind developed countries services and it saves money and time. Positive and negative approaches to e-government services are approximately at the same level.

Table 4: "Is e-government one of the most important applications to meet demands of citizens?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is e-government one of the most important applications to meet demands of citizens?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
<th>Valid Percentage</th>
<th>Cumulative Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely disagree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecisive</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>82.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely agree</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>99.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cluster who shouldn't be responding to this section of the survey</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research findings about whether e-government is an important application to fulfill the needs of citizens are as below: “Definitely disagree” 2.6%, “Disagree” 16.2%, “Indecisive” 20.0%, “Agree” 43.5%, “Definitely agree” 10.2%, “No idea” 7.1% and “No answer” 0.4%. According to these survey results, it is seen that e-government application is important in meeting the demands of citizens.

Table 5: "What do you think about the impact of the e-government applications on citizens?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What do you think about the impact of the e-government applications on citizens?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
<th>Valid Percentage</th>
<th>Cumulative Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The government's approach to citizen is the same</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find negative</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What do you think about the impact of the e-government applications on citizens?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
<th>Valid Percentage</th>
<th>Cumulative Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I find positive</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cluster who shouldn't be responding to this section of the survey</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Answer of respondents to the question "How does e-government impact citizens?" is as follows: "The government's approach to citizen same again" 39.7%, "I find negative" 6.4%, "I find positive" 50.9%, "Other" 1.7% and "No answer" 1.3%. The most important thing to realize as a result of these findings is that the degree of negative effect of e-government applications on the citizens faced is quite low. E-government’s effects on citizens are thought to be mainly positive or in a stable government/state. In "Other" category the idea that "government install the responsibility to citizens" and "many citizens are unaware of this practice" were transferred.

Table 6: "Do you think e-government put the security and confidentially of personal information/data at risk?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you think e-government put the security and confidentially of personal information/data at risk?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
<th>Valid Percentage</th>
<th>Cumulative Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I certainly do not think</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not think</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecisive</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>84.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I certainly think</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cluster who shouldn't be responding to this section of the survey</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Answers to the question "whether e-government imperil security and confidentiality of personal information/data" are as follows: "I certainly do not think" 4.7%, "I do not think" 30.2%, "Indecisive" 22.4%, "I think" 27.1%, "I certainly think" 7.8% and "No idea" 7.8%. Findings show that the level of rates for those who think e-government imperil "security and confidentiality of personal information/data" (which is 34.9% in total) and the level of rates for those who do not think in this way (the 34.9% in total) are the same. However, it should not be overlooked that one out of every three people have anxiety in this context.

Table 7: "The effect of e-government applications on the confidence in government"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The effect of e-government applications on the confidence in government</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
<th>Valid Percentage</th>
<th>Cumulative Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never happened</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not happened</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecisive</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happened</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too much happened</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>91.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>99.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cluster who shouldn't be responding to this section of the survey</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data of the respondents "whether e-government applications effect trust in government or not" is as follows: "Never happened" 8.4%, "Not happened" 44.2%, "Indecisive" 17.9%, "Happened" 16.2%, "Too much happened" 4.5%, "No idea" 8.4% and "No answer" 0.4%. These findings show that fact of "trust" is still a significant problem. The impact of e-government applications on trust in the government was exposed as a total of 20.7% and in this context "there is no appreciable effect on rates" can be said.
Table 8: "Do you rely on government services made on the internet?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you rely on government services made on the internet?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never trust</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No trust</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecisive</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust much</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>650</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attitudes towards processes done on the internet of government services are as follows: "Never trust" 6.5%, "No trust" 18.8%, "Indecisive" 38.5%, "I trust" 32.1%, "I trust much" 3.5% and "No answer" 0.6%. According to research findings, the rate of total trust in e-government processes done over the internet is 35.6%. In this context, the rate of those who tend not to have confidence is 25.3% in total. Another remarkable point here is indecisives’ high rate of 38.5%.

Table 9: "Considering the last five years, how do you feel yourself against the government/state as citizen?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Considering the last five years, how do you feel yourself against the government/state as citizen?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nothing changed</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel more powerful</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel more powerless</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>650</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Replies of the participants taking part in the research to the question "how he feels as a citizen across the government/state considering the past five years" are as follows; "Nothing changed" 41.4%, "I feel more powerful" 19.5%, "I feel more powerless" 28.2%, "No idea" 9.8% and "Other" 1.1%. According to findings, rate of the citizens who feel themselves more powerful across the government/state is low when the last five years taken
into account; the rate of feeling himself powerless is higher. Also in this context, the highest level of the ratio is of those who think there is no change. In "Other" category it is expressed that the citizens still feel the pressure of the government/state, they are under the control and in a passive position.

It could be argued that the citizens still feel themselves powerless against the government as a result of all these sociological evidences. So the notion that the citizens are for the government and tendency that no significant deviation from the classical citizen-government relationship arises. This point is very important in the framework of citizen-government relationship. Many discussions and researches are ongoing in the literature on this context. The reason why this question is asked "in the last five years period" is the effort to determine whether such a transformation happened recently. For example, to what extent the increasing surveillance and sense of control or controversy because of the policy or technological tools in recent years affect this situation; in this context it is tried to detect a condition.

**Table 10: "How E-Government applications effected Citizen-Government relationship?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How E-Government applications effected &quot;Citizen-Government&quot; relationship?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“E-Government&quot; services are not at desired level in our country. It only facilitates certain services. It has no serious effect.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have no idea. It is the first time I’ve heard about e-government.</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It is the same government”; there is nothing new and different. &quot;Government = Government Citizen = Citizen&quot;</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It disconnected citizen and government as it prevented citizens from going government institutions and doing their tasks.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With e-government, government increased its control on citizens and worries of reliability of storing and saving personal data have increased. Hence it negatively affected government and citizen relationship.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**How E-Government applications effected "Citizen-Government" relationship?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This application, which provides faster operations, decreases workload, saves money and time, helps citizens to get rid of queue at government operations, positively affected citizen-government relations.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-government applications will only have positive effects as soon as it gets widespread and as developed as in pioneer countries systems.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As media literacy increases, usage percentage of e-government will increase. As a result, citizen will become more active in his/her relation with government.</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-government applications are applications that increase citizens trust and respect to government. It helps to change pre-judgment and nepotism.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government also adapts itself to developments in information technologies and this adaptation to modern life increases citizens satisfaction on operation trust and transparency.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-government applications now became indispensable parts of our life. Government became more accessible with these applications, citizens possibility of reaching government departments have increased.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government is yet again dominant side in citizen-government relations and with e-government applications, government increased responsibility of citizens. As a result, e-government applications have negative effects on citizen-government relations.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a result of e-government applications, citizens do not go to government departments and this may disconnect citizens and government however it is still an important application which facilitates. It has both positive and negative effects.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question in Table 10, “How e-government applications effected citizen-government relation?” is an open-ended question and hence there are thirteen points to discuss about this question and answers.

After all these findings, it is seen that e-government has both positive and negative effects of citizen-government relations. Positive sides are that, government became more accessible and these applications became
indispensable parts of our life. It is suggested that there are some changes in citizenship and citizens are no longer passive against government. E-government is an application which increases both citizens’ satisfaction and government’s reputation. In terms of negative sides, it is claimed that government still has its control on citizens. This control even increases by information technology instruments such as e-government. Citizens’ privacy and safety for their private personal data and information were threatened as never before. E-government applications are not so common in society and citizens must have media literacy to use these applications. These findings reveal the term “digital inequality”.

All these findings are the ones which we consider as vital and original in terms of identification of this situation. It is quite clear that to reveal sociological aspects of approaches of citizens to e-government, these data should have been gathered. Researches should be held to find answers to “Are there any changes on citizenship and government? Does e-government have an effect on this? Questions.

As seen, many ideas and views are gathered from citizens with this survey. All these gathered data will help identify and analyze current situation about “e-government and citizenship relation”. Apart from this, cross tables will take place in later stages of this survey which we regard vital in terms of comparing and contrasting current situation.

4.3. "Cross tables" created between certain questions in order to improve the "comparison" opportunity in research framework:

Table 11: "Making any public process/official business on the internet" – "Do you rely on government services made on the internet?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Making any &quot;public process/ official business&quot; on the internet</th>
<th>Do you rely on government services made on the internet?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Yes&quot; Frequency Rate (%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;No&quot; Frequency Rate (%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Frequency Rate (%)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The research findings made it clear that those who made public process on the internet have more reliance on government services to be offered on the internet than those who never did. The existence of a relationship between the confidence and making process on e-government seems very clearly. Therefore, it is an indicator that can be considered positive in terms of e-government applications. Because confidence level of users of these applications is above the medium about these applications.

Table 12: "Making any public process/official business on the internet" – "Considering the last five years, how do you feel yourself against the government/state as citizen?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Making any &quot;public process/official business&quot; on the internet</th>
<th>Considering the last five years, how do you feel yourself against the government/state as citizen?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Yes&quot; Frequency Rate (%)</td>
<td>Nothing changed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;No&quot; Frequency Rate (%)</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Frequency Rate (%)</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research findings reveal that there is a certain rate change among those who have made any process through the e-government feel more powerful against the government/state than those who haven’t. Considering the last five years, the rate increased noteworthy in proportion among the users of e-government applications who feel themselves powerful against the government/state. This may be interpreted as e-government applications in this context has a certain degree of influence. However, it is considerable that feeling oneself strong against the government/state is in quite low level among the non-users of e-government applications.
According to research findings there is minor positive correlation in educational status that as citizens’ educational level increases they feel themselves more powerful against government/state. Postgraduate 27.7% rate is the highest rate in this survey about that they feel themselves powerful against government/state. On the other hand, it is a remarkable finding that among college/university students, 35.3% of them feel themselves powerless against government/state.

Table 13: "Educational Status" – "How do you feel yourself against the government/state as citizen in last 5 years?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Status</th>
<th>Total Frequency</th>
<th>Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Illiterate”</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate (%)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Literate”</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate (%)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Graduated from primary school”</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate (%)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“High school/vocational school graduate”</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate (%)</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“College/University students”</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate (%)</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“College/University graduate”</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate (%)</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Postgraduate”</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate (%)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate (%)</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Conclusion and Recommendations

When current literature is inspected, it is seen that e-government applications are examined and evaluated in the eyes of public administration perspective. There aren’t enough resources in this current literature about sociological effects of e-government applications. It is extremely important to take Turkey’s social, cultural, educational, regional factors into hand as e-government applications develop day by day. For this reason, this topic has to examined and analyzed sociologically. By observing and analyzing "E-government- Citizenship Relation", it is aimed to contribute to literature.

Social dynamics such as globalization, modernization, democratization, urbanization, individualization, technology and informatics brought many serious reforms with themselves. “Government”, “Citizenship” and “Citizenship-Government Relation” also got effected from these reforms.

Throughout the globalization process, increasing developments in information and communication technologies, governing understandings of countries, economic and social life also change. With these multi-dimensional changes, importance of information increased in modern understanding of governing. It became necessary to make information easily accessible via an electronic system. At the same time, as a result of information getting more important day by day, sharing of this information also gained a global dimension. Usage of information technology, starting from developed countries, spread all over the world. Rapid developments in information and communication technology and computers contribution to information production became basics of informatics revolution. One of the models of this informatics revolution is e-government application. E-government model which is defined as completing operations in digital media, aims citizens satisfaction and reconstruction of government. With e-government, it is aimed to provide an interactive web based on internet (Doğan and Ustakara, 2013: 2).

Globalization we mentioned above, were inevitably experienced in Turkey and lead some changes both individually and socially. Our research findings also give many clues about this situation. E-government development, changing of citizenship came into life as a result of these developments we mentioned before.

According to Yıldırım (2010: 3, 4) information and communication technologies, facilitated and quickened info/data flow and named this era we live in “The Information Age”. These rapid changes in information and
communication technology changes citizen and government relations and citizens’ expectations from government. Birth of information age is just not a product of technology but it is result of dynamic relation between technology and society. In this process, people needs, pleasures and expectations increased and communication technology continued its rapid evolution to meet these demands. For this reason, developments in information and communication technology has direct and close relation with social changes. Technology not only help people to state their expectations and needs, but also stimulates those who plan to meet these demands. E-government which came into life as a result of information and communication technology, has four basic aims. First; reconstruction of governmental functions and processes. Second; get rid of obstacles that block coordination in government. Third; observe government’s performance, and the last one, fourth; to increase interaction between citizen and government. In other words, e-government aims to decrease wastage, increase service quality, and enhance relation between citizen and government. These governmental services should be updated and reformed rapidly to keep up with these extremely rapid growing technologies. Hence, provision of e-government became inevitable (Belanger and Carter, 2008: 165).

Technological changes throughout the history also changed society’s economic, political, social and cultural structure. As a result, new changing processes came into existence in last decade. In this process, both citizenship and government seem to change themselves radically. Citizenship and its relation with government change. Classical citizen type changes and citizens expectations from government increase. Citizens become more demanding, active and participator. Government on the other hand try to meet these demands and preserve its own existence. Living in information society, it is a social necessity to inspect and analyze the e-government projects and applications.

According to findings of this survey, e-government is a developing application in our country and it is seen that almost 50% of citizens use it. However, it is still possible to say that its effects spread to all citizens. On the other hand, satisfaction of citizens who use e-government application is remarkable. It may be suggested that, usage of e-government applications may increase in the future related to their development.

Research findings show that citizens who use e-government applications have positive approach to e-government applications. However, it is reported that these applications have infrastructural deficiencies as well as software, hardware, staff and web connection deficiencies.
On the other hand, it is reported that citizens who do not use e-government applications state that accessing the services is complicated and they prefer face to face operational services and another point is that citizens fear about their privacy.

According to findings of this research, citizens’ expectations are as below; citizens should be well informed about services, accessing services should be easier, services should be more secure, unnecessary paperwork should be abandoned, transparency should increase and there shouldn’t be nepotism among citizens.

It is also remarkable that, it is said that e-government has positive effect on citizen-government relation and e-government increased the reputation and respect of government as it changed lazy government prejudgment. To add on this issue, government became more accessible with these e-government applications and this helped citizens directly to connect with government.

According to findings of this research, there is a remarkable group of citizens claiming that e-government applications have negative effect on citizen-government relations. For those who claim that e-government applications have no effect on this relation, nothing has changed, government is still the same government and citizen is still the same citizen. According to those who think that e-government applications have negative effect on relation between citizen and government, government increase its control capacity on citizens and there is an insecurity in keeping all those personal information/data. “Personal Information Security” and “Surveillance” are underlined on this topic and “phone conversations” and “internet usage” (social media accounts, e-mail, etc.) are the topics which carry the greatest risk.

According to findings of this research, age dispersion and educational status are also important in tendency to use e-government applications. As educational level increases, usage rate of e-government applications increase. There is a direct relation between the usage of e-government applications and knowing how to use internet. However, those who have never heard about e-government applications are generally older and illiterate citizens.

As a result, it may be suggested that e-government applications have an increasing effect of citizen-government relations. For this reason, more researches should be carried out on this topic. Sociologically analyzable data should be gathered related to this topic. If those who will carry out researches on this topic work on this particular issue, it will be possible to...
compare and contrast the differences and similarities and will be possible to gather required information. In different provinces in Turkey, these kinds of researches will help us to see big picture.

In addition, when discussing and implementing e-government applications, Turkey's political, economic and social structure must not be ignored. There can be utilized from experiences and strategies of countries which capture growth by using the correct Informatics. However, these applications must be approached toward country’s own structure in the correct way. At the same time e-government applications should be capable of encompassing all sectors of society. E-government applications-related projects should be given speed and importance. In this regard a national policy, the national information infrastructure must be created.

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*An Evaluation of E-Government and Citizenship Relation: in Aydın*
The aim of this article is to analyze the Turkish modernization by referring to the concept toolkits of Moore and Tilly. As we will examine in detail in this text, Moore analyzes the modernization through three important pathways. The capitalist, communist and fascist modernization forms correspond to the aforementioned pathways. According to the thinker, the pluralist narrative of the modernization also characterizes the different transformation sections which we see in the dissolution of the agricultural societies (Moore, 2003: 481). Tilly mentions the prominence of three different models in the state-society relations specific to the European civilization. The models Tilly names are, respectively, the coercion-intensive, the capitalized-coercion and the capital-intensive. When these two theoretical frameworks are approached together and a re-considering practice is introduced for Turkey, the historical bases of the problems arising from the modernization in our country would partly clarify. In this context, the man thesis of this study is that there is a fundamental contradiction between the capitalistic tendency of Turkish modernization and the coercion-intensive state-society relation. In the name of clarifying the theoretical framework behind our analysis, it will be proper to address a series of details about the historical sociology discipline.

Historical sociology tells a process, a transformation or a narrative which have been happening from a certain moment to another moment of the history. Transformations are generally taken shape within a long conjuncture. To explain the issues within the subject-structure dialectics is one of the fundamental characteristics of the historical sociology. It does not see the history as the revelation of the will but also does not allow the capture of the subject by the structure. Many historical sociology texts has formulated as a criticism against the romantic and deterministic explanations. Within this perspective, the human experience has been bringing in-

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to question in a context-dependent form (Ergut, 2012: 14-6). The concepts such as nation-state, international conjuncture, religion, modernity and capitalism characterize the historical contexts which make the phenomena meaningful.

Another remarkable similarity of the historical sociology is its tendency to make the predominantly historical social analyses on macro level; namely, to generally analyze the society by referring to its all characteristics in a certain conjuncture. The analysis follows a path-dependent theme in almost all cases. A sensibility which takes its reference as the total effect of the previous incident on the subsequent incidents constitutes the essence of the historical sociological method. This social analyze method which is predominantly has a historical tendency under the title of historical sociology within the frameworks of the founder thinkers of the sociology, particularly Marx and Weber (Skocpol, 2008: 1-2, Ergut, 2012: 14).

1 The Contribution of Moore and Tilly to the Historical Sociology

The study named Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship of Barrington Moore analyzes the democratic, fascist and communist modernization forms through country examples. As it is known, modernization compounds the themes such as social mobilization, structural differentiation, administrative centralization and class participation within the political conjuncture. In all modern and modernizing societies, the tendency of progress exists with a draft of the common characteristics of the society (Skocpol, 2008: 22; Eisenstandt, 2014: 193). The Mooreist discussion which tries to analyze the interaction between the structure and the action by revealing the historical facts considers the bourgeois-democratic institutions which reach its most competent form in England case as superior. The thinker is quite unwilling in criticizing the institutions developed as a result of the capitalist path (Smith, 2000: 356, 379).

Moore who tries to seek an answer to the question of why some agricultural societies remained as dictatorship while some transformed into democracy, reveals the social structures of England, France and USA with their historical contents on a preferential basis (Moore, 2003: 17). The capitalization of the feudal seniors characterizes the fundamental dynamic of English modernization. Over time, an alliance of convenience has formed between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie within the parenthesis of capitalism and the aforementioned alliance has eliminated the social
and political obstacles it faced with. The first social segment who lost against the pro-capitalism alliance is the peasantry. The actions such as the enclosure movement have changed the traditional usage of the land and the great transformation which resulted with the forced exile of the peasants from their lands has rapidly integrated the agricultural domain to capitalism (Moore, 2003: 31-40). The second loser of the process is monarchy institution. The monarchy that enacted philanthropist laws and protected the peasantry class in a sense in the face of the forced exile of the peasants from their lands has clashed with the aristocracy-bourgeoisie alliance. English Civil War and the subsequent Glorious Revolution has both given the ruling authority of the country to the parliament under the control of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie by degrading English Kings into a symbolic position and accelerated the capitalization process in an irreversible manner (Moore, 2003: 41-2, 47-9). The agricultural capitalism is the main motivator force which led to the development of the democracy and the industry. There is a serious causal connection between the fact that England was the first country from which the Industrial Revolution and the parliamentarian system begun and spread to the world, and the earliest elimination of the peasantry there in comparison with all the other modernizing countries (Moore, 2003: 52, 58-9).

As to the case of France in which the military and the monarchy is much stronger in comparison with England from the very beginning, the historical dynamics of the capitalist modernization have a completely content. During 17th and 18th centuries, the nobility has lost their economic and political powers and has distinctly become the bureaucracy of the court. The fact that the aristocracy has preferred to tighten the exploitation over the peasantry instead of tending towards the commercial agriculture is one of the main motivator elements which would result with the Revolution (Moore, 2003: 71, 88). Another reason of why the capitalism in France fell behind England is the fact that the bourgeoisie has preferred to use its capital for purchasing aristocratic titles, palatial mansions and positions in the state bureaucracy rather than utilizing it primarily in the commercial agriculture, industry and commerce (Moore, 2003: 73-4, 90-3). It can be said as a result that while the aristocracy has become capitalistic in England, the bourgeoisie has become aristocratic, even the state to some extent in France. It can also be said that this picture has changed radically with the revolution. The monarchy which was independent and absolute but the state it ruled paradoxically had been controlling by the aristocrats.
and the bourgeoisie, has eliminated by the bourgeoisie and the poor segments of the society.

The social history of post-1789 France is a history of revolution and counter-revolution. The content and the consequences of the French Revolution have a depth exceeding the scope of our article. However it can be made such a determination. Contrary to what is believed, the French Revolution is not an exact bourgeoisie revolution. Those who sealed the fate of the revolution are the plebian and the peasants. The radicalism created by the urban poor mass has been used by the bourgeoisie and the revolution virtually ended with the gearing down the peasants who did not want to proceed after the dissolution of the aristocracy and expressed the demand for order stronger in some way.

According to Moore, the contribution of the American Civil War which resulted in the abolition of slavery to the political democracy is more significant in comparison with the capitalism. It can surely be said that yet a serious economic and social transformation was begun with the Civil War. The Civil War has dissolved the oligarchic structure that consists of the big landowners in the South who had a class position like German Junkers and paved the way for industry-based capitalism that centered in the North (Moore, 2003: 152, 156, 169, 180, 198, 497).

Along with the bourgeoisie revolutions which correspond to the democratic form of the capitalism, there are fascist and communist modernization paths. Moore considers the undemocratic German-Japanese modernization case as an example of fascism even though it is capitalistic. In the fascist modernization, the industrial revolution is achieved in a top down manner. The peasants are kept on the land as semi-slaves through the oppression of the central power and the aristocracy. It is seen here that the bourgeoisie that was weak as unable to make a revolution has articulated to the aristocratic structure. The structure of the aristocratic state is militaristic rather than democratic. The contradictory logic which aims modernization but also does not want any change in the society has ended in a plebianized capitalism that refuses the political democracy and equality. Even though the narratives of Germany and Japan have common characteristics at some point, it can be said that Japanese fascism have a more specific statist and militaristic content in comparison with Germany (Moore, 2003: 21-2, 206, 283-373, 506-518).

Communism aroused from the collapse of the agriculture-based big state bureaucracies as a result of the wars and civil wars. It can be considered during the process of peasant revolutions that the Bolshevik move-
ment had a certain power in Russia and the Communist Party of China had a certain power in China in the formation of the revolutions. The Bolshevik leadership who unconditionally supported the demands of the peasants on the abolition of feudalism, the distribution of lands and ending the war, has created a communist regime from the state crisis. The power relations in China has started to change along with that the Communist Party of China has placed the revolutionary struggle on the peasantry base; and the communist movement has risen to prominence instead of the Kuomintang. Communist peasant revolution has become the key element which determined the historical tendency of China with the participation of the dispossessed peasants who had a massive number and were living on the breadline (Moore, 2003: 22-3, 272-3, 276, 555).

We can reconsider the historical sociology of Moore which summarizes the modernization experiences in three paths with references to Skocpol and Polanyi. The analysis framework of Skocpol underlines a series of issues which are underspecified and or inadequately emphasized by Moore. According to the thinker, what differentiates the revolution from any insurrection is that the class insurrections lead political transformations. The determinative in the process bound for the revolution is the state crisis. The destiny of the revolution is determined not by the revolutionaries but the state. Besides, the connection between the state crisis and the international crisis is also important. The era of revolutions is ended along with the strengthening of the nation-states. Therefore, the thinker is in the opinion of that there can only be long term reforms in the advanced countries (Skocpol, 2004: 25-6, 53, 523, 536). As it is seen, in contract to the historical explanations based on bourgeoisie, peasantry, aristocracy and working class of Moore, Skocpol attaches more importance to the position of the state as a national and international actor. In Skocpol’s system, the revolutionary resonance is state centric in the last analysis.

Polanyi’s contribution has a feature which enables us to make a comparative discussion on modernization and ideology. Polanyi remarks the difference between the market and the market economy and emphasizes that the market economy is a new phenomenon. The market economy has built by the bureaucracy in bourgeoisie democracies in which it occupies the central place. Along with the emergence of such a structure, the economic relations lose its edge to be a part of the social life (Buğra, 2002: 18-22; Polanyi, 2002: 85-6, 118). The transformation which is categorized by Moore under the title of capitalist revolution, connotes the history of
building of the market economy to the detriment of the social by the bureaucracy. *Laisses-faire* has established by the state (Polanyi, 2002: 201).

Another point that differentiates Planayi from Moore is at stake in defining the historical paths. For Moore, capitalistic, fascist and communistic modernization practices correspond to different routes which are alternative to each other. However, according to Polanyi, the capitalist structure is determinative. Fascism and communism express the self-protection ways of the society against the market economy which diffuses everywhere (Buğra, 2002: 22-3). Moreover, Polanyi does not approach the fascism as a modernization practice. He brings the ideological functionality of the fascist movement within the capitalist societies into question. According to him, fascism is a response given to the crisis of the industrial society. The fascist movement which legitimates itself through the argument that the conservatives do not make enough effort for preventing the revolutionary forces, has received help both from the aristocratic/feudal forces and the market forces in their process of accession to power (Polanyi, 2002: 319-329).

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Tilly's historical sociological paths are formed around a key assessment. According to Tilly, the war and the preparation process to war are in a determinative position in the state formation. When this determinative position is brought into question, three routes come to prominence which each of them corresponds to both a different modernization experience and a different organizational form. These aforementioned routes are the coercion-intensive, the capitalized-coercion and the capital-intensive ones. The thinker considers that the capital is related to exploitation and the coercion is related to the domination. The state which is the main force in creating coercion needs resources, thereby capital; and the cities which control the capital need coercion because of their security demand (Tilly, 2001: 39-45).

The typical examples of coercion-intensive model are Russia and Prussia; of capital-intensive is Holland; and of capitalized-coercion are England and France (Tilly, 2001: 61, 66, 117, 241, 270). In the regions where the coercion-intensive route has been following, the necessary resources for the coercive apparatus are mainly derived from the agriculture. The practices of actual confiscation and forced recruitment are apparent. Besides, serfdom and big landowning constitutes the essence of the property
relations (Tilly, 2001: 160, 174, 260). These remarks of the thinker imply a series of other interpretations. First of all, the in the places in which the agricultural society was eliminated later, the possibility to follow the coercion-intensive route is higher. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie follows the capital-intensive route.

Tilly mentions some important points within the context of state formation processes. It should firstly be made clear the question of how the coercion apparatus has transformed from the Middle Age up to day. According to him, the patrimonialism, brokerage, nation formation and specialization correspond to the main stages in the violence organization process of the state. Patrimonialism means that the rulers obtain the capital they need by racketeering or rent from the population. Timar holder troops, vassals and militias constitute the main military force. In the brokerage phase, the state attains more tax income. The mercenary is the determinative in the military structure. During the process in which the French Revolution was the milestone, national tax system and compulsory military service mechanisms rise to prominence. Finally, it can be mentioned the specialization phase. The military and the police have become separate forces until 19th century. Besides, it can be said that the supervision of the parliament has strengthened over the military apparatus (Tilly, 2001: 62-5, 100-1).

Another remark of Tilly who thinks that there is a direct relationship between the organization of the states and the organization of wars, is about the declining importance of the violence. The thinker remarks the existence of some historical tendencies. For instance, creating coercion apparatus and winning wars has become more expensive. Even though their consequences are more fatal, the wars have become sparse. Moreover, it can also be said that the civilian people has disarmed and at least, the connection between the civility and the war has weakened as long as the monopoly of violence is transferred to the state (Tilly, 2001: 62, 107, 124-132).

Finally, we can mention some points about the great fracture created by the French Revolution in the history of states. Until the Revolution, the European states had organizes rather indirect rulings. Many services have been fulfilled by the intermediary agents. These agents were considerably eliminated, the state was centralized and common standards were promulgated for the entire country as a result of the revolutionary efforts between the years of 1789 and 1815. As long as it is made progress in the direct ruling model which also means a nation-state formation, welfare, culture
and the needs arising from daily routine rather than the security became more determinative within the relationship between the state and the citizen. Direct ruling has been containing also a meaning such as the increase in the number of state employees and the services it provided in itself (Tilly, 2001: 57, 187-8, 201).

2 State and Society in Turkey: Main Historical Sociological Tendencies

When we conceptualize the transformation of Turkish society by parenthesizing the analysis frameworks of Moore and Tilly, such a panorama appears: Turkish modernization is a state-centered modernization experience. Because the class structure has not hold an effective position in relation to the formation of the history. This general judgment can be supported through a series of historical details and arguments: First of all, the country has no feudal past. As for the land property order, big land ownership was not in a determinative position. A class which had power, status and rights like the aristocracy did never exist. It may be made a note of the landed proprietary (ayanlık) at this point. The Ottoman tax farming (iltizam) model which has become dominant as a result of the dissolution of the classical Ottoman order has led the strengthening of the local constituents. However, the rapid dissolution of the landed proprietary in 19th century conjuncture without becoming aristocracy and causing any structural transformation in the agriculture has completely removed all possibilities for the existence of an aristocracy. Moreover, the peasants have not become serfs even during the Ottoman tax farming period when the local seniors has strengthened. Therefore it can easily be said that Turkish modernization is a modernization realized without the existence of an aristocracy (Keyder, 2014: 10, 15, 17, 24-7).

A similar class gap was also at stake for the bourgeoisie. It can be given such a detail about the existence of the bourgeoisie class in Ottoman Empire: Christian segments of the society have constituted the most of the bourgeoisie class. However, because of that this Non-Muslim bourgeoisie did not tend to realize its political aims within the country scale, the bourgeoisie class has ceased to be an effective subject. Along with the dissolution process of the Ottoman Empire, the Christian bourgeoisie has left the country to a large extent (Keyder, 2014: 10-1, 64). In this conjuncture, the strong position of the state bureaucrats within the modernization experience becomes clearer when it is considered that the Muslim bourgeoisie
was in a weak position. There is a certain causal relation between the aforementioned issue and the consequences of the nonexistence of a middle class revolution and the inability of Turkish modernization in strongly pursuing the capitalist-democratic line (Keyder, 2914: 100-3).

Turkey has proceeded within the historical transformation which is called by Moore as the capitalistic modernization path. However, there as neither a bourgeoisie class nor a capitalistic aristocracy class. Turkish capitalism is a state capitalism which has built in the absence of a class and civilian ones. Until quite recently, the state has been represented by the bureaucrats. As a result of the transfer of the resources from the bureaucracy to the bourgeoisie, firstly a liberal-secular bourgeoisie that has embodied its interests in center-rightist parties, then a religious bourgeoisie that has represented itself as Muslim and Islamic has emerged. However, even if one, even two autonomous bourgeoisie have emerged against the bureaucracy, it is seen that the dependent position of the bourgeoisie on the state is continuing. Besides, there is not a bourgeois democratic culture. Our interpretations lead us to a sub-judgment: Turkish modernization is capitalist but not democratic. The capitalistic-reactionary logic which is called as fascist modernity in Mooreist sense has been dominating the historical sociological transformation of Turkey.

As for the contribution of the bureaucracy to capitalism, it can be drawn attention to the existence of some limits: The aforementioned limits also inhold a series of clues at the point of why a completely fascist modernization could not be at stake. Firstly, it can be mentioned the question of colonialism and imperialist siege. It can be said that the Ottoman state had a similar fate with China and even if it has never been completely colonized, it has been considerably peripheralized. The facts that the country was forced to become semi-dependent and the constant derogation through the approval and the instructions of great powers did not allow the institutionalization of a consistent modernization path in itself (Keyder, 2014: 50-1). High foreign trade deficit, foreign debts and the military dependency are among the fundamental problems not only of the Ottoman Empire but also Turkey which is its successor on several counts.

Another problem about the course of the modernization is related to the anti-populist and anti-democratic characteristics of the bureaucracy which created the bourgeoisie. As far as the bourgeoisie develops, the authoritarian tendencies within the bourgeoisie have been come under more criticism. The prohibitive and interventionist character of the modernization has been brought into question with regard to the democracy. This tension
which has been tried to be comprehended through the center-periphery conceptualization by Şerif Mardin and his followers, asserts the political sociological content of our recent period modernization practice.\(^1\) As far as the bureaucracy is radicalized through the centralization and secularism, the periphery has started to express a religious and decentralist social objection. This political objection which is rather appropriated by the center-rightist parties has integrated with an Islamic opposition in time (Mardin, 2000: 87-90; İnsel, 2014: 24-5).

The bureaucratic modernization which created itself in the absence of a bourgeoisie and a bureaucracy is not limited only with the republic period. Because, in the last analysis, there are institutional and historical connections between the Kemalist state and the Ottoman past. Positivism, solidarism, elitism, authoritarianism, patronalism and paternalism characterize this aforementioned commonality. Moreover, Kemalism maintained the reason of interventionist bureaucracy that is organized against the society which it inherited by the Ottoman Empire by extending it. The disconnection of the state from the society can also be considered in this context. The bureaucracy that resisted to the civilian politics has stinted the political field and has realized the modernization rather through law and partly the education. Within this structure, the republic has continued its existence as a monarchic republic in which the elected has been kept under guardianship (Kazancıgil, 2000: 137, 146, 150; Bağce, 2004: 210; İnsel, 2014: 20, 23, 29, 32, 36, 280-2).

The mistrust of the bureaucracy to the rulers and therefore the permanent communication problem between the rulers and the ruled has made a bottom-up modernization impossible. Yet in this context, the un-popular character of the system considerably responds the question of why the fascism could not be institutionalized or why Turkey did not entirely get through a fascist-type modernization.

It can also be said that the attitude of the bureaucracy toward the peasantry made impeding effect both for the capitalist modernization and the communist modernization through a peasant revolution. That is to say, the peasants and the working class could never be effective enough to determine the direction of the modernization. Bureaucracy has been restrained the peasants to leave their villages and to produce for capitalism for a long

\(^1\) A detailed evaluation on the analyses of Şerif Mardin towards Ottoman Turkey modernization, See Çaylak (2013: 207-235).
time. The common attitude of the Ottoman bureaucracy and the Republic bureaucracy is towards keeping the peasants in their villages. Moreover, the peasants has not been dispossessed and therefore, a land owner class who makes large scale production or a working class did not emerge (Keyder, 2011: 109; Keyder, 2014: 13, 30-1, 39, 98). Because of that the peasantry did not become workers; it did not occupy any determinative position in the context of the political and social relations of the working class. Even if it was seen a working class mobility to a certain extent during the new accumulation process which was formed as a result of the 1960 military coup, there is no any causal relation between the aforementioned mobility and having a determinative position as a political and social subject. Because almost all achievements of the working class were the achievements affirmed by the state and the bourgeoisie class (Keyder, 2011: 111-2).

The consequence caused by the state-centric modernization is a coercion-intensive historical and political path in the meaning referred by Tilly. The militarist modernization which creates consequences along with the militaristic guardianship regime until recently, reflects a perspective that makes identicalness between the society and the military. In this perception, the militaristic discipline conditions the social edification forms. The socio-psychological precondition of emancipating the state and the society is a war ethics developed based on the military-nation coalescence. Naturally, in this general atmosphere, not only the modernization practices but also the political culture and political ideologies have been militarized (Belge, 2011).

The instrumental position of the law in relation to the state violence is one of the consequences of the coercion-intensive path. The courts insist a judgment process that protects the survival of the state or the interests of the government rather than protecting the citizen, the citizenship rights and the human rights. Generally, the laws has been changed frequently. The decisions taken by the courts is exceedingly dependent to the political conjuncture and yet arbitrary as far as the aforementioned dependency.

In an environment in which the law is frequently deactivated, extrajudicial punishment methods such as lynch come into prominence. The state tradition in Turkey justifies lynch as a national reflex. Those who are subjected to lynch actions are considered as provocateur. The perpetrators of lynch are generally excused. Lynch becomes ordinary, reasonable and legitimate especially against the Kurdish movement and the socialist left. Meanwhile, converting the citizens into informants, making the state of
emergency permanent and lynch are among the main characteristics of fascism (Bora, 2014: 7-8, 14, 43, 52, 63, 75).

3 *In Lieu of Conclusion: Towards an Islamic-Capitalist Regime?*

In the post-1980 conjuncture, a series of changes were experienced particularly in the organization form of the state and generally the state-society relations. We can firstly mention the elimination of the national development logic. The globalized bourgeoisie renounced from undertaking the soft of the national development (Keyder, 2011: 114, 122). The reflection of the general trend in the world to Turkey is the initiation of the neoliberal policies decidedly beginning from Özal governments and the elimination of mixed economical structure. During this process, the concepts such as class and public interest has replaced by individual success and courage (Şahin, 2008: 21-2). Of course, it has not been experienced a serious change in the patronage-based political perception of the state. The practice of the politics institution to create its own rich through resource transfers has remained. Therefore, the neoliberalism enforced in Turkey is not exactly a neoliberalism in its Western sense (Çaylak, 2016: 85-6). The processes of the commodification of public sphere did not lead any change in the authoritarian, capitalist and interventionist characteristics of the state. However, due to the ideological coordinates motivated by Turk-Islam synthesis which become the new ideology of the state, Islam and capitalism has converged considerably. This convergence between the capitalism and the Islam created a new upper class which generates itself in a class position derived from Islamic Calvinism and the Islamic version of the White Turks. Commentators such as Çaylak has defined this new accumulation process in which the religionists play further role as the poisoning of Muslims with the conservatism and a kind of alienation conditioned by the class-based greed (Çaylak, 2010: 88-90). Finally, it is attached importance to loyalty rather than qualification in this new perception predominant in the state; and Islam has been functionalized as a consent apparatus using for convincing the people to neoliberalism (Kaya, 2014: 225-236).

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Recent period Turkish political life was formed by an alliance which has established under the leadership of Islamist-liberal axis and has contributed both by the Left\(^3\) and the Kurdish movement as far as their anti-Kemalism during the elimination process of Kemalist bureaucracy (Aytürk, 2015: 36). The Islamist-liberal alliance that was founded in Özal period weakened the nationalitarian sectors and determined the intellectual climate in Turkey. The sponsorship of the liberals for Islamists has been quite effective as for the developments resulted in the discredit of the Kemalism. It has cultivated the thesis of that the Islamist politics is an ideal actor in the context of the key issues such as globalization, capitalism and modernism. The liberals who lightened the AKP agenda through the jargon of individual choice and human rights, have made the propaganda that AKP is not a threatening party. The standoffish attitude of the Kemalist-nationalitarian sectors towards the globalization and the human rights has accelerated the process of the transformation Islamists into the main political actor in Turkish politics (Şahin, 2008: 60, 75-82, 139-143, 179, 184-5).

The capitalistic but not democratic coercion-intensive modernization process has been continuing in AKP government period. However it can be said that the bureaucracy is replaced by populism and the ideological core of the state has shifted from secularism to Islam. In this country, it has been faced with a period during which criticizing Atatürk is regarded as the condition of the democracy for a long time. However, for some time now, it can be said that a reverse process has been experiencing and the secular sectors has been organizing a nationalist resistance line around the symbol of Mustafa Kemal against Islamism in the conflict between New Turkey and Old Turkey. A serious opposition against the forced transformation of the society towards conservatism by the state is at stake. The sectors who has criticized Kemalism in the name of democracy until recently has revised their critical evaluations to a considerable extent (Şahin, 2008: 151, 164-5; Aktoprak, 2017: 47-8, 50-1; Öztürk, 2017: 97). That is to say, the perception which criticizes Turkish recent history in the name of emancipating from the military guardianship and considers the early republican reforms as Jacobin, elitist and guardianship-leaned has become the dominant discourse of the Islamic political power by ceasing to be an opposition paradigm for a quite long time. The discourse which has related

\(^3\) For the criticism towards Kemalism made by the liberalized Turkish Left along with the Islamist-liberal alliance, See Öztürk (2011-2: 177-204).
all problems to Kemalism and has regarded only the bureaucratic modernization as responsible for the lack of democracy in the country has lost its credibility. Because this perception causes a chronological prejudice, never concretizes the conditions created Kemalism, produces only self-affirmative knowledge, and whitewashes the other historical periods and non-Kemalist guardianship forms (Aytürk, 2015: 36-7, 41-4; Öztürk, 2017: 93-4).

In conclusion, we can claim that we are in an interregnum period with regards to the course of the historical sociological dynamics in Turkey. Even though there is continuity between the past and today as for the content of the capitalistic and coercion-intensive modernization, it should also not be forgotten that there is a crisis between the social groups and within the state. In the period this study is written, there exists an Islamic restoration process and a state of emergency which has become permanent. The state of emergency has further pulled down the level of the commitment to democracy which was already weak in the past, and the ground of the civilian politics has been considerably narrowed.

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Migration and Social Change: The Migration Experience of Modern Turkey

Kerem Özbey*

1 Introduction

Social change, which constitutes the main object of inquiry for sociology, is defined as the variation in the structure of the society. Social structure contains processes of social relations and interactions in the axis of social institutions. Social institutions, which emerge in the form of family, religion, education, economics, politics and leisure, constitute the foundations of living together as a society. For this reason, social change emerges as differentiations in the structures of social institutions.

Social structure, which may be considered as the framework of the society, provides individuals with social settings in their interactions with each other in the society as a phenomenon which is above individuals. Social structure provides order and preliminary projection for social life. It achieves this via a set of organizations and it also covers groups, statuses and roles, institutions and cultural beliefs (Newman, 2013: 134). The concept of social structure arises as a main concept in social change. While the concept of social structure refers to a relative static nature in a way to cover all the institutions and systems of values in the society, social change refers to transformations shown by the elements in question (Okumuş, 2012: 22-23). Social change, which means change in interpersonal relations, is dependent on both changes in the relationships of production and property, and changes in meanings, values and rules (Kongar, 2014: 24). In this sense, change is a phenomenon that societies cannot ignore, and it has a central place in the lives of societies.

Social change is shaped through various dynamics. Migration is one of the dynamics in question, and it certainly is a main sociological phenomenon. The phenomenon of migration is one of the most material out-

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looks of the society. This is because migration, before anything, is displacement, and this displacement also changes the social, cultural, economic, individual or collective structure of the society. According to Yusuf Adıgüzel, people individually or collectively, voluntarily or forcibly leave the administrative borders of the place they live in and move to other places in a way that will create various social outcomes. Migration may be defined as people’s changing of geographical location due to social, economic, political or natural reasons (Adıgüzel, 2016: 1). According to Hüseyin Bal, migration is geographical and social mobility of groups of people together or separately from a certain place with known borders to another (Bal, 2011: 93). According to Kadir Canatan, it is not only a spatial mobility, but it is also a social mobility. People leave the places they live in for reaching higher standards of living and spend efforts to access a higher social status in their new places. While motives for migration change, the purpose is usually common (Canatan, 2013: 318). Therefore, the sociological dimension of migration is based on its relationship with social change. It will not be wrong at all to say that social change is equal in meaning to migration.

One of the main tools for understanding the multidimensional, dynamic and complex structure of social change in Turkey is definitely migration. What effects does migration have on the social structure and change in Turkey? What kind of role and function does migration have in understanding the changes that occur in the social structure of Turkey? Is it possible to understand the change in today’s Turkey through Turkey’s experience of migration? These questions constitute the main problem of this study. This study covers the analysis of the experience of migration in Turkey with its historical and current dimensions. For such an analysis, Turkey’s experience of migration is discussed under four historical stages. In the first stage, the functions of migration in the process of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and construction of the Turkish nation-state are investigated. In the second stage, the focus is on migration from rural to urban areas in Turkey in 1950s and migrants’ processes of adaptation to the city. In the third stage, labor migration in 1960s from Turkey to Western Europe, especially Germany, is included. The fourth and last stage analyzes the labor migration from the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and Eastern Europe into Turkey. While there have been several different migration practices in Turkey from the establishment of the republic to our day, this study assumes its basic units of

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investigation as the four stages of migration which led to permanent marks in Turkey’s social structure and reached our day with their effects.

2 Migration in the Process of Establishment of Modern Turkey and Construction of a Nation-State

The Republic of Turkey was established on 29 October 1923 with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. By the establishment of the republic, Turkey was officiated as a modern nation-state. Modern Turkey, with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, declared its independence with its struggle against imperialism in the Anatolian geography. Turkey, which achieved political unity in Anatolia, without a doubt, established the social and cultural content of this unity with the migration of people of the regions remaining from the Ottoman Empire into Anatolia, mostly forcibly and in masses. The institutionalization of Turkey in question was shaped as a result of long-term migration. In this context, the main experience of migration in the Republic era was the population exchange between Turkey and Greece.

The initial years of the foundation of the Republic of Turkey witnessed a large movement of migration known as the great exchange. On the basis of the Treaty of Lausanne, about a million Orthodox people of Greek origins had to leave Turkey in exchange for migration of Muslims living in Greece to Turkey. This migration process lasted from the late 1923 to the early 1925 (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999: 254). In other words, the most interesting one among the migration processes seen in Turkey after the declaration of the Republic was the migration process that emerged as a result of the treaty signed in Lausanne on 30 January 1923 and officially called “the Agreement and Protocol Regarding the Population Exchange between Green and Turkish Peoples” (Yalçın, 2004: 107; Okçay, 2014). According to Sema Erder, population movements that took place in the first stage of the Republic after the war were forced migration movements with political nature which were effective in the formation of the nation-state. It is known that the first one of these mass, forced and political population movements that aimed to homogenize the nation-states that formed in the region in terms of ethnicity and religion was the population exchange that occurred in the period of 1923-25. This forced mass population exchange was a genuine type of migration which was regulated by treaties between Greece and Turkey (Erder, 2007: 6).
On the other hand, in 1920s and 1930s, Turks and Muslims living in various regions which were previously under control of the Ottoman Empire started to come to Turkey, which they saw as their homeland. Migrants from especially the Balkans, and those from the Aegean Isles, Cyprus, Hatay (İskenderun District), Middle-east and the Soviet Union flowed into Turkey. A large part of the migrants were Balkan Turks and Muslims who had been harassed and discriminated against in their country and were attracted by the comfort of Turkey appeal of the new nation. The attraction of the new Republic was so strong that, there was an influx of Turkish migrants even from faraway places like Yemen, Jordan and Finland. In this period, Turkey signed treaties with Greece and Romania to make migration from these countries easier. The government also tried to fix its relations with Albania, Armenia and Bulgaria by signing treaties with these countries. In addition to the migrants coming from the Balkans, Turks from Cyprus, Hatay, Iraq, Iran and the Soviet Union also flowed into the country. The people chose to come to Turkey to live in a Turkish country; nevertheless, Caucasian Turks also had a reason like fleeing from Soviet communism. During the Ottoman times, while Turks and Muslims were flowing into the country, there was a need for legal regulations to cope with this migration. The first housing law, law no. 885 on Housing was accepted on 31 May 1926. The law started by defining the qualities of being a migrant, and the second article said the following: Those who are not of Turkish culture will not be accepted as migrants (Çağaptay, 2007: 92-94).

The first laws and regulations about migration after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey 1923 were mainly directed towards reinforcing the unity and security of the nation-state. This is why most laws provided foreigners of Turkish origin with the status of being preferred. The most striking example among these is the Law of Housing which is the first law that regulates admission and settlement of migrants (the law no. 2510 enacted on 14 June 1934 and reorganized in 2006). This law defines a migrant as a person who is ‘coming from a Turkish heritage, of Turkish culture who arrived in Turkey to settle here’, and these migrants are provided with advantages such as easy transition to citizenship, and agricultural land and housing for their economic integration. In other words, this law made it purposefully difficult for those who are not Turkish to migrate to Turkey (İçduygu and Biehl, 2012: 34).

Considered as a whole, processes of migration during the construction of modern Turkey have been shaped in the framework of the new identity
policies of the nation-state. The migration processes in question led to the institutionalization of the nation-state and posed as the main motivation of the Turkish national identity. In other words, the migrants of new Turkey were actually designed as the citizens of the newly established Republic. The Turkish ethno-cultural status of the migrants was determining on the design of the citizenship identity. This was because construction of national identity was based on Turkishness. It is also seen that, in addition to ethno-cultural identity, religious identity was also determining in the construction of the Turkish national identity. One of the most tangible reflections of this was that the population exchange between Turkey and Greece was based on the factor of religion. In this sense, Muslim identity was an effective sociological dynamic for migrants in their integration into the Turkish national identity.

3 Migration from Rural Areas to Urban Areas in Turkey and Migrants’ Processes of Adaptation to the City

With 1950s, the process of migration from rural areas to urban areas in Turkey started fast and intensely, and this process emerged in a very high volume which contained social, economic, political and cultural dimensions. According to Ahmet İçduygu and İbrahim Sirkeci, until 1950s, Turkey was a country whose population mostly lived in rural areas where there was very low geographical mobility in terms of these people leaving the places they lived in (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999: 251). While the vast majority of the population was in rural areas up to this period, mass migrations were experienced towards cities in this period.

The process in question, which is defined as urbanization, has had a central position in the change of the social structure in Turkey. According to Hüseyin Bal, while urbanization refers to a holistic change in the social structure, the main determinants are usually population increase and concentration of this population in urban areas rather than rural areas. This differentiation creates various economic, social, political, religious and other phenomena (Bal, 2011: 86). According to Ruşen Keleş, the narrow definition of urbanization has a demographic quality. However, urbanization would be incomplete if it is seen merely as a population movement. This is because the phenomenon of urbanization arises out of the changes in the economic and social structure of a society. Therefore, it is needed to also include the economic and social changes that create the population...
movement while defining urbanization (Keleş, 2006: 23). According to İlhan Tekeli, some variables that determine the process of urbanization are the following: heterogeneity, mobility, competition, anonymous relationships, division of labor, density, specialization and diversification (Tekeli, 2014: 17). So, urbanization is defined as the transformation of rural society into urban society.

The process of migration from the rural to the urban has led to a new sociological phenomenon unique to Turkey: urbanism. While the urbanization process in Western Europe contained the process of urbanism, the process in Turkey mentioned above gave rise to urbanism. While urbanization is defined as concentration of population in urban areas more than rural areas, that is, a demographic mobility, urbanism is integration of migrants with the social and cultural values that are unique to the city, their organization of individual and social life on the basis of these values. However, as groups in Turkey which migrated from rural to urban areas carry their social and cultural value to the city, the urban area has witnessed a clash of values. So, the migrants in question has been seen by the people of the city as those who could not adapt to the city life, marked as villagers in the city and defined as the others of the city. In other words, migrants in the city are designated as both urban and rural, and neither urban nor rural. This confusion encountered by migrants has actually emerged as a product of a search for an identity. Migrants, who usually live around the borders and far corners of cities, have maintained their struggle for preserving their own values against the social exclusion and ostracization they experience and created townsmenship associations. While these associations make it easier for migrants to adapt to the city, they also provide them with opportunities to preserve their rural cultural identity.

Another form of exclusion experienced by migrants during their processes of adaptation to the city is spatial exclusion. The most tangible example of spatial exclusion is the unauthorized housing (gecekondu in Turkish) where migrants in cities live. Gecekondu houses are spaces built overnight by migrants to survive in the city. While these spaces separate them from city dwellers, they have also become tools that city dwellers to keep migrants away from themselves. So, gecekondu houses have assumed a function that symbolizes the identity of migrants in the city. Gecekondu houses, which emerged as tools to express and identity, have led city dwellers to spatially exclude migrants.
Conflicts that arise in migrants processes of adaptation to the city show that urbanization which is defined in principle as migration from rural to urban areas is actually a sociological process. In this sense, urbanization is not only a demographic change that occurs in the physical environment, but it is also a transfer of values which in turn brings about social and cultural conflicts. The most fundamental characteristic of this process is that it is multidimensional, complicated and dynamic.

4 Turkish Labor Migration to Western Europe

One of the migration experiences of modern Turkey is the international labor migration processes that started with 1960s. These processes occurred towards various Western European countries, especially Germany. The countries in question demanded labor from countries such as Turkey in order to achieve their economic development against their economies which were disrupted as a result of WWII.

In the great migration period after WWII, labor was needed to sustain the post-war economies that emerged in Europe, Northern America and Australia. This period was when many Turkish migrants worked in Germany and North Africans worked in France and Belgium (Koser, 2007: 3). Turkey was considered to be a source of migration for years. The main reason for this was the migration of labor towards Western Europe in 1960s. In the post-war period, European countries which were being re-structured demanded migrant labor to cover the deficit of workers to be employed in low-end, heavy and uncleanly jobs. Assessment of this demand as an opportunity to support economic development by administrators in Turkey provided acceleration for migration towards Europe, especially Germany, and this lead to a regular pattern of migration (Kumaş and Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2014: 318). Administrators in that period considered this migration to be temporary and defined migrants as pioneers of development. According to this project, migrants who were sent off from train stations with government ceremonies would send foreign currency that is required for financing development, learn professions there, and come back to Turkey to apply what they learnt abroad. Likewise, this migration movement would reduce the burden on the state to achieve closing the employment gap created by the faster population increase and rural-to-urban migration at the time. Thus, this migration was a regulated economic migration movement organized by the state (Erder, 2007: 11). In this sense,
start of an intensive migration out of Turkey in 1960 was aimed towards
the following as it was reflected in the Five-Year Development Plans: a) reduction of economic pressures that increased with unemployment, b) bringing the skills gained by workers who come back from abroad into the professional life in Turkey, c) achievement of balance of payments by increased influx of foreign currency (İçduygü, Erder and Gençkaya, 2014: 57).

There are various reasons for migration of labor from Turkey towards abroad having happened at a much faster rate than expected. The first of these was that the issue of migration from rural to urban places that gained speed along 1950s was a king of preparation towards international migration. The second reason was that the need for labor in Western European countries, for example, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and France in 1960 had become unbearable, and they started to facilitate labor migration not only through ordinary channels, but also even from those who visited their countries as tourists. It was not actually an immediate process for these countries to call for labor from Turkey. That is, when the first need for labor emerged, Turkey did not come to mind. They firstly utilized labor provided by Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia, and when they could not satisfy their needs for labor, they turned towards Turkey. Another important factor was that the freedom of Turkish citizens to travel abroad was limited until the 1961 Constitution. Moreover, the State Planning Organization was established under the Prime Ministry in 1960 and 5-year development plants started to be prepared. The first 5-year development plan prepared in 1962 became one of the factors that led to this rapid acceleration by encouraging international labor migration (Yalçın, 2004: 122-124).

1960s and the first half of 1970s were years in which European economies needed labor, and guest and migrant workers coming from Turkey provided Europe with the labor that was economically demanded. With the oil crisis that emerged in the first half of 1970s, the European labor market started to show a more restrictive and selective attitude towards migrant workers. In this period, European countries slowed down admissions of new migrant workers, and they rather opened their doors for migrants who arrived for family reunification, asylum seeking and refugee movements. In this period, the migration movement from Turkey to Europe which started as guest labor migration in 1960 gained a more permanent status by family reunification and marriage migration movements (Dedeoğlu and Ekiz-Gökmen, 2011: 43).
According to Nermin Abadan-Unat, the Turkish international migration movement which was directed towards Europe starting with the second half of 1950s had five main stages (Abadan-Unat, 2006: 54):

- **1950s**: individual initiatives and private intermediaries
- **1960s**: increased labor exports by the state’s intervention based on bilateral agreements
- **1970s**: economic crisis, cease of foreign worker intake, providing ‘tourist’ (illegal) migrants with a legal status, family reunification, child benefits
- **1980s**: education problems of children, ghetto life, association movements, increased asylum applications, visa requirement, laws that encourage returning to Turkey
- **1990s**: foreigners’ law, identity for foreigners, increase xenophobia, spread of ethnic establishments, prevalence of ethnic and religious associations, demands for political rights.

In general, Turkish labor migration towards Western Europe posed a significant experience for Turkey. The problem of labor deficit experienced after the war by several European countries, especially Germany, was closed with the help of Turkish labor, in addition to labor from other countries. In Turkey’s perspective, it is seen that this way an experience of migration which contained broad social processes. Labor, which moved from rural to urban areas due to basic economic reasons such as unemployment, poverty and financial problems turned towards abroad with the same reasons. Another motivation for this tendency was that it happened in the framework of the national developmental economy program. In other words, it is seen that the state supported this migration practice in line with its economic development paradigm.

5 Migration from Former USSR and Eastern European Countries to Turkey

Until 1990s, mostly visitors, guests and tourist from neighboring countries with good bilateral relations came to Turkey. Especially after 1990s, these visits increased even more. Up until recent decades, Turkey’s relations with Soviet Union countries were limited. After disintegration of the Soviet Union, the situation started to change. In this new era, people who did not interact with each other despite having lived in the same geography for
a long time started to establish relationships (Erder, 2007: 21). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Turkey started to get accustomed to irregular migration for the first time. Turkey’s geographical position between regions that produced migrants and the EU made Turkey an attractive place for illegal migrants along with a large underground economy. Despite its image as a source of migration for the previous two decades, Turkey became a target country for migration coming especially from former Soviet countries and the Third World as a transit country, both in terms of long-term and global, and illegal migration (Kirişçi, 2008: 4).

1990s are the years where significant qualitative changes and transformations were experienced in the position of Turkey in the map of global migration. The basis of these changes was that, in addition to its position as an exporter of labor, Turkey also became an importer of labor (Dedeoğlu and Ekiz-Gökmen, 2011: 3). While Turkey received migration from developed countries such as the United States, European Union Countries, China and Russia on one hand, it also faced influx of migration coming from Eastern Bloc countries less developed than itself such as Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. The migrants who took place in these two different streams of migration preferred Turkey mostly due to work-related reasons (Kaya, 2014: 14). So, such movements of migration had reasons of tourism, trade and temporary jobs without purposes of settling in Turkey permanently (Erder and Kaşka, 2003: 38).

Types of migration movements towards Turkey have recently diversified in terms of both the reasons and outcomes of them: professional labor migration, short- and long-term labor migration, student migration, retirement migration, lifestyle migration (alternative lifestyles), illegal migration, refugee and asylum seeker migration are the main forms of migration into Turkey (Kaya, 2014: 13). Migrants, who have increasingly become a significant part of social life in Turkey, usually arrive in Turkey as irregular migrants and work in undocumented positions in the broad informal sector. Women of foreign origins who want to support their families by working as janitorial staff, sales clerks or cleaners are subjected to treatments as ‘jezbels’ and ‘Natashas’ (a derogatory term used in Turkey to mean ‘prostitute’, especially for women of Slavic origin) (Dedeoğlu and Ekiz-Gökmen, 2011: 17). These individuals work at various short- or long-term undocumented jobs especially in textile, entertainment, construction and household services sectors (Pusch, 2011: 120). Some of the people who migrate from former Eastern Bloc countries visit Turkey for trade. Additionally, in general, they prevalently do undocumented and ille-
gal work in prohibited jobs such as prostitution, as well as cleaning, working as a maid, babysitting, construction work and tourism jobs. Some look for ways to stay in Turkey legally through marriage, while this has become a frequently observe issue which brought a new dimension into the concept of migration (Tuna and Özbek, 2012: 49-50). Additionally, these countries are geographically close to Turkey. Relatively lower costs of travel and visa advantages provide an additional field of attraction. Foreigners coming to Turkey are not necessarily visiting for work without a doubt. However, it is estimated that a part of these individuals which is very difficult to detect join various labor markets for a short or long time (Lordoğlu, 2007: 90-91).

In general, significant changes were experienced in the position of Turkey in the global map of migration in 1990s. The main element of these changes that Turkey was recently transformed from a country that was the source of traditional migration into a country which provides transits from Eastern Europe (generally irregular migration) and employs migrants. While Turkey sent large numbers of workers to countries such as Germany after WWII, it started to become a transit country for migrants who wanted to go to Europe especially starting with the late 1980s, and after 1990s, foreign workers employed in various sectors in Turkey were encountered more frequently with the collapse of USSR (Dedeoğlu and Ekiz-Gökmen, 2011: 43).

In addition to four different experiences of migration, it may be stated that Turkey has created a new experience of migration in the perspective of different sociological dynamics in recent years. The 2000s became a period where hostilities towards migrants and refugees and attempts to stop/restrict migration reached their peak which was shaped by terms such as unauthorized, irregular, undisclosed, undocumented and illegal (Sirkeci and Yüceşahin, 2014: 4). Considering the migration movements towards Turkey in this period, there were regular and irregular migrations. While regular migration movements included professionals, students and retired individuals, irregular migration included shuttle migration and illegal labor migration, transit migration, and refugees and asylum seekers (İçduygu, Erder and Gençkaya, 2014).

Foreigners who enter and leave Turkey have become effective in re-shaping the migration experience of Turkey. The “2016 Turkey Migration Report” by the Migration Authority under the Turkish Ministry of Internal Affairs provided the numbers of foreigners entering and leaving Turkey. These numbers provide important data about the migration experience of
today’s Turkey. The number of foreigners who enter Turkey through air, land, sea and railway transportation and those who leave Turkey is 30 million on average. Entries and departures from borders based on countries include Germany at the top, followed by Georgia and Bulgaria (Turkish Migration Authority, 2017). According to the “2016 Entry-Departure Statistics” among the tourism statistics published by the General Directorate of Investments and Enterprises under the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 30 million foreigners visited Turkey on average, and this number was close to 40 million in some years (Tourism Statistics of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2017). Entry into or departure from Turkey by an average of 30 million migrants shows the change in the position of Turkey on the global map of migration and the place it is at today. The change in question and the current situation reveal that Turkey is a target country for foreign migrants, source country for those in Turkey and a route for transit migrants.

In addition to the four types of migration experience in today’s Turkey, there is an additional one: Syrian migrants in Turkey. Forced and mass migration movements take place from Syria to Turkey due to various reasons such as war, internal conflict and authoritarian regime practices. According to the 2018 World Migration Report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Turkey became the country which hosted the largest populations of refugees in three consecutive years in 2016 with 2.9 million refugees, consisting mostly of Syrians (2.8 million) (IOM, 2018: 34). New migration movements of Turkey include both qualitative and quantitative aspects. Syrian migrants’ statuses in Turkey, their perceptions by the society, processes of integration with the society, conditions of education, health, transportation, safety, labor and living standards, have a broad, multilayered, complex and dynamic structure which contains different sociological dimensions (see Kirişçi and Karaca, 2015; Erdoğan, 2015). While the Syrian migrants in Turkey are a subject of a different study, they are important in terms of demonstrating a new migration experience for Turkey.

6 Conclusion

The migration experience of modern Turkey started with the establishment of the Republic and reached today. In this period, various different migration movements have been experienced in Turkey. The reason for select-
ing only four stages of migration among several was that these migration movements contained deep changes and transformation in the social structure of Turkey. In other words, these migration stages have revealed the continuities, turning points and breaking points experienced by Turkey in the process of social change in a multidimensional way.

Migration in the period of the Republic usually took place in compliance with the citizenship design by the newly established nation-stage. Moreover, migration movements were organized in a way to set a basis for the Turkish national identity. In order to create a homogenous population, the ethnic and religious identities of migrants were shaped based on similarities rather than differences. The migration movements towards Anatolia in this period were mostly in masses and due to obligations. Additionally, while the vast majority of the population was living in rural areas in the years following the establishment of the Republic, a small part lived in cities. Migration from rural areas to urban areas was very limited. Declaration of Ankara as the capital and establishment of banks and factories in cities were examples for this.

The years where migration-based social change was accelerated were 1950s. By 1950s, mass rural-to-urban migration movements were seen in Turkey, and with these movements, the countryside-city population rates changed drastically. Migration in rural and urban areas occurs in four ways: rural-to-urban, rural-to-rural, urban-to-rural and urban-to-urban. The mainstream migration process in Turkey by 1950s was the first one. In contrast to Western Europe, rural-to-urban migration, namely urbanization, led to the emergence of the phenomenon of urbanism in Turkey. While urbanization is defined as migration from the countryside to the city, urbanism is defined as the adoption of social and cultural values and behavioral patterns unique to the city. Thus, while urbanization occurs in the form of the mobility of the population towards a certain area, urbanism covers the changes in the social and cultural structure of the population. Main thin in urbanism it that migrants leave the lifestyle that is unique to rural areas, adopt to the urban culture and carry the urban identity. However, those who migrate from rural to urban areas in Turkey, rather than carrying urban values, transfer the social and cultural codes of the urban area into the city and preserve these codes. So, migrants construct an identity as villagers in the city. Migrants who usually live around the borders and far corners of cities are usually integrated to the city by gecekondu neighborhoods. Gecekondu houses are the spaces for migrants who fight for preservation of the rules, values and norms of the rural area in the city.
This space also symbolizes the exclusion and ostracization faced by migrants in their process of adaptation to the city. Especially city dwellers do not consider migrants to be permanent and they think they are only temporarily in the city. However, gecekondu houses indicate their permanence in the city. In this sense, migrants experience various problems in adaptation.

In 1960s, in addition to the process of rural-to-urban migration that started in 1950, Turkey also started to experience migration of labor from Turkey to abroad. In the scope of a migration program supported by the state, Turkey sent workers to various Western European countries, especially Germany. The purposes for this were creation of a qualified work force, achievement of development goals, increasing the prosperity level of citizens, and getting rid of basic economic problems such as unemployment, poverty and financial difficulties. Furthermore, several Western European counties started to demand labor from abroad with the purposes of repairing their economies after the war, creating a new initiative of development and finding workers who would work under heavy industry conditions in this context. Turkey responded to this demand positively as it was a country that had sufficient human resources to satisfy this demand.

Migration movements from former USSR and Eastern European countries were central in terms of Turkey’s experience of migration. The collapse of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War created a new movement of migration in Turkey. Migrants, who were the representatives of this movement, paved the way for a new migrant profile in Turkey. This is because Turkey’s relations with the countries in the aforementioned geography were very limited, while they gained a new dimension in 1990s. The migrants in question who migrated to Turkey mostly due to economic reasons, usually became actors of underground economy, and therefore, members of the informal sector. A large proportion of these migrants work at low-end jobs with low wages and without residence or work permits. They are usually employed in sectors such as agriculture, tourism, construction, transportation, textile, household and care services, entertainment and sex work. So, they are in different lines of job in the market.

In general, the migration experience of modern Turkey has four different stages. These stages emerged in different periods and became one of the main sociological dynamics of the social change in Turkey. However, the main characteristic of these migration movements is that they were not confined in their period but are determinants for understanding today’s
Turkey. In other words, when issues such as citizenship design, religious and ethnic identities and construction of the nation-state are discussed in the period of the Republic of Turkey, migration movements in this period are at the center of debate. Rural-to-urban migration movements in 1950s are shown as a reference while talking about the issues of the city, urbanization and urbanism in Turkey. In Western European countries in general and in Germany in particular, when issues such as civil rights, democracy, coexistence, Islamophobia, ostracization, education in the mother tongue, work life and dual citizenship are discussed in terms of Turkish migrants, migration movements that were experienced in 1960s are seen as the source of the problem. When problems such as undocumented employment, informal sector, unemployment and financial difficulties in Turkey are being discussed, the first item in the agenda is undocumented migrants who have become a part of the professional life by migrating to Turkey in 1990s. Hence, migration movements which were discussed in four stages shed light on today, rather than the periods they were experienced in. So, the effects of the aforementioned migration movements become clear when one analyzes the social issues in today’s Turkey.

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A Critique of the Granny Project from the Feminist Perspective

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1 Introduction

Individuals have privileges based upon the social groups that they belong to or they may be referred to as a member of a disadvantaged group and may be subjected to some negative applications. The definition of what is “normal” is done by the dominant culture in societies. Regarding the social problems, classism, heterosexism and discrimination based on age are among social pressures. Thus, sexism has become the basic source of problems in every aspect of the society. The system which devalues women causes women to live in a society that economically, socially and legally discriminate women and thusly let women to face with various problems by preventing women to have access to sources.

The common denominator of women does not originate from their being of the same kind biologically, instead the common oppression experience that they were subjected to constitutes their common denominator. However, it does not necessarily mean that women experiencing the oppression do experience the same practices. As Stanley and Wise indicate, the social contexts in which different women live and struggle greatly differ both in different parts of the world and among different groups of women (Stanley and Wise, 1995, cited in Tong, 1996, p. 68). Women are a heterogeneous group where there are also women who also became the exploiting party within the patriarchal capitalist system. In order to eliminate all oppression in the societies, changes need to be made with a perspective where the feminist sensitivities are embedded in people’s socialization and in all of the basic social institutions.

Feminism focuses on gender issues by taking the socio-cultural, political and economic contexts into consideration beyond the mainstream which requires critical thinking. Feminism aims to increase the welfare of women by relating the personal and unspoken problems of women with

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the women’s place and status in the society. By relying upon this thought, the Granny Project has been analyzed within the framework of the feminist approach.

2 What is The Granny Project?

The Granny Project was put into effect in the year of 2017 with 6,500 families in a total of 10 provinces which are Sakarya, Konya, Tekirdağ, İstanbul, Bursa, İzmir, Antalya, Ankara, Kayseri and Gaziantep as a pilot scheme whose applications had been taken between the dates of 9 – 20 February 2017 over the internet by the service centers of the Provincial Directorates of Labor and Employment Agency, Provincial Directorate of Social Security Administration and the mentioned institutions (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2018). For those who want to benefit from the project, there are certain conditions and as to those conditions, the mother (except the divorced and widowed mothers) who has a minimum duration of work of one year retrospectively needs to have less income than the amount of two minimum wages, the total income of the family needs not to exceed the amount of three minimum wages, the mother needs to have a mother or mother in law who lives in the same city under the age of 65, and the mother needs to have a child who is below the age of 3. For the families who qualify those conditions, a monthly allowance of 425 Turkish Liras would be paid for 12 months.

The abundance of the number of families who comply with the conditions of the project impacted the number of applications for the project. The then Minister of Labor and Social Security Mehmet Műezzinoğlu had indicated that within 48 hours 30,000 applications were made (Hürriyet Daily, 2018) and a total number of approximately 100,000 applications had taken place. Hence, although the project was planned to be administered to 1000 families, the number later was raised to 6500 due to the intensity of the demand. The number of the applications has put forward the ignored social reality once again. This reality is that there is an abundance of low income families, the poor families are so alone in terms of child care services, and the abundance of the number of child caring grannies.

A pilot scheme project that is similar to the Granny Project was carried out in the provinces of Antalya, Bursa and İzmir financed by a grant of the European Union by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security in April 2015. In the mentioned provinces, a monthly baby sitter assistance of 300
Euros has been provided for the duration of two years. The mothers who wanted to benefit from the project needed to have a child between the ages of 0 and 3. Among the conditions of the project, the mother needed to have a maximum monthly income which is the double of the monthly minimum wage and the baby sitter needed to be employed within the scope of the social security (İlkkaracan, Kim, & Kaya, 2015, p. 25). The common purpose of both projects was to produce temporary solutions for the purpose of preventing women with infants from withdrawing from employment. The temporary pilot schemes that had been implemented in the recent years puts forward the perspective in regards to child care services. Temporary interim solutions were attempted to be converted into permanent social policies.

3 Political Codes of the Project

There are certain cultural, political and policy related purposes of the Granny Project. Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya, who has been serving as the Minister of Family and Social Affairs of the Turkish Republic in the 65th Government of the Turkish Republic since the date of 24 May 2016 has indicated that the project had the purposes such as supporting women’s employment, strengthening traditional family ties, strengthening the institution of family by increasing the communication and interaction between the generations (Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği – Turkish Union Of Chambers And Exchange Commodities, 2018). The Granny Project, which found supporting cultural transmission in the children who grow up with their grannies and thusly through the provided support, aimed to prevent women from withdrawing from employment, is problematic in many aspects regarding the gender roles of women. In the slogan which was used in the application guide of the project, it was expressed that the children would grow safely, with love and compassion with their grannies. Culturally and historically, feelings (especially love and compassion), child care and body are associated with women. In this context, motherhood is built by being related to feelings. And in the slogan of the project, motherhood, womanhood and feelings are associated. The masculine men-

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tality that establishes its authority over the differences of sexes as it happens in the most basics has given the responsibility of child care to women by accommodating motherhood, womanhood and feelings with each other.

The assistance that would be provided for the low income families that comply with the qualifications is an important application in terms of providing income support for women who already take care of their grand children at home. However, child care was not constructed as a social right and it was arranged under the heading of assistance. The state directly provides the financing of the project. Half of the cost of the project is covered by the Unemployment Insurance Fund and the other half is covered by the contributions of the stakeholders who represent the workers and employers in the working life that contribute to the project. There is a political reason behind the payment of the amount within the scope of the project under the title of assistance. The period when the project was brought to the agenda corresponds with the period when the political studies of the referendum prepared for the transition from the parliamentarian system to the presidential system in Turkey were made. Addressing the conservative environment from which the current ruling party and also the defenders of the presidential system were fed was used as an effective political investment tool in the communication with the mentioned environment.

Social policies especially social assistance have been made a tool of Neoliberalism for reintegrating the poor social strata into the market. At the same time, social assistance that has reached to its peak during the tenure of the Justice and Development Party on one hand carries the marks of an international scale Neoliberal transformation, and on the other hand has some national uniqueness that make the mentioned transformation sustainable in the Turkish case. When the matter is thought in the specificity of the Granny Project, instead of institutional structuring, maintaining childcare over grannies would pull down the amount of expenses to be spent significantly. On the other hand, when we have a look at the issue from the local perspective, emergence of the project during the referendum process and that the cities where the project had been implemented were İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Antalya which are the first 4 largest cities with the vote potential and also Sakarya, Konya, Kayseri, Gaziantep and Bursa where the conservative sections of the Turkish society heavily live indicate that the project was indeed an investment for elections.

The Granny Project which was provided under the name of assistance with the conservative cultural codes is a propaganda tool that serves for the daily lives of the workers and poor sections of the society to get more...
conservative. On the other hand, the amount that is given in the project under the title of investment are residual assistance that has the characteristics of political assistance where the conservative values are normalized again in the background beyond not qualifying as an activity of the social state. The social policies, that carry conservative codes as a tool for economic, ideological and political reconstruction of the current power, are used successfully. In sum, as Koray states, especially in the developing countries the social state and the understanding of social policy that would be connected it has been experiencing a transformation from “right to benevolence” in terms of applications, and the ideology behind those applications (Koray, 2007, p. 31).

4 Child Care and Responsibility to Provide Child Care Which Was Referred to Women

In institutional welfare states, institutionally providing kindergarten, maternity leave and child care assistance are public precautions that are rights on behalf of the citizens. And in the residual welfare states, which are the defenders of the transition from the public perspective to the market oriented perspective, social policy is maintained through projects with limited budgets. This perception is the state of Neoliberalism’s application. In accordance to the residual welfare regime approach, the institutions that need to provide welfare are the family and the market. When the family and market do not fulfill their functions, the role to provide welfare falls on the state. And in accordance to the institutional welfare regime approach, the function to provide welfare is under the duty and responsibility of the state.

The child care costs that increase in the consequence of the basic assumption of Liberalism that supports minimization of the state mean an increase of expenses in countries where the Liberal thought is dominant, and thus taking precautions is seen as necessary for that reason. Instead of the psychological and biological processes that need to be taken into consideration in child care, the issue is perceived based on the amount that would be spent in child care. Social policies regarding child care that is continuously constructed in different forms over the emotional labor of women make clear that there are gender inequalities both in the establishment and institutionalization of the social policies and the welfare state (Topçuoğlu, 2016, p. 38).
Motherhood is a concept which is culturally filled with different characteristics and mothers’ taking care of children has become a universal responsibility. This situation has been questioned by the feminist women when they started to ask why they had been working at home (cooking, cleaning, doing the laundry, taking care of the children). In the twentieth century, the point that all the chores that women do at home are not counted as a work has started to be discussed in the literature. Women’s struggle to have equal rights with men has started in the West in the eighteenth century and has taken a proceeded significantly until the twentieth century as a Liberal view. The feminist thought which adopts a manner that does not approach the question of what the social source of the hierarchical relationship between the men and women was like Freud’s “anatomy is fate” understanding has obtained some achievements in the last two hundred years. The obtained achievements have become functional or not based on the welfare policies and the dominant political thought of the countries that they preferred.

Our gender determine our social status while it is necessary that the actions and choices of the individual need to determine the social status of the individual. Women are in a system where their labor in the domestic realm such as child care, chores, cleaning and cooking is not seen and is worthless. Women’s labor and bodies have become a condition where the masculine mentality has regarded as free and used as it willed just like the unlimited use of the nature. In this context, activities such as reproduction, giving birth, feeding and child care are perceived as natural activities. This perception, from the start, explains the social source of the domination relationship, sexual division of labor and the hierarchical relationship that the masculine mentality has established over women. The structure of the society and the policy makers make the matter of whether women would have children or not, or how many children they needed to have and what kind of mothers they would become a “national” issue (Sever, 2015, p. 74) and they make the matter of how the women were going to give birth an issue and a problem. Later, the attempts to convince women to give birth naturally in the hospitals is a proof of the state’s paternalism on the female bodies.

Capitalism which bases the free nature of child care and chores to the point that they do not produce any products for the market places a special significance to the bringing up of the labor force in the best way as it perceives the individual as a tool to produce the market products. By relying on the assumption that women would bring up the class that would be

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raised for the market in the best way, Capitalism has imposed the duty to raise children to women. In the changing economic and political order, the system needed to make some partial changes for its own benefit. As women’s taking place in the working life would contribute to the increase of production and thusly would lead to an increase of profit, moves towards sharing the responsibility of providing of care have started to be made and the arrangements such as maternity and paternity leaves have started to be made. Capitalism has been reshaping the women and the mother just like it has reshaped itself and its tools due to the conditions of the period. As Young indicated, while marriage was an economic partnership before Capitalism, women have become spare labor force after Capitalism (cited in Tong 2014, p. 113).

In terms of the needs of the system, women’s active participation into the market besides the women’s undertaking of the domestic services and child care has become a more profitable situation for the system. In this context child care services have become proliferated and child care services except the one provided by the mother have entered into the normalization process. In its essence, the child care services are divided into informal and formal child care services. While the formal care is run in an institutional context, the informal care is the care that is provided over family, kinship and neighborhood relationships. Within the framework of the formal care, to support the participation of women into the working life the Barcelona Summit, which was made in the year of 2002, has determined the target of the infants to go to the child care centers who are up to age 2 in the percentage of at least 33 %, and of the children who are between the age of 3 and the schooling age in the percentage of 90 % (Büyükçoşkun, 2014, p. 112).

The table located below indicates the ratio of women’s employment with children between the ages of 0 and 3 in the OECD countries in the year of 2012.
Table 1 is compiled from the source OECD, Family Database, and full table are cited in Büyükçoşkun, 2014, p. 92.

In the countries where formal care is provided, the female employment rates are seen as above the OECD average. In Denmark where the maternity leave is 52 weeks, 70% of child care services are run by the public and the services provided by the independent nonprofit organizations (average, 30%) take part as alternatives for parents (Bütün, 2010, p. 59). And in Turkey, Betül Urhan indicates that almost all of the children between the ages of 0 – 3 are taken care at home (Urhan, 2013, p.39; cited in Büyüküstün, 2014, p. 194). It has been expressed in the literature that approximately 43% of the grannies regularly undertake the care of their grandchildren regularly (Kartal, Turan, Kurban et.al, 2010, p. 16).

Urbanization and the chaos of the fast growing cities which increased after the industrial revolution, and the difficulties of the working life that are added to the difficulties of the cities and low wages have increased the child care problems of the families even more. Handling the issue with a patriarchal view and an approach which is not based on rights, has led to leaving the child care to the traditional functions of the family, in other words, left the informal care services as the only option instead of providing public opportunities, child care and day care services to the poor or low income working families and women. Instead of perceiving the social sections that need child care as a rights bearing community, supporting the notion of providing services indirectly over the family indicates that the “passive state sitting at the corner” concept dominates in the process of the continuous production and reproduction of the society.
In terms of the western welfare states, the increase of population among women and bringing up of good citizens, there is a negotiation over motherhood (Topçuoğlu, 2016, p. 43). The thing that is being done by the Granny Project is that the system takes the mother into employment at the benefit/loss chart for itself, and gives the role of taking care of the grandchildren to the granny who is perceived as the primary source of labor for taking care of the children, and on one hand, good individuals would be raised for the market, and on the other hand, the continuity of the female employment would be maintained. However, the number of children that need care is not a population that may be solved by the traditional families. The number of children between the ages of 0 and 4 in 10 provinces within the scope of the project in Turkey as of the month of January in 2018 is given in the table below.

Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population of the age group of 0 – 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>71.382</td>
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Table 2 is compiled from the website at the address of http://www.nufusu.com/ (Nüfusu.com, 2018).

When the number of children between the ages of 0 and 4, the problem of child care may not be solved both by the Granny Project and the temporary child care giver money of 300 Euros given to the mother employing an insured care giver in the cities of Antalya, Bursa and İzmir which is mentioned at the beginning of the article. The important thing for the solution beyond basing the child care issue which is among the focal points of the feminist philosophy over the sexist values, is shaping the process through
the rights based institutional social policies that would provide the removal of the power imbalance between the women and the men, allow women to become free in their working lives, social lives and their own lives. Otherwise, living in a society that trivializes women, and let women to experience problems originating from economic and social discrimination cause women to experience problems and may construct the maintenance of experiencing problems again in various forms.

5 Feminist Critique of the Granny Project

The patriarchal system, alongside with the hierarchical dual mechanism that it operates, places the male and the culture at the center and positions the female as secondary and passive. When patriarchy and Capitalism come side by side, women are oppressed in a bad way. Capitalism does not just exploit male wage earners, it also exploits females who work at home. Unpaid employment of women at home is like the free products of the nature for the market. In the essence of the patriarchal system, there lies the legitimation and maintenance of the male power. Among the agents that it uses to achieve its goals, there lie the social policies, written and visual media, and thusly the daily actions are continuously renewed and shaped by thoughts.

Capitalism is a relationship of power as much as it is a relationship of change. The relationship of change has the meaning that everything has a price including labor, and the relationship of power has the meaning that all kinds of relationships are basically exploitative relationships. While the Liberals perceive Capitalism as a change based on will, the Marxists perceive Capitalism as an exploiting power relations system. According to K. Marx the value of a product which is produced for sale is determined by the amount of labor or the real spending made out of human knowledge and energy which is required to produce that product (Tong, 2014, p.94). Marxist Feminists label perceiving motherhood and spousal relationship as work, as false consciousness as they believe that the matters of motherhood and spousal relationship were made as a result of love (Tong, 2014, p.94). In the case of making a payment, commoditization of everything including the chores, husband and wife relationship, mother and child relationship assist tending towards the Capitalist system. In terms of Marxist Feminism, the Granny Project commoditizes the granny’s labor. In this aspect, the Project is a Capitalist trade.
Moreover, perception of women as a source to be used and thusly establishment of a sovereignty over women by making them a commodity are encountered as an outcome of the market economy. At this point, the Feminist thinker Elshtain also perceives the contemporary family not just a creature that Capitalism has created, but also a unique place where we can still find family, love and security (cited in Tong, 2014, p.41) because the author believes that those values are not based on money; and according to this approach the assistance given within the scope of the Granny Project may be included into the Capitalist system.

According to the Feminist thought, which is based on the internalization of empowerment as the basic thought and especially on the liberalization and emancipation of the individuals themselves based on strict gender roles, the Project feeds the current patriarchy. In this context, transferring the role of a caregiver from one group of women to the next group of women does not solve the problem, and the outcome which emerges out of this situation is the expression of the policy that the understanding that charges the caregiving to women by relabeling it applies for the purpose of political investment. Consequently, the division of labor based on gender solidifies. The granny’s taking care of the grandchild serves the normalization of the relationship between the individual hardships that women experience and the structural pressures by directing the “normality” of the mother’s providing care from individuality to the social focus.

On the other hand, making the grannies’ undertaking of the serious burden of the responsibility of taking care of the grandchildren at the ages of 0 to 3 a policy matter instead of loving them at a time when their bodies get older, on one hand means the leaving of the emotional labor of the grannies for misuse. The maintenance of the responsibility of the child as the responsibility of the mother in the eyes of the state is a proof of building the family centricity over women.

6 A Look at Elderly Abuse within the Scope of the Granny Project

The passing of the elderly individuals a successful aging phase is parallel to their being in a state of complete wellness in terms of physical, spiritual and social dimensions. Elderly abuse is a violation of human rights just like psychological violence. For the individual who is subjected to abuse, irreparable situations are experienced. The concept of elderly abuse has been first defined in the British Scientific Journals in the year of 1975 by
conceptualization of “granny battering” in the literature upon incurring of physical abuse of an elderly who was in need of care by a family member who took care of the elderly person in 1975 (Baker, 1975; Burston, 1977; cited in Daşbaş, 2014, p.3).

In Turkey, the first study about elderly abuse was conducted with 113 elderly persons and their relatives who applied for staying at an elderly center in Istanbul in the year of 1996, and it was determined that 86.72 % of those who abuse the elderly were the relatives of the elderly (Daşbaş, 2014, pp.6-7) and 64.1 % of the elderly people who participated into the study had indicated that they were subjected to emotional / psychological abuse (Daşbaş, 2014, p.65).

In the International Prevention of Elderly Abuse made in the year of 1995 by the WHO, the concept of elderly abuse is expressed as: “behavior that would harm the elderly or place the elderly under stress and inappropriate actions that are made once or repetitively about the trust and expectation of the elderly person” it is classified as physical, sexual, psychological / emotional, economic and social (WHO 1995, cited in Directorate General of Services for persons with Disabilities and Elderly People, 2017).

Elderly abuse mostly stays covert as the elderly people are afraid of sharing this situation with others. Especially in the event that the persons who abuse the elderly are among the family members, the elderly person mostly does not share the experienced problem with anyone else. In the consequence of this, the elderly person may be perhaps subjected to the same abuse for a long time. Thus, for this reason uncovering the elderly abuse is vitally important for the welfare and quality of life of the elderly person.

As it is indicated in the description of elderly abuse, the situation which would put the elderly person under stress is accepted as abuse. In this context, there is a high possibility that abuse cases had been experienced for the elderly individuals who were not willing to take care of their grandchildren in the provinces where the project was implemented. This situation may go to the lengths as to harm the granny and the grandchild in the micro scale, and the family institution in the mezzo scale.

There is a common result of the studies made by Sands et.al in 2000, Blustein et.al in 2004 and Leder et.al in 2007. It has been determined in the mentioned studies that the possibility of the grandmothers / grandfathers taking care of the grandchildren was determined to be higher, when sufficient social support was not provided for the grandmothers / grandfa-
thers taking care of the grandchildren, the stress was determined to in-
crease and lastly, it was expressed that the health levels of the grandmoth-
ers / grandfathers taking care of the grandchildren was low (Kartal, Turan,
Kurban et.al 2010, p.16). The expectations of the government and the
younger generation from the elderly is to take care of the grandchildren
while the expectations of the elderly are in a different place. Among the
expectations of the elderly citizens from the society are benefitting from
their accumulation of knowledge and experience as an advisor, not break-
ing away of the elderly from the daily life, providing hobbies that would
not make the elderly tired, and similar expectations (Biçer, 2002, p.45).

I would like to make an adaptation to the issue of taking care of the
grandchildren which I believe forms a pressure on the grannies and also is
one of the common experiences of the grannies at the same time over the
concept of alienation. A class is formed by persons who are positioned in
a similar way who share the same wishes and needs. According to the
definition of the concept of class, the women that need child care and in a
more micro scale, that benefit from the project form a class within them-
selves. Within the process, as the workers do not have a say in the com-
modities that they would produce and not produce, they also become un-
able to purchase those products themselves and if they become alienated
to the product and labor of their own, the granny also may be alienated to
the labor that she spends towards her grandchild that she takes care in cer-
tain hours of the day. The competition between other peers who take care
of their grandchildren may take a form of struggle where the grannies are
oppressed to spend more effort, on the other hand it may cause the granny
to be alienated towards her own peers. Lastly, the grannies may perceive
taking care of their grandchildren in front of their maintenance of their
own existence. The grannies’ thinking that if they quit this role, their
daughters or daughters in law would lose their employment makes us
think about the possibility of being subjected to psychological violence
(such as being left alone). Additionally, different venues develop by them-
selves and proliferate in relation to the cultural codes that the region pro-
duces.

7 Conclusion

The sustainable increase of the population has a significant place in the
plans of the countries. In this context, the women and men need to have
conditions where their work opportunities and wages are equal, and the right of kindergarten, health services and social security system are sufficient. Forming the workplace setting which is sensitive towards gender issues is another important point. Instead of making temporary social policies that would strengthen embedded gender roles, arranging awareness seminars and social responsibility studies at all levels for the purpose of increasing the level of consciousness regarding gender equality, opening up kindergartens in every district and increase employment would provide permanent and positive contributions to the sustainability of population which has a significant place in the plans of the countries.

In the consequence of all of the contexts that I had tried to discuss above, on one hand, the employment of the elderly women temporarily with low wages, in other words the understanding of condemnation of the elderly women to unsecured employment emerges from the Granny Project that the government implements in regards to female employment. On the other hand, the grannies’ starting to obtain money from a work that they had been voluntarily doing leads to the commoditization of the labor that the women provide for taking care of the children. Thus, the project opens up the “holy family” in another definition to the capitalist market instead of strengthening it with this aspect. The project allows one woman to serve the economic affairs of the family, and allows another woman to the bio-social functions of the family. Being a granny should not be measured over motherhood and it should not exist again from the role of taking care of the children. Another point is that it is less costly to allow grannies to take care of the grandchildren than opening up kindergartens. As Topçuoğlu indicates, “women are the exact labor force that the transnational capital seeks in the global accumulation process again over their definition of their womanhood as cheap, compatible, easy to manipulate “domestic” workers” (2009: 100).

In the target population of the project, when we have a look at the matter from the perspective of the granny, a financial support for a job that they perform voluntarily may suit while they were taking care of the children of their daughters and daughters in law at home while they already work at the factories and offices. The invisibility of the labor which is spent in child care is a deficiency which is emphasized for long years. With the amount given in the Granny Project, the existence of the labor spent in child care is accepted. However, the lack of granddad in the project and the emphasis in the project to the role of the women as the care giver strengthens open sexism and covert male centrism. There is a shift
nowadays from the understanding that as women give birth to children, they are connected to the house to the understanding that they should take care of the grandchildren as they are women. At this point, feeding from conservative codes, providing the project before the elections as a favor and making the payment of the amount, which is given for the duration of 12 months, temporarily under the name of assistance become other points that were criticized. Child care is an important period which has psychological dimensions which may not be run by temporary project whose impact continues on the individual at other stages of life. Child care should not be a vehicle among the activities that make or spoil the relations of the granny that connect the granny with her family and repeat her existence. Additionally, when the situation of the elderly is taken into consideration in terms of social security and economic income, the labor exploitation of the grannies has become a matter of the agenda.

On the other hand, a pressure mechanism has been formed for the grannies who do not wish to provide care, in this context it is an application which does not have the lens of cultural awareness. In our patriarchal society where being a woman is difficult, when the additional disadvantages brought by aging is concerned, the necessity to develop rights based social policies manifest themselves. Additionally, the inability of the children of the couples whose parents are not alive or who divorced to benefit from the project does not comply with the equality principle. Another point which discriminates between the children is the necessity that they need to live in the same city with their grannies and that the grannies need not to exceed the age of 65. The condition which is among the conditions of the project that the mother needed to be insured for two years contradicts with the reality of the working life that we are currently in. According to the TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute) data, unemployment is 10.6 % and the ratio of undocumented workers is 34.8 % (TÜİK, 2017). In the DİSK-AR report, in the calculations that were made over the results of the period of October 2013 of the Household Labor Force Survey announced by the TÜİK the ratio of undocumented working women to the ratio of documented working women is 52 % (DİSK-AR, 2018).

Rather than maternity leave, holding the parent leave longer would provide positive contribution both for the child and the parents. The leave of care which would be given under the guarantee of income without having any loss of labor is an expected arrangement. Through the protests of the women’s movement in Germany and Sweden, the public responsibility over the raising up of the children was imposed (Büyükçoşkun, 2014,
p.195). Again, in this context Denmark is among the leading countries. When the economic situation and the developmental level of the mentioned three countries are taken into consideration, would allow women to take place in employment more freely through institutional structuring instead of maintaining child care through traditional family ties. This situation would also provide positive and qualified contribution to the economy of the country in the long term. And when we look at the issue in the specificity of women, socialization of the domestic chores and taking care of the children would minimize the pressure regarding women and would help delivering the respect at the least that each one of the women deserves.

**Bibliography**

A Close Overview of the Society in Early Turkish Drama (1923-1950)

Sedat Bay*

1 Introduction

The sociology of literature is a specific field of study concentrating upon the connection between a literary work and the social structure in which it is made (Jadhav, 2014). It uncovers that the presence of a literary creation comes into existence as a result of the present circumstances. As there is a complementary connection between a literary work and social structure, sociological investigation of literature demonstrates exceptionally valuable to comprehend the financial circumstances, political issues, the worldview, inventiveness of the authors, the arrangement of the social and political associations, the relations between specific considerations and social designs in which they happen, and determinants of a literary work (Neena, 2011).

The present study intents to make a close overview of the social structure of the Turkish nation as reflected in the early Turkish drama. As a political direction of the new state, playwrights in the early years of the Republican era focus on thoughts and traditions of the Turks that have transcended nationalism by turning to national myths and tried to give social problems, change of value judgments and spiritual contradictions. The plays of Early Republican Period of Turkey that will be analyzed in this study can be classified according to their theme and their role both in the formation and the reflection of a new society that depends on Atatürk’s revolutions are as follows:

• The plays glorifying Turkish nation and history: Akın (Raid) and Özyurt (Homeland)

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• The plays related to the problems of Anatolia and the state of the villages: Canavar (The monster) (1925), and Bir Yağmur Gecesi (A Night of the Rain) (1948).

• The plays about the new education system and the importance of the teachers: Köy Muallimi (Village Teacher) (1932) and Köy Öğretmeni (Village Teacher) (1928)

• The plays about conflicts/issues caused by urbanization and modernization: Büyükşehir (Big City)

• The structure of the family and the role of women in the new society: Kadın Erkekleşince (When Woman becomes Mannish) (1933).

2 Sociology of/and Literature

While presenting the hypothetical premises of the sociology of literature, it is felt important to examine the nature and extent of both sociology and literature. By and large, ‘sociology’ is characterized as the logical investigation of society, all the more particularly human culture. As the real worry of human science is society, it is prominently known as the ‘investigation of society’ (Goldman, 1980). Like all other social sciences, it deals with the life and actions of man. It likewise analyses the starting point, structure, development, and elements of human culture, experimentally. It additionally tries to decide the connection between various components of social life and finds the central states of social dependability and social change.

It also searches the impacts of financial, political, social, imaginative, tasteful, land, logical and different powers and factors on man and his life and tosses more light on the different social issues like poverty, education, social class, religion, and others. Accordingly, Alan Swingewood (1972: 11) utters: “Sociology is essentially the scientific, objective study of man in society, the study of social institutions and of social processes; it seeks to answer the question of how society is possible, how it works, why it persists." Lucien Goldman (1980) likewise concedes: "Sociology is a science in view of a total of classes framing a scholarly structure, at that point these classifications and this structure are themselves social realities that social science acquires to alleviation" (p. 55). In The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology, it is characterized as the competence by which ordinary participants in social settings recognize and obey (or violate) rules and norms that are widely shared by others.” (Turner, 2006, s. 600).
Literature, on the other hand, mirrors the different encounters, thoughts, interests, and experiences of individuals in their everyday life. Since literature takes its subject straightforwardly from human life, it can build our insight and encounters about human issues included esteems, ethics, societies, and human interests. After reading a literary work, the readers may get a specific impression of what he/she has read.

There are various definitions of literature as there is not a consensus on the characteristics of it. McFadden defines it as:

*I should say, then, that literature is a canon which consists of those works in language by which a community defines itself through the course of its history. It includes works primarily artistic and also those whose aesthetic qualities are only secondary. The self-defining activity of the community is conducted in the light of the works, as its members have come to read them (or concretize them).* (McFadden, D., 1978, s. 56).

Alfred North Whitehead (1967) states: “It is in literature that the concrete outlook of humanity receives its expression” (p. 75). Though the definitions and their focus points vary, it is obvious that literature in general and drama in particular have their own particular capacities. Literature has two outstanding capacities as a result of human culture. The first is that literature with its capacity of writing provides the energy to actuate the heart and brain of the readers. The second is that literature has the capacity to instruct. It implies that literature gives specific esteems, messages, and subjects to the readers or the audience. Literature has incredible capacity in building up human’s emotions, thoughts, and interests and thus shaping the society in which it is produced (Eco & McLaughlin, 2004). By and large, the elements of literature are as per the following: the primary capacity is that it gives information of those particularities with which science and theory are not concerned and it also influences the human on what human see, envision what human definitely know thoughtfully or basically. The last capacity of literature is that writing assuages human—either writers/playwrights or readers—from the weight of feelings.

As Laurenson & Swingewood (1972) state literature is also principally preoccupied with man’s social world, his adjustment to it, and his desire to transform it. In this way, the drama, as one of the major artistic types of mechanical society, can be viewed as a devoted endeavor to re-make the social universe of man’s connection with his family, society, governmental issues, and the State. Hernadi (1978) also expresses that it also portrays the parts of the family and different organizations, the contentions and pressures amongst gatherings and social classes as well. In the narrative
sense, one could see drama as managing much similar social, monetary, and political bases as sociology could. Obviously, it accomplishes more than this; as workmanship, literature rises above insignificant depiction and target logical examination, infiltrating the surfaces of social life, demonstrating the manners by which men and ladies encounter society as feeling.

3 Drama and Social Structure of Turkey in the Early Republican Era

The story of Turkish Republic can easily be regarded as a paradox. Following the separation of the Ottoman Empire toward the finish of World War I and War of Independence against Greece and different triumphant Entente Powers, the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed in 1923 (Yılmaz, 2013, s. 1). The successful completion of those wars and challenges and proclamation of republic confronted Mustafa Kemal and his friends with a new order and a new state. From one viewpoint, there is an undeniable link between the Ottoman past and the republic at the level of political initiative and that of the state device, both bureaucratic and military. Coming from the old Ottoman lands; they developed a new identity for creating a single nation from Ottoman subjects in a very ethnical, multicultural and multi-sectarian structure. The new identity, which will take the role of religion in creating a feeling of unity among the Muslims, was defined in the Constitution adopted in March 1924 as "The inhabitants of Turkey are accepted as Turks irrespective of, religious and racial differences" (Başçı̈l, 2016). Nation and state formation were carried out simultaneously.

The new republic tried to build a new nation-state structure while rapidly applying the western-oriented reforms. In this nation-state building process, the ideologies and customs of the Ottoman State were tried to be demolished and a new one was tried to be built against the old one (Algan, 2011). While building this new tradition, the nationality, glory, and heroism of the Turkish people were delivered to the public through epics, novels and drama, and the for the purpose of creating the national consciousness (Tokluoğlu, 1995). In this process, political historians emerged and new history books were written on this target axis. The government opened public houses to bring its own ideology, Kemalism, to the public and create a base for itself and brought its own modern Western perception and propaganda to the public through intellectuals. During this process, bespoke theater works were printed and great efforts were made to display...
them all over the country (Çağaptay, 2006). From the 1930s onwards, on the other hand, it was tried to use art and artists for the establishment of the principles and reforms of the Republic (Pekman, 2002). For this purpose, artists are expected to make contributions from various sources. In order to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Republic, some activities were organized in 1933, and tasks were especially given to authors of the period to write books to describe the War of Independence, revolutions and leading state integration and the targets of the new state. In this framework, exciting works, speeches, plays, and poems that will explain the high meaning of the revolution and the breakthroughs in the first decade of the Republic were introduced. That’s why, for a long time, “the duty of the theater in our country was to contribute to social change programs” (Pekman, 2002, p. 13) targeting reaching the level of western civilization.

The political and social élite of the young Republic settled on a drastically extraordinary meaning of its own character: they chose to be Turks and to take Turkishness as the premise their new national state perception. This character was then forced step by step on the populace through a procedure of country working in which, as in comparative procedures the world over, historiography and phonetics assumed a key part, as did concealment of an option or even sub-personalities (Zürcher E. J., 2010).

In the Republican period, the search, and untried creation in the theater have reached the stage of self-discovery. The period of wobbling in the first years of the Republic, the public sector has also found its way with the interest and support. The problems are understood, the theater has adopted the preeminence, and thus the actor, the writer, the playwright, and the audience tried to create the theatrical together. In the early republic’s one-party regime, the state helped the development of national and state-centred theater as much as it could. Positive results were obtained such as state theater education, the establishment of a state theater, the spread of the culture and the theater at the national level through public houses, and the efforts to reach the public. In the multi-party regime, the interest of the state has relaxed and the ruling party has shown an attitude to regain the place to develop them. Along with this those modernist approaches, in big cities, the number of actors, writers, and audience increased, and the theater movement announced itself with all its power (Türk Tiyatrosu, 1983).

It is apparent in the plays written in the early Republican Period that life in the Ottoman period is a predetermined, constant, and unchangeable order depending on the traditional values shaped by Islamic life principles.
No one has the right to argue, to change, or to live outside of these rules individually. Individual spurts must be strictly punished. “Virtue may exist by glorifying these rules and by adapting to them. Man is glorified by adaptation and submission rather than opposition (Tuncay, 2007). The traditional Ottoman society that developed a systematics that did not allow class conflicts that prepare the development of modern society also did not give an opportunity to the individual rebellion as rebellion was regarded to be an action against the authority of God. All the education system was highly dependent on the principle of creating subjects instead of improving individuals or citizens and that was the first thing to be changed.

The play *Inkilap Çocukları (Children of Revolution)*, by Yaşar Nabi Nayır (1933), manages the fantasies without bounds of the new age, which developed with the establishment of the republic. As per them, society was covered in the dimness amid the Ottoman time frame. Just the Sultan, who thinks just in his own specific manner and serenely, sees the instruction of the general population and any advancement as a risk to his rule. The printing condition conveyed to the square and the obliviousness of the general population is the affirmation of the continuation of his rule. Be that as it may, with the establishment of the Republic, Atatürk’s revolutions started to light up this obscurity like a sun. As the advanced instructive offices start to achieve the entire society step by step, the illuminated individuals are advancing on the way to getting to be free people from the sultan’s being wiped out. However, this isn’t a change that can be a person. It is important to lean towards the reason for instruction, science and particularly those intrigued by workmanship. In this work, it is fascinating to take note of that the shock of the sultan and the sultanate, and the response against Islam, which diminishes individuals to slaves, makes the Kemalism nearly as another religion. Atatürk’s *Oration* is accepted in the play as the “book which gives the faith in the new religion” (Nayır, 1933, p. 9) and Çankaya is said to be the Turkish equivalent of the Holy Kaaba. It was pointed with this play to spread the cognizance of the country and Turkishness by making another feeling of history in the plays which were gotten with regards to official history theory.

The idealism which appeared and was accepted as the love of Turkish land and nation became one of the prominent themes of the writers and the playwrights. The legends related to the Turkish nation, excluding the Ottoman period, became the focus of the literary circles. In the formation of the new nation, those who would be taken as the role model for the present and the future generations were the heroes of the ancient middle Asian
leaders of the Turks. Ideologically, the proclamation of the Republic created a new comprehension of history which aims at forming a new history depending on the Turkish Lineage rather than Ottoman heritage. With the help of this new understanding of history, the merits, national values, and ideals of Turkish nation are to be conveyed to the people especially by means of art and literature. This new concept of Turk is expressed in the Article 88 of the 1924 Constitution as:

The name Turk, as a political term, shall be understood to include all citizens of the Turkish Republic, without distinction of, or reference to, race or religion. Every child born in Turkey, or in a foreign land of a Turkish father; any person whose father is a foreigner established in Turkey, who resides in Turkey, and who chooses upon attaining the age of twenty to become a Turkish subject; and any individual who acquires Turkish nationality by naturalization in conformity with the law, is a Turk. Turkish citizenship may be forfeited or lost in certain circumstances specified by law.

Theatres played a great role both in the formation and spread of this new concept of history as a political direction of the new state and reminded the conventional but forgotten virtues to new Turkish generation Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel’s play, *Akın* (Raid) takes the love of Turkish country, while his *Özyurt* (Homeland) tries to show that Turks are a nation that loves justice, art and that they have always tried to make the lands they have resided prosperous in every aspect (Önertoy, 1998). Yaşar Nabi’s *Mete*; Behçet Kemal’s *Çoban* (Shepherd), and Atilla and Necip Fazıl’s *Sabırtaşı* (The Very Patient Person) carry the purpose of reflecting the virtues and civilization of the Turks. While the pathetic state of the Ottoman Empire, which was destroyed because of the fratricidal quarrels, is the movement point of Yaşar Nabi’s *İnkilap Çocukları* (The Children of the Revolution), the praise of the Turkish power as Anatolia is reflected in Necip Fazıl’s *Tohum* (Seed), and Faruk Nafiz’s play *Kahraman* (Hero), written in a verse.

In plays, "*Akın*" and "*Özyurt*", Turkish History Theory of Turkish Historical Society, founded under the auspices of Atatürk, is addressed. In the Prologue of *Akın*, it is expressed by a student that the homeland of the Turks is Central Asia: “Here is Central Asia... Turks created the first Turkish civilization in Altay- Ural.” (p.8). Patriotism and preservation of the existence of Turkish nation are also important parts of the theme of the play. It is emphasized in the play that preservation of the existence, going to other lands, if necessary, lest the generation degenerates, reproduction and multiplication, and raising healthy and mighty generations are also
very important characteristics of the nation. Keeping the basic characteristics of the nation prevents it from being degenerated. The play shows the belief that “wherever they go, the Turks will not lose their national and racial qualities” (Ercilasun, 1998). That is because Turks love their homelands, and their country more than their fathers, mothers and anything else. As İstemi Khan states in the play “Turk’ means homeland; ‘homeland’ also means ‘Turk’.” (p. 24).

In the play, İstemi Khan, the ruler of the Turks, is ready to give his own life and even her daughter’s life to give an end to the draught that lasts for long years in the homeland. İstemi Khan must be sacrificed as per the customs just like the two previous rulers. As this would make Khan’s daughter Suna very upset, three young warriors, Bumin, Bayan, and Demir, who are all in love with her, want to block it. To make her happy and remind her themselves, each of them gives her a handmade present which shows the skill of Turks in the art: a tile by Demir, a sculpture by Bumin, and a miniature by Bayan. These gifts show that though these arts are not very popular in Ottoman period, they were very important among the Turks in the Pre-Ottoman times.

While everyone is in despair and mourning for their Khan, the three chieftains come and tell Khan it is the desire of the God to sacrifice his daughter Suna, the most beautiful girl of the Turkic country, not the Khan himself. Khan is in torn between losing his beloved daughter and giving an end to the drought that threatens the future of his own nation. However, Demir learns that this is not the desire of the God, but a plan prepared by the three chieftains to be Khan after İstemi. When their plan is revealed three chieftains are killed by the people and both İstemi Khan and his beloved daughter continue their life. However, because of the ongoing drought, they have to find new land so that their nation can continue to live in the future. Demir and Suna marry and they were sent to the new lands together with the young people of the nation to raid with the hope of finding suitable places for themselves and the future generations. The fact that even the Khan of the Turkish nation can easily be sacrificed for the sake of the nation gives that impression that the Ottoman Sultans who regard themselves masters of the nation and sacrifice everything and everyone for their reign are not pertinent to the real characteristics of the Turkish nation.

Özyurt (Homeland) by Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel, which could in a way be regarded as the continuation of Akin, focuses on the emigration of the Turks from Central Asia to their new homelands. They accept every place
they go as their homeland and civilize the native people of the lands they emigrate. Yurt (2014) states that this could be understood from the conflict between the Turks and the indigenous dwellers of the lands. Anatolia, where they reach last, takes the place of Central Asia as their homeland. During the journey led by Demir Khan, the son-in-law of İstemi Khan, and Suna, they have to stop over various places and had to get in contact with many different groups of people, who are wild and far from civilization. The Turks are now living in their new home and live a new and happy life together with the locals they meet there. It can be said that the main message that can be taken from the play is that God’s greatest punishment for Turks is to separate them from their homeland.

Cevat Fehmi Başkut’s Büyükşehir (Big City) deals with the conflicts that arise during the first years of the Republican era with urbanization and modernization. On the one hand, while the landlords living in rural areas were trying to be urbanized, a group of people emerged who, along with urbanization, cheated people coming from rural areas into the city on the other. This work deals with the events between Abdülkerim Efendi, who wants to raise the social position by marrying a rich and noble city girl, and the two villagers who demand to make their daughters marry him. The hotel owner, Fevzi Isbilir, is a character who takes charge of people like fake doctors and journalists who gain unfair profits by cheating customers who know how to use events in their own interest. It ends with an emphasis on the cultural and moral degeneration of the work with the emergence of the great cities:

The reforms hardly influenced the life of the villagers who made up the great mass of the Turkish population. A farmer or shepherd from Anatolia had never worn a fez, so he was not especially bothered about its abolition. His wife wore no veil anyway, so the fact that its use was discouraged did not mean anything to him or her. He could not read and write, so the nature of the script was in a sense immaterial to him, although the fact that the only man in the village who was able to read and write was the local imam tended to strengthen the religious connotation of the Arabic alphabet. He had to take a family name in 1934, but the whole village would continue to use first names (as is still the case) and the family names remained for official use only. The new family law made polygamy illegal, but those farmers who could afford it would still quite often take into the house a second woman, without marrying her, ascribing her children to his legal wife, if need be. (Zürcher E.-J. , 2004, p. 194)

After the proclamation of the Republic, there are two important aims related to the works carried out for the villages and the villagers: the first is to
explain and adopt the principles and reforms of the Republic to the vil-
lagers and to deal with their problems. The second is to ensure the de-
velopment of the villages and to make the innovations permanent (Çıkla,
2007).

In the early years of the Republic, as well as the political will that is
directed to improve the situation of both the village and the villagers, the
literature of the period also turned onto them. These literary works be-
come one of the most inessential means of cultural propaganda in the early
years of the Republic in adopting the state’s reforms and peasants. In this
period, it is seen that the executives and the artists were connected with
the revolution and wanted to benefit especially from the inspiration of the
theatre. As a result of this, during 1923-1950 many village plays were
written. Although in some of these plays the village and the villagers are
mentioned only when it is necessary, most of them are about the village
and village life (Çıkla, 2007).

According to Çıkla (2007), there are three different groups of plays
about the village and the villagers. The events in these plays may be expe-
rienced either entirely or mostly in the village. However, there are some
plays in which the settings are not the villages but the plays are entirely
related to the villages and the villagers. The situation of the massive peas-
antry “that attracts the suffering and suffering of the War of Independence
attracts the attention” (Aki, 1968, s. 27) becomes the focal point of those
plays. The main themes of the plays related to the village in that period of
time are revolutions, the war of independence, serving and developing the
village and thus helping the government, featuring the European life-style
criticism of the cooperation between the imam and the headman of the vil-
lage, reviling at Ottoman period and praising the republic and the Kemal-
ism.

The first play about the problems of Anatolia almost all of which was
composed of villagers as its main themes is Faruk Nafiz’s Canavar (The
monster) (1925). Ahmet and Zeynep are two young people who love each
other deliciously. But things do not go well; the dark clouds are circulating
on this love between them. Ömer, who is the son of one of the richest peo-
ple and one of the friends of Zeynep is also in love with her. One day
Ömer reveals the fact that he loves Zeynep and proposes to her but when
he is refused, he kidnaps her with his men. Ahmet does his best to save the
girl he loves. After long struggles, she succeeds in saving Zeynep and he
takes her from the hands of the kidnappers, but Ömer and his men follow
Ahmet and the girl. When Ahmet realizes that they are about to be caught
by Ömer and to lose Zeynep once more, he prefers killing Zeynep rather than losing her again.

The play deals with the situation of the villagers in the last days of the Ottoman period and the beginning of the Republican period. It shows how monsters are made from good and honest peasants who are not possessed. Faruk Nafiz shows through Ahmet and other characters that “there are not any happy people in the cities and especially villages except the notables. While the gentry “are luxuriating in their vineyards” (s.96), all the burden is on the shoulder of the villagers as it was during the wars which gave way to the foundation of the republic. That’s why there is no other choice for Ahmet than going to the mountain and being a bandit. Because the real bandits who kidnap her lover Ayşe are under the protection of the gendarmerie and the other security forces. Ahmet is sure that if he goes to the security forces and press charges against Ömer and his men, nothing changes and he himself is accused of violating the rules. Though republic was proclaimed Ottoman period came to an end, it was not possible to change everything in the society. It would be a slow and rough process to give an end to the dominance of the rich in the society. At the end of the play, Ali and all the other people understand that if they want to change the situation, “the revolution must first be born of the villages” (p.96-97) not the cities.

As the plays of the period point out, to start the revolution from the villages it is very important to educate the people living in the cities first so that they go and start the revolutions from the villages. That’s why the teachers who are ready to undergo all the difficulties become another significant matter in the plays of the period. The young teachers educated by the teachers’ training schools of the new republic are eager to go and teach the children in the forgotten villages of Anatolia thanks to their devotion to their homelands. One of the examples of these teachers is seen in Aka Gündüz’s *Köy Muallimi (Village Teacher)* (1932) which concentrates on the influence of the education on the development of the villages and children living in villages through a teacher who is appointed to the village of Batakoba (which means the village which is a swampland). In the thirtieth anniversary of his appointment, the great and the good personalities of the village prepare celebration which they call as the feast day and give them presents for his services. The fact that the play begins with the description of Atatürk’s picture hung just over the Map of Turkey symbolizes the importance and dominance of Atatürk and his views in the new republic. He, who gives the orders and inspiration for the rebuild of both the nation and
the state, seems to be the protector and determiner of the new state by his revolutions. Thanks to him, “the teacher builds not only the school but the whole village entirely, and he builds up them like Gazi wants” (Gündüz, 1932, p. 13).

The main characteristics of these plays that are about the transformation of the rural society into urban one are generally the same: before the coming of the teacher, the villages are dark, uncared, socially divided, full of unhealthy people under the control of conventional thoughts representing the Ottoman period. With the coming of the teacher or an educator, the villages turn into almost modern places. However, to accomplish this transformation is not easy, and the teachers are obliged to make some sacrifices. In Paydos (1948), we find the teacher, Murtaza Bey suffering from narrow incomes, and his family suffering because of losing his job as a teacher in a black-market era in which all the values of money are swept away. The teacher in the Işık (Light) (1941) abandons the wealthy life he has and copes with the griefs that he encounters in the village. As Akı (1968) quotes, “I will awaken them anyway, I will turn the light on their darkened, broken hearts, then only then they will be the best people in the world” (p.21) and reveals that serving the new republic and the revolutions are more important than everything.

Bir Yağmur Gecesi (A Night of the Rain) (1948) take place in a small Anatolian burg named Sarioba which is located on the margin of Sarioba River. As a result of the heavy rain that lasts for days, it was flooded out and destroyed heavily just like the great flood. Some of the people who get rid of the flood come together in an inn and discuss the things that can be done. One of them, Oğuz, an Aquatic Engineer who is educated in the USA says that they experience this calamity in every two or three years as they do not react against it in cooperation and they must leave the habit of expecting everything from the state. Triggered by the speech of the engineer, all the people living in Sarioba including the intellectuals, peasants, gentry and the teacher of the village act altogether and turn Sarioba into a modern town that is able to overcome all the problems. Thus, the idea of helping the state that cannot reach everywhere and every problem is tried to be infused as a part of the legal ideology of the early republican period.

It is very apparent in the in the plays of the period that the most important obstacles in front of the revolutions are the clergymen, especially imams serving in the villages. The teachers who do everything to encourage the people to send their children to the schools are prevented from doing so by the union of the imam, the headman, and the gentry. The most
important of them is the imam because people tend to listen to imam traditionally... In Yaşar Nabi’s Köyün Namusu (the Honor of the Village) (1933) this situation is clearly reflected. In the play, the unmerciful and cruel landowner and the imam who claims to be able to cure sick people by breathing on them to make money at the expense of others, and it is very necessary to leave the people in darkness in order to continue to do this. That’s why the teacher of the village and the revolutions he represents are their enemies. If the people are enlightened by the education based on the revolutions of the republic they will certainly lose the status they have in the society and they will not be able to earn money using the old religious beliefs, and fears of the illiterate people. Just like the hodja in Reşat Nuri’s Köy Öğretmeni and Aka Gündüz’s Köy Muallimi (Village Teacher), the imam directs people to continue the way of life that they had in the Ottoman period once because if they become free individuals as the revolutions aim they realize that they have always been abused. Thus, people are encouraged to demand imam wedding rather than civil marriage and continue serving them slavishly. On the other hand, there are teachers and the doctors who are sent by the new government to destroy all the old system and way of life to make people free individuals and create a new way of life.

In the play, it is legally banned to have more than one spouse and men and women have equality before the law. It is tried to make the people aware that they must not let the young girls marry before the legal age of marriage and the women who are traditionally beaten by their husbands are encouraged to go to the court and divorce if she wants. It is also indicated in the play that the Quran courses that are common in the villages are also harmful for the society as the education given is not suitable for the revolutions and modern teaching methods.

While the New Republic proved to be a modern identity, it tried to transform the Turkish family structure, the smallest unit of the society, with care to preserve the traditional heritage to protect the structure within the family on the national past and to emotionally strengthen the adaptation of the individuals to their roles within the family. For example, the woman of the Great Turkish Family is held responsible for the upbringing of the family members by virtue of their generosity, but this responsibility is not a simple responsibility binding on the family alone. Mustafa Kemal has reinforced this responsibility of the woman by pointing to a national stake: "being the mother of the nation" so that it is possible for the woman
to establish a strong, organic bond that cannot be shaken by the nation (Firidinoğlu Yılmaz, 2011).

In Kadın Erkekleşince (When Woman becomes Mannish) (1933) the importance of woman as a mother in the family is addressed. In this play, the author deals with the disruptions that a working woman has in her home life, which is still a problem in Turkish society. It is possible to sum up the play as follows: Ali Sureyya, the son of Mebrure Hanım and Ali Tevfik Bey, marries Nebahat, whom he met at work, irrespective of the request of his elders. Nebahat is not a conventional woman and she refuses to do the chores alone as she thinks that husband and wife must share all the chores in the house. In the meantime they have children. However, both of them have to work to cope with the hard economic living conditions, and there is no one to look after the child during the day. One of them is obliged to go home and feed the baby, but both of them refuse to do it. Ali Süreyya thinks that it is conventionally the duty of the mother to feed the baby but Nebahat is of the opinion that in the modern family they have to share all the duties together. At the end, the child who is left alone in the daytime dies because of one day of neglect. Such a marital and family disaster brings them back together with their elders. Through the play, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar reflects the struggle between old and new roles of women clearly:

MR. ALİ TEVFİK : (Approaching the bed of the new bride) Never mind my daughter, never mind... The woman of the last century who is fond of autocracy collides with the new femininity born out of the idea of the republic. Of course, you will not get along with each other. Of course, one’s behavior will offend the other’s feelings; but young lady, do not be mad at my wife. On the contrary, take pity on her. Peace and harmony in this house might recover if you are a bit friendly. (Gürpınar, 1984, s. 312)

The rebuilding of Turkey needed a comprehensive revision which would also include modernization of the country together with the national consciousness that was desired to be created. The family was seen as the most suitable area for the work to be done in order to create a modern Turkish nation. A natural process was followed, in which modern changes that would start from the family were expected to affect the whole society as soon as possible. Gender roles were inevitably used in the modern transformation that would start from the family (Firidinoğlu Yılmaz, 2011).

MR. ALİ TEVFİK: I am a man who is open to new ideas. I cannot persuade my wife. The dark obstinacy of the past will drown in its own darkness, but I can meet the future with an open heart. My wife sees a suspicious bride who
is found randomly on the street. If we think right, we can make excuses for with this mouldy thought. But I see all the qualities and virtues of the new woman that will truly make my son happy. Your solemn face gives me a piece of good news on the expected woman of future who will not only canonize a family but also a generation and thus the whole Turkishness (Gürpınar, 1984, s. 313).

Though the new Turkey approached its end of reaching modern society at the time, it also gave the sign that the gender roles were getting complicated. Modern Turkey’s request of modernization without breaking its tradition generated women and men trapped between a selection of traditional and modern values on gender roles (Sakallı, 2004). In this process, the woman became more and more responsible as the mother of the nation and the grower of the future Turkish generations. Women were provided a great role with their responsibilities engaged with the divine concepts of family and motherland, but their roles in the formation of nation-state and modernization in early republic years were small and inactive.

As a part of the government's desire to establish a national family identity, it was emphasized that the Turkish woman would be a good mother, a good wife, an intellectual and an extraordinary. However, the woman wanted to exist as an individual in society as well as these roles expected from her. The woman’s desire to be a free individual with her own desire, thoughts, and emotions as a woman, apart from a national and modern identity, was unfortunately often hampered by the conservatism of traditional work and the limitation of political authority.

4 Conclusion

Doubtlessly literature and sociology are not entirely particular teaches but rather, despite what might be expected, supplement each other in our comprehension of society, though they have generally had a tendency to stay separated. For Neena (2011), early sociologists, for example, Comte and Spencer in the nineteenth century and Durkheim and Weber in the twentieth, while making the incidental reference to creative literature, overall subordinated it to the investigation of social structure. The sociological investigation of literature is, in this way, a genuinely late entry. Though there are today all around created humanistic systems of religion, instruction, governmental issues, social change, even such an uncertain territory as a belief system, there is for all intents and purposes no settled corpus of information called the sociology of literature. Swingewood (1984) adds

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that it is likewise deplorable that the little measure of learning and research which exists is all in all exceedingly questionable in quality, ailing in logical meticulousness, dull in the nature of its sociological ‘bits of knowledge’, and as often as possible comprising of the crudest relationships between artistic literature and social history.

That drama, as a literary genre, is an impression of the overall population is a reality that has been extensively perceived. Literature in general and drama in particular certainly mirror the overall society, its incredible regards, and its ills. In its medicinal limit, composing mirrors the ills of the overall population with a view to submitting the overall population comprehend its blunders and offer some sort of reparation. It similarly broadens the morals or incredible regards in the overall population for people to duplicate. In the drama, we find stories expected to portray human life and movement through a couple of characters who, by their words, action and reaction, pass on particular messages with the ultimate objective of the guideline, information, and energy. It is hard to find a work of composing that restricts the perspectives, soul, and estimations of the overall population since no creator has been raised absolutely unexposed to his general environment. What men of literature do is to transport the bona fide events in their overall population into fiction and present it to the overall population as a mirror with which people can look at themselves and offer some sort of reparation where it is crucial? Thusly, composing isn’t only an impression of the overall population yet moreover fills in as a therapeutic mirror in which people from the overall population can look at themselves and find the necessity for constructive change. It is essential to research a couple of works of composing, in order to perceive how composing truly reflects the overall society.

However, the Turkish drama, which had developed in the early twentieth century in the Ottoman Empire, and which filled in as a method for framing another general public character and molding it, has flopped in this reason. The Turkish Drama, which could not be a representative for a Western or Oriental character, was torn from the customary auditorium, however, could not make another leap forward. As Keskin (2006) states: the battle of the venue to make and spread a specific awareness was constrained to the decision party in the Ottoman time frame amid the change time frame and the aggregate transformed into a battle to give a specific character in the Republic of Turkey however fizzled a specific mindfulness among the general population theater in the changing Turkey couldn’t play out the exchange and creation.
In a period when there were no media in the modern sense except radio and a limited amount of newspaper and some other publications, the drama played an important role in the formation of the new society of Turkey. It was one of the most significant tools of propaganda which was used by the government both to clear up the traces of the Ottoman period and to base spread the principles and revolutions of the Turkish republic. Faruk Nafiz’s Canavar (The monster) shows “there are not any happy people in the cities and especially villages except the notables” (s.96) and all the burden is on the shoulder of the villagers as it was during the wars which gave way to the foundation of the republic. It gives the impression to both the state and the society that without giving an end to the dominance of the notables it does not create a society in the modern sense. The plays that we have classified according to their themes give various messages to the new society:

Köy Muallimi (Village Teacher) (1932), Işık (Light) (1941 and Köy Öğretmeni (Village Teacher) (1928) indicate the importance of education for the formation of the new nation and that the teachers are the only ones to awaken the new generations anyway and turn the light on their darkened, broken hearts and make them the best people in the world. It is very apparent in the in these plays that the most important obstacles in front of the revolutions are the clergymen, especially imams serving in the villages. The Law on Unification of Education (1924) whereby all scientific and educational institutions were brought under the Ministry of National Education is supported and it is explained why all kinds of religious educational activities were ended, and foreign schools, in addition to those of the minorities, were brought under state control.

The struggle between old and new roles of women reflected by Kadın Erkekleşince (When Woman becomes Mannish) reflects that the gender roles inevitably used in the modern transformation must start from the family and the women are the ones who must be responsible for it. Modern Turkey’s request of modernization without breaking its tradition generated women and men trapped between a selection of traditional and modern values on gender roles.

The play Inkilap Çocukları (Children of Revolution), by Yaşar Nabi Nayır (1933), manages the fantasies without bounds of the new age, which developed with the establishment of the republic. It also shows that “Kemalist secularism was very successful in eliminating religion from the public sphere in Turkey, leaving Turkish national identity devoid of religious content” (Çağaptay, 2006, p. i).
Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel’s play, *Akin (Raid)*, Yaşar Nabi’s *Mete*; Behçet Kemal’s *Çoban (Shepherd)*, and Atilla and Necip Fazıl’s *Sabırtaşı (The Very Patient Person)* carry the purpose of reflecting the virtues and civilization of the Turks. While the pathetic state of the Ottoman Empire, which was destroyed because of the fratricidal quarrels, is the movement point of Yaşar Nabi’s *İnkilap Çocukları (The Children of the Revolution)*. Through this work, the shock of the sultan and the sultanate, and the response against Islam which is thought to be transforming the individuals to slaves, and the attempts to make Kemalism nearly as nearly another religion are reflected. The fact that Atatürk’s *Oration* is accepted as the “book which gives the faith in the new religion” (Nayır, 1933, p. 9) and that Çankaya is said to be the Turkish equivalent of the Holy Kaaba can be given as examples to these attempts. On the other hand, the praise of the Turkish power as Anatolia is reflected in Necip Fazıl’s *Tohum (Seed)*, and Faruk Nafiz’s play *Kahraman (Hero)* and it is indicated that being Turk will be the most important characteristics of the new nation.

Cevat Fehmi Başkut’s *Büyükşehir (Big City)* deals with the conflicts that arise during the first years of the Republican era with urbanization and modernization. Through the play, Başkut shows that the people of the big cities are more ignorant because they are under the influence of the endless needs. They are also more susceptible to deterioration and warns the people against this new social relation type.

While building this new nation and the society, epics, novels and especially drama, were used as a means of propaganda and education material. In this process, political historians emerged, and new history books were written on this target axis. The government opened public houses to bring its own ideology, Kemalism, to the public and create a base for itself and brought its own modern Western perception and propaganda to the public through intellectuals, and playwrights and their works played an important role in it. During this process, commissioned theater works were printed and great efforts were made to display them all over the country. They used and artists for the establishment of the principles and reforms of the Republic and shaped the future generations of the nation according to the rules of Atatürk’s principles and revolutions.
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Is it a Tampon Institution in the Urbanization Process?
Township Associations

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1 Introduction

Turkey has a number of characteristics of its own in terms of both urbanization and migration process that it experiences and problems caused by these processes. The phenomenon of rural-to-urban migration, urban-to-urban migration and urbanization is a process experienced in different dimensions and qualities in developing/underdeveloped countries. However, the problems and consequences that arise have serious differences in terms of being peculiar to the countries. Migration and urbanization process in Turkey has revealed some specific and unforeseen consequences in this sense. These have brought about paradoxical processes such as traditional-modern, differentiation-integration, conflict-harmony and so on. The existence of Township Associations and the results they have brought about are the leading consequences that have been caused by these processes and widely discussed in our country.

This study will focus on Township Associations and the positive and negative consequences of them after urbanization and migration phenomena are addressed with their general characteristics. They have accomplished to become a centre of interest and debate in academic circles due to the economic, cultural and political functions they have undertaken over time, as well as having a number of facilitating or challenging characteristics especially in the process of urbanization.

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2 Conceptual and Theoretical Explanations

2.1 The Phenomenon/Process of Migration

The phenomenon of migration is a concept that is almost as old as human history. For humans who choose wetlands and fertile areas as their first settlement units, nomadic lifestyle is seen as the first form of social organization in the era of hunting and gathering. Escaping from natural disasters, drought, hunger, climate changes and other civilizations’ attacks are historical examples of population displacements (Yalçın, 2004). Migration of mankind in the first period can be regarded as geographical displacement due to the mentioned reasons. The first known migration, according to the recorded history, is accepted as Sumerian immigration. As is known, history begins with writing. Those who discovered the writing first were the Sumerians who came to Mesopotamia as immigrants and transformed the village culture into an urban one. This nation that settled in southern Mesopotamia in 3500 BC discovered writing in about 3200 BC and this writing spread to all the countries of Asia Minor in the context of commercial and cultural relations (Memiş & Bülbül, 2014).

After these historical reminders, it is important to remember that “humanity has not been living in the cities since the beginning; the city is a new living space that human beings did not find ready in the world, and shaped later in the direction of their own aims, in parallel with their own relations and politics. The city is a new level and order jointly created by human beings and social relations, as well as religious, political and economic developments and many other similar elements” (Alver 2012:9).

However, the transition to settled life and the more prevalent migrations that came into existence with the emergence of cities created deeper meaning and consequences, which can no longer be confined to geographic displacement. In this context, immigration is multifaceted due to demographic/morphological, economic, political, psycho-social, anthropological and sociological implications it has. The fact that immigration has different qualities and that it carries the characteristics of the country in its own way removes the possibility of developing a universal approach in this regard.

Although it is difficult to develop a universal model of migration, there are certain basic causes of migration in the world. If we generalize them;
Reasons leading to the formation of migration:

√ Economic factors (unemployment and poor living conditions resulting from poverty)
√ Social factors (education, inadequacy of health services, customary pressure, blood feud etc.)
√ Environmental factors (degradation of ecosystem, natural and environmental disasters)
√ Security conditions (human rights violations, terrorism, armed conflicts, etc.).
√ The availability of transportation and communication facilities (for today’s migrants).

It is necessary to look at the definition(s) of migration whose reasons we try to put forth in general terms. As there is not a single reason and type of migration, it can be defined in many different dimensions. Here are a few different definitions. According to a definition, immigration is the displacement of one place in the country with the aims of settling or it is moving from a country to another with a view to settling there. With another definition, “Migration is a change of place, before everything else. People leave the region they are in and go to another region owing to various reasons. This may be for the purpose of settling permanently or temporarily. Or this relocation can be carried out at regular intervals every year. This is called seasonal migration. In this case, people are displaced in two or more places at certain times of the year. Groups with seasonal migration live together with more than one social and cultural structure... Another distinction regarding the migration is related to space and distance. While some migrations take place at very short distances, others take place towards far distances. For instance, it is a serious issue whether moving within the same city is considered to be migration or not. In this case, we may have gained a measure of migration if we measure social and cultural distances rather than physical distances alone. For example, moving from a shanty town or a miserable neighborhood in the city to a higher socioeconomic level can be regarded as migration with its cultural dimension. This may be considered valid mostly for large cities or metropolises. But immigration is a population movement before anything else” (Sağlam 2006: 34).

The phenomenon of migration in our country and the urbanization based on it have occurred in the framework of the push-pull model in general. The pushing effect of living conditions in rural areas and the pulling
effect of living standards in urban areas can be mentioned. The increasing population pressure in the countryside, inadequate and unequal soil structure, low agricultural productivity, natural disasters, blood feuds, the migration of the unemployed labor force to the city because of the mechanization in agriculture and especially the increasing terror and security reasons in recent years constitute ‘the pushing effects’ of the village.

The factors that attract the population to the city are the income differences between rural and urban areas, the more contemporary and more easily accessible education and health facilities, the attractiveness of city and city life, the hope of finding a job, the expectation of a higher standard of living, the desire to benefit from social and cultural opportunities and transportation facilities. The speed of urbanization process in Turkey has increased very intensively with rural-urban migration caused by some other reasons besides the population growth rate such as mechanization in agriculture, increase in communication and transportation possibilities, the attraction of the city etc. especially in the 1950s and the attraction of the cities.

In the first years of the Republic, the ratio of the urban population to the total population is 24.2% and the ratio of the village population is 75.8%. According to data of 1990, while 59.0% of the population is urban and 41% is village population (Bayhan 1997), the ratio of people living in provincial and district centres, according to data of 2017 of Turkish Statistical Institutions, is 92.5%. In light of these data, though it is possible to say that Turkey’s population evolved from rural to urban, within the framework of quantitative view, it is rather difficult to say that it transformed from an agrarian society into that of an industrial one.

2.2 Conceptualization of the City in the Context of ‘Place’ and ‘Space’

There are some differences in defining the city between the western literature and the Turkish one. The main reason of this is that the city in the West and Turkey went through different historical and social development stages. However, the cultural meanings of the concepts of “urban” and “rural” in western thought/literature are problematic and contain significant contradictions. While some Western thinkers interpreted cities and urbanites as carriers of ‘progress’, ‘civilization’ and ‘enlightenment; extraordinary products of human creativity (Bookchin 2014:18), some interpreted as anomie, social deviation, moral degeneration and factors lead-
ing to the destruction of society. In another perspective, cities are the places where “progress”, “disorder”, “social problems” and “liberation” can coexist (Holton 1999:11-12). These thoughts emerging in the West are based in part on the concept of ‘ideal type’ in Weberian style. However, most explanations lack historical depth and may prevent analysis of change (Thorns 2004: 24). Holton (1999: 14-15) describes this problematic analysis as follows; the political and moral qualities of citizenship, such as self-governing ability and the right of free people to participate in politics, have thus made the city, a unit limited to social and spatial aspects, a part of a cultural tradition that allows it to integrate with positive values. This clearly contributed to the contemporary conflict between urban and rural.

Looking at the historical process, it is seen that the main factor underlying urbanization is the industrial revolution. The Industrial Revolution not only changed production relations, production processes, and economic structures but played a decisive role in the formation of modern civilization. This decisive and transforming role can also be seen in the formation of cities: in this context, the Industrial Revolution has led to “the transformation of the cities into the centers of production of secondary goods within the structural transformation. The use of technology and its associated modern agricultural inputs (such as irrigation, fertilization, and greenhouse) in agricultural production areas have increased productivity and has revealed untapped intensive unused workforce. The new energy sources and technology used in the production of secondary goods in urban areas have transferred this workforce to the cities with the job supply it creates... The population is concentrated in urban areas in the industrial-based economic development process. While London, the capital of England which was the sole industrial country of the 19th century, was the only city with a population over one million, in the second half of the 20th century, especially in Europe, certain cities of countries and regions became metropolises organizing both population and capital transfers due to the intensive migrations” (Tatlıdil 2003: 334 -335).

The urban phenomenon, which is embodied by the Industrial Revolution, dates historically back to older times. However, the historical past of the city will not be addressed here. The subject will be confined to the describing the city and urbanization. The difference in literature related to the distinction between urban and rural was emphasized. However, this difference is not only due to the perception of Western sociologists. It is also possible to see these differences in the scientific circles in our coun-
try. There is an emphasis on certain features or functions of the city on the basis of these differences in the conceptualization of the city.

For example, Kıray defines the city as “the forms of settlement in which non-agricultural production is done and, more importantly, forms of settlement that have reached levels of size, heterogeneity and integration according to the specific technological levels in which control functions of the distribution of agricultural and non-agricultural production are gathered” (1998: 28) and emphasizes the diversity of population composition. Sencer (1979:8) defines the city as “a settlement with a population of over 10,000 people, a differentiated and organized physical, social and administrative unity, mostly concentrated in non-agricultural areas” and highlights non-agricultural activities and the style of administrative classification. While emphasizing similar features, Aslanoğlu (2000: 13) makes a different definition; “the fact that a city is a place where non-agricultural production is carried out, control functions are collected, there is a certain level of size, heterogeneity and integration” get to the foreground in this definition.”

Sennett, on the other hand, describes the city from a very different perspective; “The more cities there are possibly the more different ways to detect what a city is. So a simple definition may sound appealing. The simplest one might be: The city is a humanitarian settlement, possibly where strangers come together. In order for this definition to be true, the settlement must have a large, heterogeneous population, the population must be concentrated, and this intense, heterogeneous mass of human interchange of markets should interact with each other” (2013: 62).

Alptekin (2014:41), acting from the distinction of place and space, verbalizes the city with the following statements; “place” refers to non-urban societies, “space” refers to the environment of the people living in the cities, and ‘advanced space’ refers to the living area of people who have been reformed their space with comprehensive plans in the urban environment. The last situation has come to the agenda with urban transformation projects today. In terms of the “place”, there is no formalization at the first stage. However, urban space represents the formalized place, on the other hand, the places that were subjected to urban transformation in the urban space represent the places where advanced spatial formalization is carried out.”

Contrary to popular opinion, Cansever defines city as “the place that shapes social life and the relations between human beings, where social
distances are most at stake, where relations are most concentrated (2010: 17).

Mumford emphasizes the city’s complex functions and cultural contradictions, “The city is a complex of functions that are interrelated and constantly interacting with each other rather than a cluster of structures; it is not a concentration of power on its own, but it is also a polarization of culture as well (2007:108-109).

The city is the place in which there are the division of labor and specialization, and unlike rural communities in which the face to face communication have weakened and where homogeneity is eliminated and a heterogeneous social structure emerges (Kurt 2003: 16). According to Wirth, “For sociological purposes, a city is a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of heterogeneous individuals. Large numbers account for individual variability, the relative absence of intimate personal acquaintance, the segmentalization of human relations which are largely anonymous, superficial, and transitory, and associated characteristics” (1938:1). Saunders argues that the city is not only the place where a large number of people live but also that the city is a legal and political entity (quoted in Thorns 2004: 2), which is often the place where local government and economic activity and leisure and leisure activities are located. Castells states that the city is “‘the city’ is not a framework but a social practice in constant flux, the more it becomes an issue, the more it is a source of contradictions and the more its social manipulation is linked to the ensemble of social and political conflicts. A whole series of relationships thus grows up between the conflictual field, specifically linked to urban contradictions, and the conjuncture of social movements.” (1982:93).

At this point, the city is described as a kind of organization of social movements and social practices. Aslanoğlu (1995:88) defines the city as “the places which grow by enclosing the rural areas, in which twenty for hours of the urban individuals are planned for their functions of dwelling-working-entertainment and production and consumption are materialized.”

Looking at this framework, it is clear that it is necessary to emphasize a distinction in the sense of ‘place’ and ‘space’. The place is the pre-urban settlement area. In a sense, it can be expressed as areas inhabited by non-urban communities. ‘Space’ is fictional and planned. It is an area designed for both physical and social activities. This fictitious structure is not only made by urban transformation today, but it can be mentioned that any settlement designed as an urban area in the past has been spatialisation.
2.3 Internal Migration and Urbanization in Turkey

In Turkey, which has a dynamic demographic structure, the population is increasing rapidly on the one hand, and it experienced a high-speed rural-to-urban migration phenomenon on the other. The speed of this process, compared to the past, has reached a certain saturation in terms of migration from the countryside to the city and has slowed down. Urban-urban migration seems to continue for different reasons. Many big cities, especially Istanbul, get their share and the big cities are dragged towards the anomic/chaotic structure.

In terms of urbanization in Turkey, especially in the 1950s is the breaking point. Turkey’s success in not taking part in the Second World War and the change of political power by going through multi-party political life constitutes the main framework of this break. Until this period, there were no major changes in Turkey’s the rate of rural and urban populations.

However, since the 1950s, Turkey has pursued a much higher urbanization rate than that of other countries in the world. The ratio of the population living in the city to the general population in the world in 1800 was 7.9%, 17.2% in 1900, 27.2% in 1950 and 36.3% in 1970 (Kılınç 1993: 149). By 2014, this rate had reached 54%, and according to estimated calculations, it is expected that the population living in cities in 2050 will reach 66%.

When we look at the urbanization rate in Turkey, we see that it is far above the world average. For example, according to the census results of 1927, 75.8% of the population lives in rural areas and 24.2% in urban areas. In 1950, 75% lived in rural areas and 25% lived in urban areas. The increase in the rate of urbanization from 1927 to 1950 is only 0.8%. In 1985, for the first time in Turkey, the urban population stood in front of the rural population. By 2000, the rural population declined to 35%, while the urban population was 65%. In 2017, the urban population including the district centers reached 92.5%.

In the 1950s, a radical change in economic and political structure began to occur in Turkey. The Menderes government played a major role in this change, beginning to pass a more liberal economy than the mixed economic Model. The changes in the social structure created by the changes in the political and economic areas have played a decisive role in Turkey’s migration process and the resulting urbanization process.

Migrant masses coming from the countryside to cities form the basic dynamics of urbanization and form the social and economic structure of
the country. Urbanization process since the 1950s in our country has been stimulated by internal factors created by especially demographic reasons, changes in agricultural structure (low productivity, land fragmentation, etc.) pulling, pushing, communicative, political, legal and socio-psychological reasons. On the other hand, the external factors such as the international economic and political events, especially Marshall Relief, after the Second World War, and the effects of globalization on Turkey today have affected this process very closely and deeply.

The pushing factors affecting urbanization in Turkey, the inadequacy of the economic structure in the countryside in general, the extremely heavy social living conditions, and forced migration to the city made this migration permanent.

In the 1950s, the pushing effects such as the introduction of mechanization and the surplus labor that came to an idle position as a result of this, the structural changes in agriculture, the lack of soil, the fragmentation of existing inadequate soils by inheritance, the switch to market economy instead of the family economy, the scarcity of income per capita, lack of education, health and other infrastructure possibilities, blood feuds, and the killings of honour and terror have led to the mass levels of rural to urban migration.

The reasons we can specify as pulling reasons in terms of urban life are the economic possibilities provided by urban life (more private and public business opportunities) social, cultural fields of attraction, better opportunities in education and health than in rural areas and a better life expectancy.

Transmitting causes are not directly influencing the rural to urban migration, but they have the ability to increase the efficiency of pulling factors. The transmitters have influenced the decision of the inhabitants of the countryside to migrate by ensuring that rural residents have more direct knowledge of the city and are more easily accessible to the city. The most important of transmissive causes are the technological advances in the field of transportation and communication. To summarize these briefly;

- the development and expansion of road transport and vehicles after 1950 (in addition to rail transport),
- the development of roadway network quality and road quality,
- cheapening carriage transportation vehicles (commercial and private) and travel fees,
• the fact that air travel has become more prevalent and easier to obtain due to its expansion and cheapness,
• the increase in fixed telephone facilities, satellite communication,
• mobile phone,
• the development of computer, tablet and internet technologies can be considered among the reasons.

Today, communications technologies that have emerged as a result of globalization have helped even the most remote people to have instant information directly on the internet and to be aware of what is going on in the world.

After listing the factors affecting migration, it is necessary to consider the internal migration process in Turkey. It is possible to divide the Migration in Turkey periods from 1950 to 2000 into three;

• The first period of urbanization between 1927 and 1950, the “stagnant period”
• The second period between the years 1950-1980, “dynamic period”
• The third period covering the years 1980-2000 period can be described as the “uncontrolled and agnomical urbanization period” in which mass migration waves were experienced.

In the first two periods, it can be said that urbanization emerged by the role of pulling and pushing factors in urbanization. In the third period, it is possible to say that besides the pulling, pushing and transmitting factors, other factors are also engaged. In the 1980s, Turkey’s separatist PKK terrorism emerged on ethnic grounds in the East and Southeast Region (later in a period it leaked to the cities) and led to the emergence of dramatic and massive migration in these regions. The safety of life and property concern of the citizens living in the area and the influence of the security forces from time to time have caused them to migrate from the countryside to the same city or another city on a mass scale. Notably, metropolitan cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and İzmir, the cities of Antalya, Kocaeli, Bursa, Adana, and Mersin have been exposed to this intense migration. These cities were forced to face new problems such as infrastructure shortages, slums, unemployment, snatching, theft, and terror. Today, with the decline of social control and the increase of social distance, life in big cities has become extremely complicated, insecure and unbearable.
3 Township Associations/Societies

The relationship forms and interaction networks developed in rural areas and in urban spaces have always been of interest to thinkers. They have tried to explain these relationships and interaction networks in general with dichotomic concepts. For example; different sociologists have developed models to analyse community structures and the forms of relationships produced by them by using dual/Multi-class classifications such as Community/Society by Tönnies, Ethnic Society/Demotic Society by Giddings, military Society/industrial society by Spencer and mechanical Solidarity/organic Solidarity by Durkheim. The traditional type of emotional solidarity relationship that Durkheim refers to as mechanical solidarity emphasizes the relations and interaction patterns that arise in rural areas. Every form of relationship changes depending on time and space and gains new forms and contents. However, this situation does not remove the difference based on urban-rural discrimination. As the countryside changes and transforms in itself, the city also changes and transforms itself, creating new networks of relationships and forms of interaction. While contemporary societies form formal networks of relationships on the basis of law and individual, informal relationship interactions continue to dominate emerging social structures with traditional structural features.

Sociologists who have taken the separation of Tönnies have often taken the city as the opposite of rural/village and have built their analysis on it. The essence of this distinction is an “ideal type” in Weberian style. Communities, according to Tönnies, are homogeneous communities small in number consisting of the individuals undifferentiated in terms of race, ethnicity, and culture, and warm, sincere, internal intimate relations exist among these individuals. Societies, on the other hand, are large and heterogeneous communities that are differentiated in terms of race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, cultural values. In this dichotomic conceptualization of Tönnies, community points out the rural and society points out the urban (Bal 2006:27).

The immigration and urbanization process in the West was shaped after the industrial revolution. The West has shaped the individual model that it wants to create both through the educational system (through the ideological instruments of the state), work relations and the legal norms, and has largely formed it. As a result, individuals in the West have been shaped as autonomous in the sense of identity, in contractual relations with the state, and the rational thinking capitalist individuals in social life. For
this reason, Western individuals began to experience alienation and feeling rootless in a much earlier process. The model of the capitalist western individual is seriously questioned today. This individual model who puts his own interests in the center and respects the rights of others in this direction has reached a significant level of material prosperity, but alone in the inner world, who does his work honestly, but is alienated to his work, who lives in the calculation and planning of every area of his, is the dominant subject of Western societies.

In non-Western societies, informal relationship types are common though in different types and qualities. We can do the formal-informal separation not only in the Western and non-Western societies but also in terms of the individuals living in rural and urban areas within a country and the relationships they have developed. Urban spaces are dominated by formal relationships (with no western meaning), whereas rural areas are dominated by informal relationships based on kinship, relationship, and family ties.

In the urban environment, individuals, who moved to urban areas after migration, have not found the possibility of maintaining primary relationships based on blood relations such as kinship, relationship, etc., which they have developed in rural areas where they lived before. The individual who began to live in modern urban spaces entered the process of re-identification through the status and role that the division of labor and specialization gained to itself. At the same time, this situation, which means resocialization, has allowed the individual to integrate with the society (valid for the individuals living in the city for a certain period of time). The resulting prototype of this individual is no longer an individual in the countryside, nor an individual who has blended the city for many years: it is now a new urban identity. Wirth states that even if the relationship with people in urban spaces harmonizes with their networks, they bear the traces of the network of relationships that they lived in the past and continues “Since the city is the product of growth rather than of instantaneous creation, it is to be expected that the influences which it exerts upon the modes of life should not be able to wipe out completely the previously dominant modes of human association. To a greater or lesser degree, therefore, our social life bears the imprint of an earlier folk society, the characteristic modes of settlement of which were the farm, the manor, and the village. This historic influence is reinforced by the circumstance that the population of the city itself is in large measure recruited from the countryside, where a mode of life reminiscent of this earlier form of exis-
tence persists. Hence we should not expect to find abrupt and discontinuous variation between urban and rural types of personality. The city and the country may be regarded as two poles in reference to one or the other of which all human settlements tend to arrange themselves. In viewing urban-industrial and rural-folk society as ideal types of communities, we may obtain a perspective for the analysis of the basic models of human association as they appear in contemporary civilization” (1938: 3).

Cities are dynamic units in structure and quality. There is no possibility to talk about a standard city and a standard city culture. The city has a constant and rapid changing identity, even if it only lives through the urbanization process with its own dynamics. In particular, Foucault argues that the power structures are making the body transformation of a subject through a series of spatial designs, and that the powers acting by an individual-oriented strategy have established their own space, and explains it as “There are rooms: one sleeps, eats, receives visitors in them, it doesn’t matter which. Then gradually space becomes specified and functional. We see this illustrated with the building of the cites ouvrieres, between the 1830s and 1870s. The working-class family is to be fixed; by assigning it a living space with a room that serves as kitchen and dining-room, a room for the parents which is the place of procreation, and a room for the children, one prescribes a form of morality for the family. Sometimes, in the more favourable cases, you have a boys’ and a girls’ room. A whole history remains to be written of spaces-which would at the same time be the history of powers” (1980: 149).

Urbanization takes place in two ways: one through natural population increase in it and the other through migration from rural or other cities. Urbanization is, of course, not just a morphological and demographic process. It is a multidimensional process/phenomenon involving social, economic, political, anthropological, socio-psychological and cultural effects and consequences.

When we look at the developing societies today, it is possible to say that cities are constantly growing in terms of population components and that there are an intense migration movement and urbanization connected to them. In this process, the way in which the social interaction and solidarity patterns of the established urban residents and of the new urban residents change has also emerged as an important problematic area. In this context, many scholars and researchers from different disciplines point out that, aside from solving the emotional solidarity bonds peculiar to these rural areas, it is natural to reproduce them and the emotional-solidarity
side of the bonds in the traditional society becomes the driving force of urban life (Önen 1997: 450). This is discussed as a new process in the context of re-identification, the understanding of citizenship of enlightenment, and the problems of modernization.

Urbanization process does not emerge in the same forms in developed industrial societies and developing societies. In modern societies, the differences between rural and urban living standards and styles have gradually decreased. However, in developing countries (such as Turkey) the difference continues to exist in favor of the city. The difference in quality of life between urban and rural areas are getting bigger. The fact that the experience of urban life is new in developing countries; the limitation of economic opportunities, the lack of infrastructure in urban settlements, the inadequate development of social organization, the inability of social institutions to form, and the inexorable mass migration of immigrants are transforming the process of urbanization into an unmanageable and problematic process. The uncontrolled growth and the economic structure that causes new problems to be added and the stakeholders governing it are inadequate in solving the chronic unemployment problems. The problem is not limited to this. The problems that force big masses to leave their own countries have not been resolved; further, no policy has been developed for the solution of problems such as marriage, employment and urban integration in the urban areas where immigrants come as a result of immigration (Bayraktar 2003).

These random, uncontrolled and anomic urbanization processes in our country have revealed significant problems that local and central governments have failed to solve. Newcomers to the city have tried to develop new relationship networks and solution mechanisms to solve these problems. At the beginning of these mechanisms are the citizens’ associations based on the informal relationship.

Township associations/organizations are a reality of Turkey that comes into existence, not as a result of natural urbanization (the growth of the city with its own dynamics) but are brought about as a result of the process caused by migration and have both positive and negative effects on urbanization.

Township associations did not have the feature of being a topic that was discussed too much until recently. As these relations were considered, “close to the traditional between the modern and the traditional or close to the rural between urban society and rural one, and they were accepted to be a form of social relations, which is often temporary or will be lost soon-
er or later” (Kurtoğlu 2004:17), much emphasis was not laid on it and it did not take the attention of the academic circles.

These associations, during the first period of their establishment, served as tampon points where the new urbanites had adapted to the city. Today, however, these structures have entered into a “struggle for interests in an institutional and individual sense” (Özdemir 2014: iii) as a political actor, especially in the political sphere. These structures do not only affect the political sphere, they can also emerge with different functions such as pressure and interest group, non-governmental organization, trade union and cultural harmony unit. In this sense, these institutions may function as tampon institutions. According to Kıray, “we use the term ‘tampon mechanisms’ for these newly established institutions, values, and functions that enable the change to be non-depressing, prevent the dissolution and not belong to both of the social structures. By means of these “tampon mechanisms”, the various aspects of the social structure are interconnected and the parties that are not part of the functional whole are lost. In this way, there is a possibility that the society can remain in an equilibrium in the formation of a change in moderate speed” (2000: 20).

Here, we should mention the concept of ‘township’ and ‘fellow-townsman’. Migration is at the core of the notion of ‘homeland’, ‘township’ and ‘fellow-townsman’. In the general sense, the concept of the homeland can be defined as “the whole territory under the sovereignty of a state, the country” (TLS). In more specific terms, the concept of the country emphasizes the bond and longing of the countryside in the newly come place. It is a geographical concept at its core but emphasizes sociologically to the belonging of the individual (where he is born and raised, and where he is enrolled in the cult or the population). In other words, if we were to define the homeland, its first meaning is the land of the nation. In this sense, the homeland is the feminine geography, the motherland, where the nation is located and/or took its roots. The second meaning of ‘homeland’ the land of the family. In this sense, homeland defines the geography where the family settled and rooted. The ‘homeland’ in the sense of family land is masculine because the land of the family is the land of father/ancestor. In the sense of ‘Fatherland’, it may be either inside or outside the homeland, but it refers to a geographical area that is narrower than the homeland. The relationship of the country with the cases of ‘township’ and ‘fellow-townsman’ is in this second meaning” (Kurtoğlu 2005:5).

The concept of fellow-townsman can be conceptualized in the sense that it comes from the place where it is born and grown, from the same
geographical origin. Therefore, it can also be stated as the subjective affinity of an individual coming from a certain geographic area to the one with whom he or she has adopted the same social culture and system of values.

Accordingly, “the fellow-townsmenship also identifies identity and/or identities that indicate belonging to a geographical area at the same time and the relationship networks which are established on the basis of the common cultural characteristics shared by those whose country is the same place in the context of urban spaces and organizational and associative practices developed through this relationship networks (Kurtoğlu 2004:19). Fellow-townsmanship at first step is defined as a person of the same geographical origin, while there is no criterion at the point of relationality or situationality of who is regarded to be their townsman. However, individuals do not come from the same geographical background, but they can classify each other as fellow-townsmen. In the context of the networks of relations created in daily life, fellow-townsmenship also refers to a social identity. From this point of view, the relations of the township can be described as a conceptualization of ethnicity.

These bonds developed between the fellow townsmen and the interactions created by them sometimes function at the level of social identity. We mean that individuals who don’t know each other, the physical appearance of each other, the speech of each other, etc. categorize each other by reference to a geographical area by looking at some characteristics and evaluate each one in the categories ‘we’ and ‘they’ (Kurtoğlu 2005:6).

Housing and employment problems are the first problems of migrants/new urban migrants who immigrated to the city. The problem in the next stage is the problem of adaptation to urban culture or integration with urbanisation/urbanism in sociological terms. The fact that central and local governments are indifferent or inadequate in solving these problems leaves immigrants face to face with the fact that they have to solve them on their own. They try to adhere and adapt to the city with the strategies based on their informal relationship networks.

It is assumed that the people who immigrated to the city would be resocialized and adapt themselves to the new patterns of behaviour. According to this acceptance, the influence of traditional and old methods will cease to exist and will accept new patterns of behavior within the framework of new cultural codes. However, it is not realistic for our country to assume that the interaction between the traditional and the modern is in favor of modernity in terms of facts and social practices, and therefore the interac-
tion between rural and urban is entirely in favor of the city (Yılmaz 2008:8-9).

Immigrants who immigrate to the city have some natural tendencies to adapt to the strange city environment, to solve their problems and to maintain traditional relationships. These orientations begin with solidarity based on kinship ties and continue in the form of citizen solidarity.

In this context, the new identity and informal relationship networks emerging due to the relations of the citizenship are taken into consideration for the new immigrants in the city, and they continue to change their qualities in the future when necessary in terms of the benefits they provide. (Yılmaz 2008: 13). This change and transformation extend to the formation of township associations.

In the developing and transforming process, township associations can often move away from the purpose of serving the country they adopt as their foundation and evolve into new interactions and interest relations on an individual basis for their own members. These associations act as a political pressure group by entering into relations with clientelist patronage when appropriate and they become a reference group of commercial relations if it need be.

4 Conclusion

Cities are living spaces designed, fictionalized for individuals. Cities are the spatial units which grow both by their own dynamics and by enclosing the rural areas, in which twenty for hours of the urban individuals are planned for their functions of dwelling-working-entertainment and production and consumption are materialized.

The process of urbanization, on the other hand, means that, with social change, civilizations are adopted and developed in this way through the cultural change experienced by the individuals in urban environments. They are the areas where ‘other’ and ‘different’ are encountered and the necessity of living together occur. This is very important for the coexistence of living culture and social integration.

Urbanization with another expression is the period in which urbanization that occurs after migration creates a change in people’s behaviour, life styles, cultural patterns, and value judgments. Urbanization, which depicts the transition from tradition to modernity, creates a cultural shade in new migrants. The individual wavers between traditionalism and modernity.
that he/she tries to hold. The individual is scattered among the dual cultural patterns. On the one hand, he tries to protect his own culture of the region and to adopt the urban culture he enters into. On the one hand, he tries to protect his own culture of the region and to adopt the urban culture he enters into. Township associations come into play paradoxically at this point. These associations, on the one hand, prepare the ground for the individual to preserve the traditional/local culture, while on the other hand, make it easier to adapt to the urban culture. Urbanization is an easier learning process for the second generation born to the city. If the children do not live indoors (in ghetto-style places), they will experience this process faster and adapt to less problematic situations, both with the peer group and the school environment. This does not apply to the first generation. The first generation of immigrants (parents) tend to maintain their relations with the people from the same country, so they are in a position to take a more conservative attitude in the cultural sense and to stand up to urbanisation. Township associations, in a sense, represent local culture and try to sustain and strengthen it. In this context, local culture is the culture produced by smaller groups of people within the nation/country through the concepts of citizenship/geography. The local culture produced in the country is also tried to live and develop in the place where it started to reside after the migration. The concept of Culture and its components cannot be restricted to the geographical boundaries of a country, and a large number of different local sub-cultures can occur within the national borders of a country.

“These informal solidarity networks, which emerged as a result of the cooperation of the individuals” who immigrated to the city, “made it possible to maintain pre-migration relations in urban areas” (Bayraktar 2003:107). This situation has resulted in a few positive/negative results. At the beginning of the positive impact and results, people who migrate to the city are more easily held in the city through community associations. They benefit from the serious contributions of these associations at the point of housing and employment. In addition, the individual who has the opportunity to continue his traditional relations in the countryside in a new environment does not experience the problem of isolation and alienation. According to Giddens, “Ontological security in the pre-modern world has to be understood primarily in relation to contexts of trust, and forms of risk or danger, anchored in the local circumstances of place” (1996:100).

Individuals who migrate from the countryside try to identify the city and cling to the city through the people they already know or have met in
the city. The township that has the characteristics of identity for the people who come from the same geography and who share the same/similar culture is extremely important in terms of not losing their origin in the city and trying to keep the cult where it comes from. This situation protects the individual to a certain extent from losing his/her roots and alienation. The residential units that allow the local culture to live in the urban space and save the local culture from the yoke of urban culture are a result of the tendency of the townsmen to act together (Erdumlu, 2012).

The traditional emotional and solidarist cultural ties between the citizens who have begun to come together in the city after migration begin to move to the legal ground with the establishment of the townsmen associations. The social organizations held by townsmen associations create an environment for the members to meet under the citizen identity and to continue the local culture in the urban space. Associations inform members of their members in important moments such as circumcision, wedding, engagement, funeral, and try to strengthen local solidarity by providing participation of other members to these activities.

The members of Townsman Association try to eliminate the needs of the new migrants with the dues, donations and the aid they collect. At certain intervals, or at certain times, the members are brought together with the participation of local artists, organizing the night (such as the Night for People from Blacksea Region), festival (cherry festival, hazelnut festival etc.) or highland festivals. Through these activities, in which the examples of local culture are offered, local culture is tried to be kept alive and efforts are made to eliminate members’ longing for the country and make these people socialised.

At the same time, the associations try to strengthen their members and their families economically. The shopping is made from its members, thus preventing the money from going ‘to someone else’ and the economic activities of the members are also made confined to the local culture. Political activities and preferences of members of the association are also influenced. Often political candidates who are their townsmen are supported in elections for mukhtars, municipal councils, mayors regardless of their political party and political opinion. In this way, the relations of patronage in cultural, economic and political fields are tried to be maintained through locality/countrymanship. Today, the participation of political parties at the level of President or representative of the activities organized by the townsmen associations shows the importance of the role of these associations in the political arena.
In addition to the positive features of the Townsman associations, which we have tried to sort out above (they act as a tampon in a sense), we also need to look at the negative consequences that are involved. New urbanites who enter into solidarity with their compatriots, acquire houses in the same apartment or neighborhood, and work on the same lines start to feel no need for integration with the city. Immigrants who started to live in the urban environment they lived before the migration might not need to integrate with the city and adapt to the urban culture. In fact, they begin to break around some social identities in the form of ‘we’ and ‘they’ (the people from Trabzon, Sivas, Diyarbakir, the Laz people, Kurds, Alevis, Sunnis, etc.) in the process. They begin to form social distances to the other by creating new ‘cultural islands’ (by ghettoisation) by themselves. Instead of social integration, this situation triggers decomposition and leads to urban tensions in the process. In the past, the negative consequences of tensions based on ethnic, religious, regional identities, which occasionally occurred in major metropolitan cities, have been a bitter experience in our country. Therefore, although the aim of the townsman associations is to provide economic, social, political and cultural support to the members of their identity, they can cause such problems and results to emerge without being desired or targeted. Townsman associations, which in essence encourage political participation, can change the orbit of democratic politics through the patronage relations they create.

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Is it a Tampon Institution in the Urbanization Process?


Cultural Barriers Female Entrepreneurs Face in Turkey*

Sevda Mutlu**

1 Introduction

Recently, we have been witnessing the encouragement given to female entrepreneurship, which is regarded as the driving power behind global economic growth and development, in the world and in Turkey. We understand the importance of the issue from its reflection in academic studies as well. From a sociological perspective, the development of female entrepreneurship in a society is important not only in terms of economic value but in terms of that society’s socio-cultural change and development too. In particular in developing societies, we can argue that women have gravitated towards entrepreneurship as a result of their struggle to exist in the public area. The more women are present in the public area of a society, the more that society develops.

Female entrepreneurship is encouraged more in Turkey through positive discrimination. However, despite all this support and encouragement, there are numerous barriers female entrepreneurs face. Although these barriers are primarily the low educational level of women, not being able to find capital and not being able to reach the required procedures and knowledge, etc., cultural barriers are most dominant due to their invisible aspects. The leading cultural barriers are the patriarchal values, social understanding of gender, traditional identity and its roles. Many women face these invisible barriers right from the beginning, when they are on the verge of deciding to be entrepreneurs and are not able to make it possible since they cannot get permission and approval. Those who are able to make entrepreneurship possible are also limited by these invisible barriers.

* Some of the information present in this study has been taken from the study: Mutlu Sevda (2015), Geleneksel Kimlikle Modern Kimlik Arasında Sıkışan Girişimci Kadınlar (Entrepreneur Women who are Stuck between Traditional Identity and Modern Identity), Alim Kitap Publishing, Germany.

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The removal of these invisible barriers which are social, historical and cultural in origin is not something which can be carried out all of a sudden. This is a long-term sociological process. The change which takes place in sentimental/spiritual culture is more resistant and slow compared to material culture. In addition, it embodies contradictions and conflicts as well; therefore, it takes longer for change in spiritual culture to take place and it is more compelling.

All female entrepreneurs in world societies relatively face these cultural barriers and struggle against them depending on their development level of their countries. Not only the women in the eastern parts of the world or those in less developed countries, but female entrepreneurs in the west and developed countries struggle against patriarchal values, social understanding of gender, traditional identity and the roles it brings. This struggle displays relative differences depending on the development level of countries. Turkey displays a society which is experiencing the transition from traditionalism to modernity. Although there is opposition between what is modern and what is traditional, there is also a state of unity. In a traditional society, religion is in the foreground, women are kept away from social and public life and are limited with domestic roles; in short, it is a structure in which women are prevented from opening up to the world which is outside their homes and patriarchal gender roles are dominant. On the other hand, a modern society carries the characteristics of a liberal structure, in which science is at the foreground, the understanding of secularism is established, equality is dominant in terms of social relationships, and individuals can display rationalist attitudes and can make their own decisions.

In this transition period, female entrepreneurs spend effort to be free of traditional identity and acquire modern identity. However, traditional identity’s being an ascribed status, being established and receiving the approval of the society and modern identity’s being acquired through effort, being new and in general not receiving the approval of the society makes the struggle of female entrepreneurs more difficult. On the other part, female entrepreneurs are also limited by the patriarchal individuals in their families (father, spouse, big brother, etc.). This passage between the two identities sometimes embodies certain conflicts as well. It is the conflict between a female entrepreneur and traditional domestic roles (cleaning, motherhood and caring for the elderly in some cases) and work life and the modern roles they wish to acquire (being able to exist in market relationships, having independence and freedom, being able to make their own decisions, having a social life, etc.) Female entrepreneurs who strug-
gle to meet incompatible expectations and most of the time attempt to assume all these roles experience conflict and in turn a feeling of being trapped. The role conflict in question prevents women from expanding their businesses, causes them not to be able to spend time for themselves and feel overwhelmed-oppressed as a result of extreme exhaustion.

Entrepreneurship in a sense also appears as an escape way to get rid of traditional identity for women. In this case, entrepreneurship for women who are not able to make use of educational opportunities and cannot be employed emerges as an area in which women can create their own luck. Women who become entrepreneurs without abandoning the accepted and approved roles related to their traditional identities and by overcoming numerous obstacles also spend effort to acquire a modern identity and its own roles as well. Female entrepreneurs’ constantly giving a struggle, assuming more responsibilities, not being able to spend time on themselves, getting extremely tired, feeling overwhelmed and oppressed prevent them from developing themselves as entrepreneurs and their businesses.

2 Female Entrepreneurship in Turkey and Its Cultural Barriers

In entrepreneurship literature, female entrepreneurship is defined as, “a woman who has a business located at some other place than her home on her own name, who works alone in a business or works with the people she has employed or has a partnership due to being a business owner, who communicates with various public and private organizations about the business in question, makes plans regarding the future of the business, has a say in the profit she makes from the business and investment and usage areas and assumes all risk about her business” (Ecevit, 1993:17). According to GEM’s report, it is estimated that there are 187 million female entrepreneurship activities in the world (GEM, 2012). In developed economies, about 80% of men and 66% of women are working economically in an active manner; however, these rates have not reflected women who are the owners of their own business and there are significant gaps between women and men (Marlow et. al, 2012:5).

Female entrepreneurs have unique difficulties and problems. In addition, we can say that social culture has an important effect. In literature, the difficulties female entrepreneurs face are grouped as: (1) personal factors (for instance, lack of education and self-confidence), (2) factors based on gender and family (for instance, responsibilities about family and social
gender discrimination), (3) factors related to the market in terms of accessing financing (for instance, government regulations and economic conditions are grouped under three basic premises) (Mordi, Simpson and Singh, 2010:15). Entrepreneurship is a process which requires dealing with numerous problems in all phases of establishing and sustaining a business and a compelling activity. However, female entrepreneurs need to deal with other problems besides all these. Due to not having external support which makes it possible for women to live their domestic and work lives in a balanced manner, role conflicts and family-work dilemma, the false notion that women cannot be productive in business life, society’s disapproval about women’s working outside the home and the view that entrepreneurship is more suitable for ‘men’s nature’ than women (Najimudinova, 2015: 11-12) are among the primary obstacles. Factors such as limitations on mobility (in traditional cultures, being inside four walls), double responsibility (home and work), the traditional view on the role of women in society, social gender inequality (Vinay and Singh, 2015: 45-47), the glass ceiling barrier, social positions and lack of communication, barriers arising from laws, stereotypical judgments (insecurity, lack of experience and expectation of failure), lack of time, social problems, lack of role models in entrepreneurship (Soysal, 2010: 77-78), are the barriers against female entrepreneurship. These barriers provide an explanation as to why there is small number of female entrepreneurs.

3 Social Gender

While the concept of “gender” refers to the universal biological differences between men and women, the concept of “social gender” defines the social relationships between men and women in accordance to a certain context and refers to the relationship between men and women and male and female children and how this relationship is formed socially (Social Gender Equality National Action Plan 2008–2013, 2008: 15). In Turkey, although there are similar barriers against female entrepreneurship which are discussed in female entrepreneurship literature, the most important barriers are based on social gender. Barriers based on genders influence the culture of the entrepreneurship and do not seem as if they support women in becoming entrepreneurs (Öğüt, 2006: 73). In a study on female entrepreneurs in Ankara, it has been argued that there is a problem of mentality about female entrepreneurship in terms of social gender and that
this could be solved by educating men (Takay et al., 2014:101-102). Female entrepreneurs face problems such as family and social pressure, lack of education and knowledge about the business in question, lack of self-confidence, financial impossibilities, not being taken seriously and lack of family support, prejudices and responsibilities towards children, family and the elderly (Özkaya and Geyikçi, 2009: 236). It is seen that female entrepreneurs face problems such as inexperience, education, not having the required business connections and most importantly, lack of capital besides social barriers such as family and social pressure related to gender and gender based role discrimination (Takay et al., 2014: 35). Entrepreneurship is defined by the culture of a given society. In terms of Turkish culture, it can be stated that female entrepreneurship has some unique characteristics. According to this, Turkish female entrepreneurs display a lower level of entrepreneurship (in comparison to a female entrepreneur who has been raised in an individualistic society), take less risks (in comparison to a female entrepreneur who has been raised in a society which has a lower level of avoiding uncertainty), have to struggle more with gender inequality (in comparison to a female entrepreneur who has been raised in a society which has low power distance) and wish to receive a recompense for their efforts in a short period of time (in comparison to a female entrepreneur who has been raised in a society which has long-term synchronization) (Morçin, 2013:187).

It is being argued that the position and conditions of female entrepreneurs are different than men’s in many ways. Social gender is male and patriarchal oriented and embodies inequality within itself. It is a structure in which men are dominant and norms which make men powerful and important operate and in return, women are pushed into the background. This structure is strengthened both by religious commentary and the implementations in the political and economic areas. At the same time, it continues by being reproduced over both male individuals and female individuals.

In the context of social gender, one of the problems faced by female entrepreneurs is the perception of male entrepreneurs of female entrepreneurs. In a study, it has been determined that the work carried out by some female entrepreneurs is belittled by men and that men do not take kindly to women’s being a part of business life. The negative behaviors of men towards female entrepreneurs being at the foreground in our country shows that some false values still have not changed (Can and Karata, 2007: 258). At this point, we can argue that the shattering of the structure
in which male dominant norms are valid annoys men and that is the reason why they belittle women for the work that they do. Gender based barriers arise from social roles: occupational gender discrimination is regarded as a reflection of gender roles on business life. In this respect, women display a horizontal occupational discrimination by concentrating on jobs which have been feminized and a vertical occupational discrimination by remaining in business lines which are at a lower level compared to men’s (Öğüt, 2006: 74).

It is meaningful that freedom, independence and the wish to realize oneself is strong for women who have been raised in our society’s cultural structure in which the traditional structure is not completely disintegrated and patriarchal values are dominant. The real purpose of women is that they wish to exist in the public sphere, because private sphere is in a way an area of deprivation and bereavement (Acar-Savran 2011:262). The distinction between the words “mahrem/namahrem” (private/not private) in our culture which are the equivalents of private area and public area perhaps expresses in a more apparent manner how culture places genders in separate places compared to the public/private distinction (İlyasoğlu, 1994: 110). Although women in Turkey have begun to make their presence felt in public areas such as education and employment with the modernization process, this has remained quite limited. The view of traditional norms and values regarding women are still very strong. When conflict is considered in the reality of a society in the process transition to modernity, its existence is a sign of change. We can say that women are spending effort to create this area of freedom as entrepreneurs which is not presented to them.

The studies also reveal this reality. Women are drawn to entrepreneurship in the strongest manner successively through “realizing their ideals,” “freedom, independence and self-realization,” “earning status and money” factors. “Being their own boss,” “doing their own professions,” “future of their children” and “market opportunity” are the strong factors which are of secondary place (Mutlu, 2015: 94-95) Entrepreneurship for women is preferred as a tool of freedom, independence and self-realization. In a study carried out in Eskişehir on potential female entrepreneurs, it has been determined that independence, freedom and self-realization are the most important sources of motivation (Özdemir, 2010: 128). It has been seen that female entrepreneurs from Israel have been motivated by independence and success (Lerner and Hisrich, 1997: 322). According to a study which compared female and male entrepreneurs in Bursa, while
“earning a lot money” as a source of motivation for entrepreneurship is 15.5% in men, it is only 1.9% in women (Başol, 2010: 94). It has been determined that the factors which attract entrepreneur candidates/trainees who wish to become entrepreneurs by receiving KOSGEB (small and medium enterprises development organization) support display differences. It was seen that while female trainees wish to become entrepreneurs because of “freedom”, “establishing social relationships” and “proving themselves,” male trainees wish to become entrepreneurs because of “earning a lot of money,” “having their own business” and “being their own boss” (Mutlu, 2014: 13). When the reasons which motivate female entrepreneurs in Ankara to become entrepreneurs are analyzed, it can be seen “being successful” individually, “being independent,” “not being able to remain idle” and “the wish to earn money” are the basic reasons (Takay et. al, 2014: 121). As the educational level of women decreases, the effect of these factors which motivate women to become entrepreneurs increases (Yetim, 2002: 87).

It has been determined that the strongest factor among the advantages female entrepreneurs achieve through entrepreneurship is “increase of self-confidence.” It has been observed that while “acquiring social respectability” and “development of social environment” successively are the next factors, the strength of “financial independence” remains lower compared to the other factors. These findings are in parallel with the other findings in literature (Mutlu 2015). It has been seen that female entrepreneurs in Mersin have acquired advantages through entrepreneurship such as “increase in self-confidence,” “increase of respect and reputation” and “being appreciated and having a say” (Çakıcı, 2006: 73). It has been determined that for women in Zonguldak, the advantage of “self-confidence” acquired through their entrepreneurship takes the first place and “feeling of success” and “financial independence” also bring a high amount of advantage, however “earning a lot of money” advantage remains as the last reason (Erdun, 211: 95). Among the advantages of being entrepreneurs for women in Konya, it has been determined that “feeling of success” and “independence and self-confidence” take the first two place but “earning a lot of money” is the last reason on the list (Şahin, 2009: 299). In the light of all these findings which indicate that women acquire the advantages of “increase of self-confidence” and “freedom” through their entrepreneurship, we can claim that they have overcome the traditional structure and patriarchal values. Since the traditional structure and patriarchal values push women into the background and do not allow

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women to have a say and give them rights, women experience self-confidence and freedom problems. While lack of confidence becomes a barrier against the entrepreneurship of women, we see that they reacquire their self-confidence through entrepreneurship. We can say that due to their entrepreneurship, women acquire “self-confidence” and “freedom” which are not given to them by the social structure.

4 Conflict between Traditional Identity and Modern Identity

A majority of women are not a part of business life; even if they are a part of business life, their primary roles are motherhood and doing house chores. They can be employed if they do not neglect these. Women cannot act freely and independently; their mobility is limited (Metin, 2011: 83-84). Traditional identity can be determined by gender culture. Gender culture which embodies and determines gender roles is a sub-part of culture which expresses how values, attitudes and behaviors towards gender should be, makes warnings about these, limits, guides and directs (Ersoy, 2009: 211). The construction of women’s traditional identity is the reality that the general tendency according to which cultural definitions about women are shaped by the family and the society and women are excluded from social life limit women’s living areas as well. Thus, while the traditional structure constructed on the male dominant understanding oppresses women and limits them with motherhood and being house wives, it also imprisons vital opportunities related to women within a narrow boundary (Aktas, 2013: 57). Women have become socialized by assuming this traditional identity and the roles arising from this identity from the moment they were born.

The process of modernization and acquiring a modern identity is difficult for most women. That is, the acquisition of modern values and the destruction of the traditional values concerns women the most. The process in which women shed traditional identity which is acquired through socialization, is internalized and is an ascribed identity and acquiring a modern identity can be an important preference for women, because traditional identity which the patriarchal values greatly internalize dominates women. Although women cannot completely shed this traditional identity and its roles, they spend effort to acquire the values of modern identity as well. However, modern identity is also an identity which can be acquired later on by receiving education, by becoming a part of business life and by
spending effort to change the existing ascribed values. Therefore, the acquisition of modern identity requires struggle and it embodies certain conflicts as well.

The findings of a study on women’s and men’s identity also show that women are more a part of the process of change compared to men and that “while women define themselves more during the transition from traditionalism to modernity, men define themselves traditionally” (Ersoy, 2009: 228-229). We can say that the process of modernization affects women more. That is, women have been able to make use of numerous opportunities such as education and employment with this process. Accordingly, they have begun to shed their traditional identity and roles. However, the things modernity brought did not cause a radical change in men’s lives in terms of identity. Men were able to make use of educational opportunities; they had freedom and could be employed. What is more, they were happy about women’s traditional identity.

5 Patriarchal Problems

One of the problems which is not approached much in Turkey in terms of female entrepreneurship is the problems entrepreneur women experience with the patriarchal individuals in their families (spouse, father, big brother, etc.). The problems experienced with the patriarchal individuals in the families as one of the basic factors which determine the entrapment between traditional identity and modern identity have been included in this study. Most of the time, patriarchal individuals limit women’s entrepreneurship by limiting the freedom of female entrepreneurs, interfering with their decisions (not allowing them to travel out of town for business, causing them difficulties when they have to work until late hours due to their businesses, etc.). The findings of a study show that women who experience less problems with patriarchal individuals experience the advantages of entrepreneurship more, whereas women who experience more problems with patriarchal individuals experience the disadvantages of entrepreneurship more (Mutlu, 2015:97-98) Women who experience less problems with patriarchal individuals can enjoy their freedom, their self-confidence increases and social environment grows. However, women who experience more problems with patriarchal individuals experience the disadvantages of entrepreneurship, in particular the intensity and the exhaustion more. In the light of these findings, we can argue that women are
both spending effort to do what is required for their business and experience intensity and exhaustion since they also try to meet the expectations of patriarchal individuals.

In the same study, it has been determined that the dimensions of the problem experienced with patriarchal individuals display differences depending on the reasons why women postpone their entrepreneurship activities. The problem score of female entrepreneurs who experience problems with patriarchal individuals and express that they have postponed their activities since they could not get the permission of their families has been observed to be higher than the scores of women who have expressed different reasons. It has been determined that women who experience less problems with patriarchal individuals experience less problems (Mutlu, 2015:113-114) To underline shortly, the entrepreneurship of women who experience problems with patriarchal individuals can be delayed and those who are already entrepreneurs are not able to make their business grow. In other words, women who experience fewer problems with patriarchal individuals develop their entrepreneurship and expand their businesses. Problems experienced with patriarchal individuals limit and restrict the entrepreneurship of women.

6 Role Conflict

Entrepreneur women having to remain at home, take care of their children and do house chores besides being in charge of their business outside their homes and doing business follow-up causes them to experience role conflicts. Role conflicts in general cause female entrepreneurs to experience high levels of stress, intensity and exhaustion and prevent them from expanding their business.

Women who assume multiple roles such as spouses, mothers and workers have a high level of stress (Khan, 2015: 308). Since entrepreneur women need to take care of their business besides being responsible for their families, house chores and bringing up their children, they are not able to allocate sufficient time to expand their businesses. Therefore, female entrepreneurs may not find enough time to apply to support organizations, banks and other financial organizations for loans, information and consultancy, to attend educational programs to acquire skills and do research to find better clients or suppliers. In this context, time management is an important barrier for many female entrepreneurs. In general, female
entrepreneurs complain of not being able to allocate enough time for their families due to exhaustion and too many responsibilities (Oyuryüz and Gürel, 2015: 53). Among the problems faced by female entrepreneurs in Kahramanmaraş after they establish their business, it has been determined that role conflict takes the first place (Soysal, 2010: 88).

It has been seen that female entrepreneurs in Ankara in general keep their mother identity at the foreground and that while “mother” identity takes the first place with 63,4% in their social identity definitions, “business woman” identity takes the second place with 41,46% (Takay et. al, 2014: 110). Social structures such as work, family and social life directly affect the opportunities of female entrepreneurship. Since women are held more responsible for their families in almost all cultures and world societies in comparison to men, they experience role conflict more intensely. Role conflict is a situation which limits female entrepreneurs. Women are firstly expected to be good mothers and spouses who are aware of their responsibilities. If a woman has preferred to be an entrepreneur, she is expected to be a good businesswoman without neglecting her mother and spouse roles. Women who cannot overcome this conflict are criticized firstly by their immediate families (spouses and other family members) and environments and in a sense, face community pressure. In these cases, female entrepreneurs need to develop strategies to overcome role conflict.

In cases where roles cannot be shared, women get overwhelmed and feel oppressed with a sense of being trapped. “Lack of family and social support for women creates an identity crisis in women during the entrepreneurship process. This situation can endanger the sustainability of their entrepreneurship activities. In this context, creating awareness in social and family support for female entrepreneurship appears as an important fact” (Takay et al., 2014: 110). The findings of another study show this reality as well. In this study, it has been concluded that women who receive the support of their spouses are more successful in their entrepreneurship activities. It has been determined that women who can share roles are more successful in their entrepreneurship activities as well. Additionally, the entrepreneurship of women who experience problems with patriarchal individuals can be delayed and those who postpone their entrepreneurship are not able to expand their businesses (Mutlu, 2015: 158).

As a result, we can argue that female entrepreneurs are not able to develop an effective strategy in terms of sharing their traditional roles, a majority of women experience intensity and exhaustion due to assuming roles
related to both identities (home and business roles) and consequently, they feel overwhelmed and oppressed since they cannot deal with anything they need to do. Accordingly, women who are stuck between traditional identity and modern identity are not able to expand their businesses. Female entrepreneurs constantly being in a state of struggle, assuming too many responsibilities, not being able to allocate time for themselves, getting exhausted, feeling overwhelmed and oppressed prevent them from both developing themselves and their businesses as entrepreneurs.

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Observing the Late Development of Childhood Sociology in Turkey

Türkan Fırıncı Orman*

1 Introduction

One of the most influential histories of childhood has been written by Philippe Aries (1962, p.125). His argument regarding the discovery of childhood in the 17th century is predicated upon another, much-debated point: his assertion that in medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist. In other words, Aries revealed that childhood was not seen as a separate developmental category. Children were accepted as a miniature of adults as wearing the same clothes, having the same food and playing the same games with them. For Aries, an introduction of a modern system of schooling and privatization of family life in 17th and 19th centuries were significant in the gradual separation and segregation of children from adult society (Wyness, 2012, p.16).

Many researchers confirm that childhood in Ottoman society did not exist either (Onur, 2015). For example, Yerasimos (2015) points that looking back to the 16th-19th-century gravure and temperas child clothing is the same as adult clothing.

However, following the 17th century childhood transformed to a separate developmental period because of the transition from the agrarian economy to the industrial economy, growth of a middle class, the changes on the family institution, decrease of child deaths, increased spare times, and the stress on the importance of a child-parent attachment (Onur, 2015, p. XI): It is interesting to see that in the rural areas the share of the same life of children and adults was observed in Turkey not only in the past but until quite recently. In his childhood memories Yaşar Kemal, a famous Turkish novelist, tells he was never treated as a child in his village, nor other children. It was after he left the village and moved to the city when

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he realized there has been something like a childhood. However, in the developed world childhood is now institutionalized and has been falling apart from adulthood.

In the Western world including the United States and many parts of Europe, childhood has become increasingly structured and controlled leading some to suggest that again childhood no longer exists. Children and childhood in late modernity tell us very little about children’s lives; childhood is largely understood in terms of the needs and interests of parents (Wyness, 2012: 67). Like Neil Postman (1982) would tell us in *The Disappearance of Childhood*; adulthood has lost much of its authority and aura, and the idea of difference to one who is older has become ridiculous. However childhood today finds little time or place in the contemporary city. It also results from the ‘adultization’ of childhood where children’s time is filled with organized activities. As children’s lives have become more institutionalized so has children’s participation (Francis & Lorenzo, 2002: 159). Adultization of childhood, then, is one of the biggest problems that children face in contemporary societies. Globalization, on the other hand, creates new forms of inequalities, and they affect mostly the children and the young. Millions of children are struggling with inequality, poverty, and unhealthy environmental conditions. Children, unfortunately, face also human right violations and in extreme cases could not even survive. Related to the consumerism and mass media to the ethnicity and identity, children face numbers of inequalities in a globalized world. Yet, we know that gender, race, and social class still mainly determine children’s trajectories (Corsaro, 2011; Wyness, 2012; Wells, 2013).

Then, we understand childhood or child concept is not a natural reality, rather it is a social-cultural creation and has been developed historically. The universal indication of institutionalization of childhood was primarily the schooling as Aries pointed while the latest indication is child rights movement. However, it is remarkable that recent studies on childhood sociology are stressing the child rights and children are usually described as a social category (Giddens, 1977; Turner, 2002).

In return, this trend is emerging in developing countries such as in Turkey, as well. However, Turkish children studies are not institutionalized under the sociology discipline. Although there is a growing interest in children studies which mostly appear as empirical studies under varying other disciplines such as psychology, anthropology, ethnology, social work, political science, demography, pedagogy, history and etc., none of these disciplines could give a comprehensive definition of childhood nor
they try extensively to theorize it. Thus, this study will mainly focus on the delay of theoretical development of childhood sociology in Turkey. However, it is important to stress that childhood sociology as an academic domain in Turkey has been usually neglected (Onur, 2007) and it is both important and necessary to investigate why it has been so.

The aim of this study is then, to discuss what prevented/prevents childhood sociology from developing in Turkey. To this end, firstly the critical paradigmatic shift and the new childhood sociology will be debated. After a brief note on the historical development of Turkish sociology, current childhood studies are briefly introduced. With the reference to the state of children in Turkey, it is also estimated that a lack of an effective social policy on children could be rooted in the absence of an institutionalized childhood sociology as well as in established traditional culture which prevents many to take action on behalf of child rights.

2 A Paradigm Shift in Childhood Sociology

Childhood is socially constructed. It always reflects cultural and historical view that how children are perceived and created (Elkind, 2001). The modernity has generated a universal nature of childhood. Thus, by long tradition, the mainstream sociology has insisted on the social, economic, institutional facts out there, how these structure people’s lives, and how human agents interact with these structures. Sociology, in other words had a tendency to universalize childhood. Durkheim, for example, established very early on that children were incomplete social actors. In the classical sociological theory, childhood is studied under the larger macro forces of agencies of socialization, such as the family, moving outwards and upwards into the school, and the peer group (Wyness, 2012: 91). In other words, he thought children were socially un-formed. The classical deterministic models and the classical sociological theory suggested that society appropriates the child (Corsaro, 2011).

However, the mainstream sociology was not able to answer for example paid and unpaid work of children; has little to say on children outside debates about age of consent or concerning intergenerational relationships and young people, and work in the sociology of class and gender generally approaches children through the framework of socialization (Wells, 2013). Following the 1980s and 90s, in the UK, questioning the hegemony of socialization there has been some important publications (Mayall, 1990;
James and Prout, 1997) which strongly located childhood in social constructionism and framed children as social actors. Such studies focused on understanding children’s lives on the basis of their own experiences, their own meanings and interpretations, and on their own terms. Following this view ethnographic approach has started to be studied more and more in empirical work on children. Thus, the concept of universal childhood started to be less stressed as cultural and national differences are given importance regarding children’s socialization processes. Having post-modernist fashion after 1970s epistemological aspects started to have more emphasis. New social studies of children claim an epistemological break from previous sociological work, in that they study children as social actors, as being in their own right either then as pre-adult becomings (Wells, 2013).

Not only sociology but also psychology used to search for universally true, but since then it changed its focus to story-telling and started to deal with local contexts (Mayall, 2013: 36). “Developmental psychology had laid an early foundation of interest in children and childhood studies had emerged as a discourse thanks to various new studies on children in anthropology and sociology” (Bass, 2010: 342). Sociology can be seen to have a discrete function in proposing other ways of understanding children: as agents in the present tense, as competent and as a social group. Sociology also presents potentially useful challenges to adults in proposing the crucial importance of processes within intergenerational relations, as structuring childhoods, and how they are lived and experienced (Mayall, 2013). Thanks to the recent studies on children and childhood, today, child health, child development, and child culture are not seen as marginal study themes anymore. Children who live under unfavorable conditions are of interest to researchers as well as the normal children (James, 2001).

New sociology of childhood established a field of inquiry about children and childhood that sought to understand children’s lifeworlds as they were lived. This focus on children as they are, rather than how their childhood experiences might shape the adults they may become. This view “differentiates the sociology of childhood from other social science disciplines, particularly education and developmental psychology, that have been most engaged with the academic study of children and childhood” (Wells, 2013: 14).

The sociology of childhood has to consider how social structures constrain or at least shape the lives of contemporary children. One attempt to do so is William Corsaro’s concept of “interpretive reproduction” (Cor-
By conceptualizing childhood as a structural form, Corsaro discusses, we can move beyond individualistic, adult-oriented, and time-bound perspectives to pose and answer a wide range of sociological questions. Basically, Corsaro (2011) defines new sociology of childhood within the following assumptions: children are active and creative social agents who create their own children’s culture; childhood is socially constructed; childhood as a structural form is socially constructed with other structural categories such as class, gender, and the age groups.

One of the goals of a new paradigm of childhood, therefore, has been to stress the agency of children and to incorporate the voice of children into childhood studies. Moreover, it claims that childhood is a relational category that cannot be understood, at any time or place without an understanding of the expectations of adulthood. It is important to mention that many sociologists of childhood have been influenced by feminism, politically and methodologically (Wells, 2013). It is from feminism, for example, that the sociology of childhood derives its interest in participatory research methods and research towards empowering children, as well as its relational understanding of childhood. It is also important to briefly tell about the subject of children’s geographies which is originated on the study of children’s participation in the design of the built environment and which influenced the design of participatory research. An interplay between society and space and giving children voice are popular study themes now for many sociologists of childhood.

The rise of the new sociology of childhood theoretically also paralleled some shifts in public policy concerning children both at the national UK level and internationally. As the 1990s brought academic calls for children to be listened to, similar calls made on policymakers too. This was especially so with regard to children who were being abused in their families. The Children Act 1989 was still in place, which introduced a more comprehensive legislative recognition such as a right to be legally represented, a right to be consulted about decisions which directly affect the child and a complaints procedure children can take up with respect to any state care they are in receipt of. These three mentioned principles chimed with ideas of listening to children; in particular in relation to child protection, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in terms of the child having a right to be taken into account as an individual and the consolidation of sociological thinking about children as social actors who can be agentic (Moran-Ellis, 2010).
Late Development of the Childhood Sociology in Turkey

A Historical Aspect

“The development and the maturation of Turkish sociology can be described as the East-West gaze that has been either tampered, broken, or reversed in the periods of time” (Pearce, 2012: 424). Yet, Turkish sociology has been mainly affected by the Western sociological theory and integrating the thoughts with the Turkish social, political and cultural agendas. From the beginning of the new modern country, just as Comte was taken with Turkey, the budding Turkish sociologists were also taken with the positivism of Comte (Çelebi, 2002) and with other English and French Enlightenment thinkers (Berkes, 1936). Thus, Ziya Gökalp who was interested in French thinkers Comte, Tarde, LeBon, and Fouillé, as well as the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies and etc., retooled Durkheim for the Turkish context (Berkes, 1936). Berkes (1936: 242) states that “Gökalp... was the real founder of Turkish sociology since he was not a mere translator or interpreter of foreign sociology...”.

The shift toward German thought was further entrenched by the Second World War—which brought German scholars fleeing the Nazis to Istanbul University, where the works of Max Weber and other German sociologists began to integrate further into the Turkish cannon. These German émigrés introduced and helped establish what Çelebi (2002: 257) has described as “a society-centered and data-oriented sociology besides a polity-centered and idea-oriented one”, which appealed to younger Turkish sociologists in particular. The sociology that was developed in the 1940s at the College of Letters in Ankara University is considered to be the second period in the history of sociology in Turkey (Kasapoğlu et. al 2010). Starting from the 1960s, “as some Turkish sociologists began to earn their degrees in the United States, they also brought back this data-driven approach to sociology when they returned to Turkey” (Pearce, 2012: 415).

From the 1970s until 1980, several scholars made different empirical evaluations. According to Kaçmazoğlu (1994), the institutionalization of sociology started after 1980. The intensification of sociological studies was common in few metropolitan universities but was hardly the case for the periphery. Among other spheres, studies on health, family, women, the labor market, and rural areas were carried out more frequently.
The field of Turkish sociology, as Öncü (1997, p. 267) sets is much like its host society:

“It has been characterized by a series of dramatic changes over time: But the landmarks that signal shifts in the trajectory of the discipline are not influential books. It is the mesmerizing play of political events, wars, economic crises, military coups, liberalizations that usher in moments of intense anxiety and of reappraisal, imparting a sense of new departures and breaks with orthodoxy”.

Interestingly, the same picture could be seen with the development of social policy in Turkey, as they have been closely affected by social, political, and economic dynamics since the late Ottoman era. It is dramatic that social policy discipline lost a position in policy formation when in 1982 the social policy departments transformed into the labor economics and industrial relations departments in different universities (Aysan and Kaya, 2008).

On the other hand, Kasapoğlu (et. al, 2010, p. 108) points that:

“Most non-Western students who study abroad are encouraged to study their own societies to provide data for the center, which makes it harder for them to contribute to theory. This is also the case in Turkish academia, where students mostly conduct studies about Turkey by applying Western theories. Academic writings published in international journals also have similar features”.

All of these factors are evidence for the semi-center or peripheral subordinate position of societies like Turkey.

When we look to the methodological trends in the history of Turkish sociology there are three paradigms which could be named as naturalistic and mostly positivistic (dominated sociological methodology in Turkey until and even after 1980’s), humanistic and anti-positivistic (its late arrival to the Turkish sociology after the 1980s), and multi-dimensional which is applying an eclectic methodology (which is currently most followed in Turkish sociology) (Ünal, 2008).

In brief, looking to the development of Turkish sociology, it could be said that American sociology which influenced Turkish sociology first in the 1940s, had a central role. Structural-functionalistic approach especially after the 1960s, till late until 1980s, has been applied to many empirical studies, which were taking the picture of the ongoing process of social change and transformation in Turkey as there has been massive internal and external immigration trend due to the modernization and urbanization processes (Ünal, 2008). Yet, American sociology is still very influential as
the multi-dimensional methodological paradigm includes and values the traditional empirical studies.

When we look to the childhood studies, in the US context, they remain interdisciplinary, yet sociologists are making substantial contributions. The relationship between the discipline of sociology and childhood studies appears to be symbiotic. Even as sociologists assert that childhood studies are a field of its own this does not preclude the development of childhood studies across disciplinary boundaries (Bass, 2010). Looking to the childhood studies in Turkey, they seem to be parallel to the American studies as there is a big tendency to study children and childhood in an interdisciplinary manner.

As seen, the development of sociology in Turkey has followed a delayed translation of the Western developments and still is infertile to produce or reproduce sociological theories. An interdisciplinary approach to child studies as an American effect triggered the domination of empirical studies in Turkey. Although Turkish empirical studies on children showed the necessity of development of the better social policies, theoretical dullness prevents politicians to respect children’s voices as social actors, their capacity to be agents and to fully reach their rights as children.

3.2 A Cultural Aspect

Onur (2007: 159-161), in his remarkable analysis on the cultural barriers towards the development of a modern childhood image in Turkey, believes that even though there has always been the love of a child at home, at the school or in the society, there were also beating and rote learning in Turkish culture. For example, Hasan Ali Yücel (a politician) tells about the predominance of the fears in his own childhood period in late Ottoman times: The fear of God, the fear of Sultan, the fear of parents, the fear of hodja, the fear of the police, the fear of fear etc.

Children were most dismayed by the Jewish waste picker and the tea-vendor Iranians. The similar findings could be found at Ahmet Rasim’s and Refik Halit Karay (Turkish memoirists) writings. Similar objects of fear for children were gin, fairy, ogre, zombie, saint, thief, as well as hangman, jailer, Nightman, nutty, insane people, etc. Moreover, beating children was a part of discipline in child education in the Ottoman schools.

Onur (2005: 386-400) in his extensive analysis of childhood history of Turkey tells that beating culture was institutionalized in different forms
such as an official beating, military beating, beating as an educational appliance and etc. In recent years, he adds, although Turkey has modernized and changed its educational system and mentality, there are several observations on the violence towards children when we look into the memoirs and/or interviews which were written in the Republican era of Turkey. Such cultural positions are important to understanding childhoods in different geographies. However, it is possible to say that where children live affects what kind of childhood they have (Wells, 2013).

4 Notes on Turkey: A General View on Children

4.1 Sociological Studies on Children and Childhood

Although there are no comprehensive interdisciplinary academic programs addressing childhood issue in Turkey, there are a number of research centers, mostly concerned with the physical health of children and child rights, as well as numerous popular self-help books and studies. This is followed by information on urban childhood as reflected in the memoirs, diaries, and autobiographies of several Turkish writers, with the caveat that childhood memoirs are adult constructions of childhood experience and existence (Gürsoy, 2011). For example, one of these research centers is Child Culture Research and Implementation Center (ÇOKAUM) which has been founded in 1994. The center regularly organized national and international conferences and had been effective in triggering studies on children’s history as well as inspiring many ethnological, anthropological studies on children in Turkey. There are various examples of research centers at universities such as Children’s Rights Implementation and Research Center (ÇOHUM) at Hacettepe University (Ankara) founded in 2012 and Istanbul Bilgi University- Child Studies Unit, founded in 2007, works in the training, research and advocacy fields aiming at the realization of children’s rights.

There are also some new publications, particular books with sociological view on children and childhood in Turkey (Tezcan, 2000; Uyan Semerci et. al, 2012; Eraslan, 2015; Dikmen Özarslan, 2017) but none of them are reflecting the new paradigm comprehensively if not traditionally defining childhood, and the stress is specifically on the marginalized childhoods in Turkey. Yet, they have remarkable contributions in calling attention to the sociological study of childhood.
It is also important to look at the graduate and post-graduate programmes of sociology departments in Turkey. There are a few graduate courses under the name of “Childhood Sociology” (eg. Baskent University, Firat University), courses under the name of “Sociology of Childhood, Youth and Old Age” (eg. Beykent University), and/or PhD course of “Child Sociology” (eg. Mersin University). There is only one undergraduate course under the name of “Childhood Sociology” at Baskent University in Ankara, Turkey which has been opened quite recently, in early 2018.

Looking to the bibliography of the post-graduate theses in Turkey from the year of 1985 to 2015 (Kukuoğlu and Kılıç, 2015) which are combining the subjects of children and sociology are various in applying interdisciplinary interests. It is possible to see numbers of dissertations focusing on educational, psychological, religious, historical, economic, legal, family, literature, political issues and typically referring to the concrete social problems that children face in their society. They mostly have the focus on working children, children pushed to crime, refugee children, children living on streets, children under risk, child abuse and/or child protection issues, and etc. It is observed that the main trend in Turkish childhood studies is compatible with the many other developing countries which James, Jenks and Prout (1999) defined as of marginalized children. Among these are few theoretical studies but there is no single study which is on the theory of childhood sociology or referring to the theory of childhood studies. It could be easily seen that childhood sociology is not seen as one of the domains of sociology, thus it is not institutionalized in Turkey yet. The diversity of subproblems of these studies shows that the interdisciplinary approach to children and childhood is far behind in theorizing childhood within Turkish sociology.

4.2 Childhood in a Political Context: The State of Children in Turkey

Looking to its historical development, social policy on children has gone a long way from child saving paradigm to child rights (Weels, 2009). Child welfare framed in terms of rescuing children from their parent's shaped policy and practice in terms of child-saving in the 19th century. In the 20th century, the discourse of child saving was gradually influenced by the competing discourse of child rights. Increasingly with the adoption of UN-CRC into international law action on behalf of children is spoken of with-
in this newer paradigm of child rights, in which the child is invested with rights and capacity to exercise other rights. Child saving is, however still very dominant in social policy practices and especially in the context of child protection systems.

When we look at the picture in Turkey, social policy on the children is managed by the Ministry of Family and Social Policy which was established in the year of 2011. Family affairs and social services are in the center and children are dealt with in this context. Before the year of 2011, the portfolio of women and family affairs was executed by a state minister in the cabinet with the help of Agency for Social Services and Children Protection under the Prime Minister. There are branches of services including children services as well as a status of women, family and public services, disabled and elderly services and etc. Yet, there are critical views arguing that Turkey has not been successful in developing a coherent and comprehensive national policy to struggle against social problems such as child poverty and inequalities (Gürses, 2009). Turkey, being a country in a rapid transformation process, a wide range of economic, political, cultural and social factors leads children to face serious risks. It is not surprising that the most popular study themes are referring to the children in crisis in Turkey such as refugee children, working children, street children, and etc., as depicted earlier.

When we look at demographics in Turkey, UNICEF (2012) reported that Turkey’s end-2011 population of 74.7 million included about 23 million citizens under eighteen. Turkish Statistics Institution- TÜİK (2015) stated that %29 of the population is under 18 by the end of 2015. Generally, it is possible to say that most of the children in Turkey grow up in a caring family environment, have access to food, shelter and other essential goods, and benefit from basic services, such as health and schooling, which are provided mainly in the public sector. But, regarding the problems children face in Turkey, UNICEF (2012) also reported that:

- Poverty is higher among children than among adults. Children with relatively under-educated parents are most likely to be poor. Girls and boys experiencing material poverty are also the most likely to experience other physical and social deprivations and risks such as malnutrition, poor health, child labor, school non-attendance, lack of Internet access or leisure and socialization opportunities, violence or family separation, and even death or injury due to natural disasters.
Despite improvements in child nutrition, 10% of Turkey’s children are stunted, meaning that they are of low height for their age and at risk of further health and development problems.

Most boys and girls encounter some form of violence, abuse, exploitation or neglect, depending partly on their age, sex, and social background. Violence may be perpetrated by adults or other children at home, in and around a school, or in the community. Sexual abuse, particularly for girls, is rightly a cause of public concern. These problems have not yet been fully acknowledged or addressed.

There is a persistent and largely unaddressed problem of early and forced marriage among teenage girls.

By the 2011-2012 school year, net primary school enrolment stood at 98.67%, according to Ministry of National Education Formal Education Statistics.

There is ample evidence that a large number of children in Turkey face the risk or reality of one or more form of exploitation, violence, abuse, and neglect.

As a result of the Syria crisis, in 2011-12, tens of thousands of Syrians fleeing violence were allowed to enter Turkey. As of October 2012, over 100,000 were being accommodated and their basic needs met in well-run, high-quality camps. Education was being provided for children, who made up about a third of the camp population. However, European Commission (2016) reported that officially registered refugee population in Turkey is more than 3.1 million and Turkey is the first country in hosting the highest numbers of refugees. Moreover, 90 percent of the refugees are out of the camps and could not have even their basic needs. UNHCR warns that more than half of the refugee population are children and more than 400,000 children are guessed that cannot go to school.

Yet, there is a lack of information on the overall picture of the state of children in Turkey. The top-down demographic approach to the study of children is important to see their conditions and to interlink them with a larger family structure. This being the case in the US, demographic research concerning children has addressed pressing public policy issues, making meaningful connections between parent’s employment, health insurance, family poverty and family stability, on the one hand, and indicators of child well-being (Bass, 2010).
In contrast with demographic perspective, European social constructivist childhood scholars such as James and Prout (1997), have a bottom-up qualitative approach to study children. While in American approach children’s well-being remains the focus, the European approach tends to accord children with agency. Both perspectives are seen as crucial, especially while studying childhood in a developing country like Turkey, with millions of young children at risk, it should be necessarily a political enterprise.

5 Discussion

Due to its late maturation after the 1980s, one of the main problems of Turkish sociology could be seen as its intellectual poverty on theorizing. It has been debated that together with this historical barrier, there are also cultural reasons for the delay of childhood sociology in Turkey.

As depicted, there are numbers of reasons to study childhood sociologically in Turkey. The primary goal of the sociology of childhood, then, should be also to help to raise the status of children in the society by harnessing its tools and methods. Therefore, in view of the new paradigm, sociology in Turkey could mainly combine two important research agendas in order to develop itself: social policy and children’s rights. They both are crucial to improving children’s status and to solve the emergent problems and crises they face. Such enterprise requires that theoretically children should be lifted out of families, they should be recognized as a social group which is impacted on by social and economic macro factors.

A recognition of the new theoretical definition of childhood in Turkey could also help building an effective social policy prioritizing children’s rights in order to help to raise children’s status. Moreover, the Turkish empirical childhood studies conducted under the various social disciplines could be assembled under the same roof of childhood sociology by the vision of its theoretical framework. Thus, the empirical study results could be transformed into the effective social policy on children.

References


Observing the Late Development of Childhood Sociology in Turkey


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An Essay on the Instrumental Role of Public Education Centers in Turkey's Urban Integration Process*

Aygül Kılınç**

1 Introduction

Today's metropolitan cities, particularly the densely-populated ones, in-hold a large number of problems with their substructure and superstructure. Fighting against such problems that affect our living quality negatively in physical and psychological terms can be realized by acquiring such awareness that would increase our loyalty to the place that we live in like feeling responsible for and adapting such place. In this sense; every urban-dweller must know and adopt the place he/she lives in very well together with its complicated social structure embodied in itself, and its typical quantitative and qualitative characteristics. Therefore, it is also necessary to have an instrumental institution that would work effectively, transfer the required information, and create the awareness in this sense. Actually, the formal education institutions perform this function partially in the compulsory education period. However; it would be no doubt more useful to receive assistance from a public education institution that would perform such service for adults, renew and reinforce their knowledge, strengthen any kind of loyalty and relationship regarding the place where they live in, and make the urban-dwellers more equipped against the living environment and the social change. In fact, Public Education Centers are the public education institutions that have been designed to provide this very service, and have set their objectives within such framework that would aim at the urban integration.

The primary descriptive element of the city as a settlement system is the quality and diversity of the economic and social activities of its residents

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(Hout, 2000: 33). Urban society is described by a non-agricultural working order which is differentiated and specialized in itself, and the people working in such order who have a population differentiated and stratified in itself (Kıray, 2007: 19). It is often emphasized that the urban population has fed on the migrations which tend from rural area to urban area throughout history. It must be specified that such determination is valid also for the urbanization process of Turkey. It is possible to regard the problem of accommodation and harmony as an important factor which is an important factor affecting the integration in our cities negatively.

Turkiye's urbanization, discounting Ankara, followed almost a constant course until the end of the World War II. Existence of an industry-based urban structure in the Country lasted until the 1950s (Kıray, 2007: 7). New production technologies –like tractors- gradually superseding the basic production technologies starting from the 1950’s, increased unemployment in rural areas relatively.

According to Tekeli (1982: 66-67), the large masses that broke from countrysides and came to cities in those years solved the dwelling problem by resorting to the option of slums without increasing the price of reproduction of labor, i.e. without making a wage claim. Thus, the housing needs of the people migrating from rural to urban areas have brought the slum-style structuring. A series of problems such as deindustrialization tendency seen in the developed countries after 1980, governments’ finalization of their effective activities in numerous fields and welfare state practices gradually being exposed to erosion within the context of limited government policies, unemployment and changes to family structure, poverty, and social exclusion (Darby, 2014); both have deepened the problem of slums, and have diversified the existing urban problems. These problems has triggered the crimes and violence committed against cities and urban-dwellers. Such events of crime and violence committed in cities have almost transformed into acts which are among the ordinary practices of everyday life, and have affected the urban integration negatively.

This study has been carried out in the context of the principles of the qualitative research method. The data obtained as a result of the review of previous corporate and scientific researches on the study subject have been analyzed with a descriptive approach in the given study. The assertion of the study has based on the emphasis that “the economic, socio-cultural and spatial problems caused by the population density that affects the urban integration negatively would be solved through the studies of the Public Education Centers”. In the study; firstly the meaning of the concept
of “urban integration”, the close contexts of this concept, and the determinative ness of these on the urban texture have been handled. After then, a limited analysis has been made on the organizational structure and the working system of Public Education Centers within the context of the proposition that such analysis would have positive effects on the fact of urban integration. Finally, the positive contribution of the courses opened and the educational programs applied by the said Centers to the urban integration has been examined. Furthermore; it has been highlighted that these Centers are inadequate as they stand presently, and it has been emphasized that it is necessary to bring a structure to Public Education Centers so that they will work in a well-equipped and more effective manner in terms of urban integration.

2 The Problematic of "Urban Integration" or "Integration with City" in Conceptual Terms

The concept of urban integration defines an integrated urban structure that is more harmonious and healthy, and is actualized as a result of the integration and cohesion of all the urban actors consisting of the units of public and private sections (Özler, 2012: 217). A more detailed analysis of urban integration requires a reference to social relation patterns within the frame of a series of concepts such as “social integration”, “social cohesion”, “urbanization”, “social disorganization”, and “social segregation”. Because; urban integration is a comprehensive concept that defines the integrated harmonic state of the political, economic, socio-cultural and spatial processes constituting the substructure and superstructure of the society in urban area. In terms of this feature, it requires addressing multiple concepts. However, urban integration can in general terms be analysed within the context of the concepts defining the substructure and superstructure of a city as spatial integration and socio-cultural integration. A spatial/physical integration is provided as a result of a continuous side-by-side articulation of the whole that consists of the built environment, i.e. the building stock, as streets or districts in the urban area. Nevertheless, urban integration cannot be discussed without commonly-adopted value judgments and the socio-cultural, economic, and political relation patterns that make the built environment meaningful. In that case; political, economic, and socio-cultural contexts defining the political preferences, production relations, shared values, written/unwritten rules, religious and moral val-
ues, and joint sharings of the individuals and groups living in urban area; as well as the spatial integration; necessitate the existence of a social relation network constituting the superstructure of society as a whole.

One of the most important concepts that can be referred to in explanation of the concept of urban integration is the concept of “social integration”. This is an older concept in terms of social structure. It is stated that; in a society, it is aimed to create “common values and urban culture, social order and social control, social integrity and reducing the inequality in income distribution, social networks and social capital, and belonging and identity” by providing the social integration in that society (Buck 2005: 47). In fact, the concept of social integration is based on the expression “social consensus” (Con-sensus Social) of Auguste Comte. The concept of social consensus is defined as complementation and amalgamation of all the elements of all groups and the social structure, and the elements of material and moral culture in a society (Social Integration, 2011). Amalgamation of all the components of a society with each other, and remaining of the same as a harmonic-functioning whole can be possible by protection of the social order and prevention of the social disorganization (Kurtkan, 1986: 288). Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to make mention of an absolute integration or a total harmony in a society. In other words, an absolute integration may also result in termination of the dynamism in the urban society. In that case, the intended expansion of urban integration is not solid or absolute, but a relative situation. Therefore; social integration does not completely remove or prevent the differences, but rather coordinates and directs the discrepancy and variety/diversity in a society. It enables the urban-dwellers to live together and harmonizingly with all their differency and variety. On the other hand; this situation occurred within a process requires to mention the “urbanization movement” corresponding to the mobility in city, and the “urbanization” status of the individual which is one of the results of such movement.

It is an undisputed fact that the primary determinative function of city as a type of residence is the urbanization movement dependent on population density. Urbanization movement is a population accumulation process that results in increase in number of cities and growth of existing cities in parallel with industrialization and economic change; creates an increasing organization, division of labor, and specialization in the social structure; and leads to urban-specific changes in people’s behaviors and relations (Yavuz et al., 1978: 22). Within frame of this definition, urbanization movement explains a flow event having two edges such as disintegration
and concentration (Kartal, 1992: 33). In this case; "rural area", the first one of the two edges, corresponds to disintegration; and "urban area", the second one, to concentration geographically. The "flow event" materialized in conformity with and depending on the characteristics of disintegration and concentration takes place between the rural area and the urban area (city) or between the urban area (city) and metropolitan city but rather on a linear line inclined from a small settlement area to a bigger one. This situation can be explained by the fact/phenomenon of urbanization or urban development/improvement or expansion. In this context, urbanization is a general reality including the whole social practice (Lefebvre, 2013: 49).

Practice of urbanization that constitutes the superstructure of the urban process comes to the forefront as one of the important practices in urban integration process due to the change it creates particularly on the people migrating from rural to urban areas. According to Kartal (1992: 21); within the context of time process, the change can be in question on the urbanized individual in two aspects, namely in economic and social aspects. According to the author, "urbanization in terms of economy" is explained by the individual who becomes earning his/her living completely in urban area (city/town) or from urban-specific jobs/works. "Urbanization in terms of society" takes place by the rural-origin individual's adoption of the urban-specific attitudes and behaviors, and social and spiritual value judgments in various matters.

The problematique of urbanization that is commonly encountered on a large city scale, and qualified as a fact specific to the marginal section until a short while ago; has in recent years reached to such level that would affect a significant part of the geography of the Country according to Gürel (2001: 138). We are of the opinion that the section described as a marginal section by the author in the problematique of urban integration corresponds to those who migrate to town/city, i.e. to urban area. However, we consider that there also exists an important section that could not be urbanized (could not be articulated to urban area in political, economic, and socio-cultural aspects) even though born and bred in urban area and included in the flow of daily urban living. Such situation that deepens the urban contradictions and othering can be studied over the concept of "social segregation".

Social segregation that is seen with various factors and in various sizes almost in all spatial scales today, comes to existence as a result of a set of inequalities arising between different groups conceptually (Tümtaş, 2012: 70). These inequalities may result in disconnection and desensitization be-
between the groups having different characteristics in terms of economy and socio-culture in urban area. In case preventive/remedial measures are not taken or policies are not developed in this respect, social disorganization or social exclusion standing right against the urban integration becomes unavoidable. The problem of social disorganization or social exclusion that destroys the urban adaptation and coherence, and damages the equality in access to urban services attributes importance to the activities of Public Education Centers which we believe would undertake the role of establishing the urban integration. Because it is always possible to find solutions for this kind of urban diseases through a systematic and planned education program that will create a conscious awareness and sensitiveness.

3 Purpose, Organizational Structure and Working System of Public Education Centers

The subject of education has been ongoing in the agenda of the state government as a priority national matter since the foundation of the Republic. Public education, i.e. formal education has started within the scope of the literacy campaign as from the first years of the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. Within the framework of the formations such as Millet Mektepleri (Nation Schools), Halkeveleri (Community Centers), Halkodalari (Community Rooms); an education campaign aimed particularly at the adults has been started in Anatolian cities and towns. Studies in the areas such as literacy, history, literature, fine arts, folklore, etc. have been carried out in such educational institutions. Halk Eğitim Merkezleri (Public Education Centers) that served as a follow-up of such formations have been opened within the body of the Ministry of National Education institutionally in the year of 1952, and have extended to the villages and towns in the year of 1953. Buildings of the Community Centers that were closed priorly have been assigned to the use of Public Education Centers. In 1960; General Directorate of Public Education has been founded as subordinated to the Ministry of National Education in order to enlarge the impact area of the public education services, and conduct the disorderly activities via an institution that would be organized countrywide (Kaya, 2015: 272). Such Centers that maintained their educational studies within the body of various institutions in various definitions on various dates have continued to conduct such studies under the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning within the body of the Ministry of National Education.
as of the year of 2011. The organizational structure and working system of
the Public Education Centers have been regulated pursuant to the Regu-
lation of the Ministry of National Education on the Non-Formal Education
Institutions. Large number of general, vocational, or technical courses has
been and can be opened periodically within the body of such Centers free
of charge or against a little contribution. Trainees who attended and suc-
cessfully completed such courses have been awarded a course-completion
certificate approved by the Ministry of National Education.

Public Education Centers are the non-formal educational institutions or-
ganized in all the cities and counties of the country. Non-formal differs
from formal education and gains a meaning particularly in the context of
adult education. Formal education is the regular education that starts from
pre-school period, extends to higher education, and is given under the roof
of schools within the frame of the programs prepared according to the cer-
tain age groups at the same level. Non-formal education is the one applied
to the people who have never made use of the formal education opportuni-
ties, left earlier the schools they attended, or have been attending the for-
mal-education institutions and desiring to become more competent in their
field of occupation (Bilim ve Sanat Terimleri Ana Sözlüğü, 2018) (Main
Dictionary of Science and Art Terms, 2018). Non-formal education, also
known as public education or adult education; is defined with “continuous
educational activity aimed at meeting the learning/enlightenment need of
the adults within the framework of lifelong improvement/development.
When the international literature is reviewed, it has been found that the
concepts “adult education”, “continuing education”, and –since 1990s-
"lifelong education” have been used frequently instead of the concept of
“public education” (Sabancı and Rodoplu, 2013: 62; Kaya, 2015: 270). It
has also been seen that some international organizations defined the adult
education as the learning activities or programs made in line with the
needs of the people who gone out of the compulsory education age and
whose main occupation is no more attending a school (UNESCO, 1975: 3;
OECD, 1977: 24). In our country; we see that the concepts “public educa-
tion” or “non-formal education” rather than the concept of adult education.
It can further be said that the public institutions that commonly carry out
the public adult education and lifelong learning applications are Public
Education Centers.

The rights and obligations included in the Constitution of the Republic
of Turkey have been referred to in the Regulation of the Ministry of Na-
tional Education on the Non-Formal Education Institutions. It has been
understood from the content of the said Regulation that Public Education Centers have the right to organize and conduct courses for economic, social, or cultural purposes in a large area. Such large area that the said Centers have for opening and conducting courses has been indicating that the Centers have taken or would have an important role in urban integration even not expressly specified in the relevant Regulation.

According to the Directive of the Ministry of Education on Formal and Non-Formal Education Support and Training Courses; over nine hundred courses opened countrywide within the body of Public Education Centers can in general terms be classified as literacy courses, vocational-technical courses, social-cultural courses and applications, and educational branch studies. Such courses that may display qualitative differences in the context of local needs have been conducted in Public Education Center buildings, course places constituted in districts or countrysides, education rooms, rehabilitation-required hospitals, buildings of public or private institutions, and buildings of formal education institutions. Permanent teachers and permanent qualified instructors have been working in the open courses. In case of insufficiency of the teachers/instructors; teachers of the nearby schools, lecturers against an additional course, and qualified labor force of other institutions or organizations having the quality of specialist and/or qualified teacher/instructor have been taken advantage of (MEB (Ministry of National Education), 2017: 1-4).

4 Instrumental Role of the Public Education Centers on Urban Integration

Education in general and public education in particular is responsible for providing the social integration, and maintaining and developing the cultural asset of the society; as stated also by Geray (1993: 455). In this context; the public education is an educational area that meets the learning needs that would be felt by the people who go out of the compulsory education period at any stage of their lives (Tekin, 1991: 36). Such education is given to the adults within the scope of the courses/programs created within the context of the needs and requests in a systematic and planned way (Kılıç, 1981: 6). In scope of the education; change and improvement of the individuals in terms of knowledge, skills, value judgments and attitudes is targeted (Geray, 2002). Desired behavioral changes are intended to be generated in the lives of the adults by means of such education. Their
adaptation skills are desired to be reinforced in the face of the social changes. Differently from the informal knowledge acquired from the random events and facts in daily flow of life, public education is much more efficient on the cognitive development of adult cognitive development as it is an education given in a systematic and planned way. Developments in science and technology renew themselves in our daily living almost in the mood of race everyday. In this dynamic daily city life, the cognitive development of the adults must be supported by non-formal education in the face of the economic, scientific/technological and social changes. It is likely to increase the literacy rate, generalize the use of computers, and increase the labor productivity that would provide development by public education courses. Such courses that are expected to make contribution to the social and cultural development establish equality of opportunity for the urban-dwellers consisting of various income groups. They contribute to evaluation of the leisure times productively, and socialization of the adults. They help the communication between the groups in the city to strengthen. They also make contribution to raising well- and adjusted, productive, self-sufficient, and environment-conscious individuals who can establish healthy relationships with their circles. In this sense; public education targets to make the society and individuals dynamic in economic and social aspects by equipping them with humanitarian and national values (Kurt, 2000: 2). Above all, public education performs the function of contributing to the social integration by providing the equality of opportunity in education (Geray, 1993: 456).

“Urban integration” is a concept including the spatial integration and the political, economic, and socio-cultural relationship manner in the urban area. Urban integration comes true depending on realization of the social integration phenomenon that describes the relationship between individual and city over the concept of urbanization. As stated before; urban integration is a broad-perspective concept that has various haunts, with the main lines of spatial and social integration. Therefore, no fact of urban integration can be really discussed without realization of a social and spatial integration in urban area. In Turkey; “planning institution”, which is an organ of the local government administration has been trying to produce solutions for problems regarding the spatial integration. Similarly; effective solutions can be found for the problems regarding the social integration via the studies of Public Education Centers. Is it possible to reply the question “How could solutions be found for the urban problems within the frame of the studies of Public Education Centers?” over the limited con-
tent analysis regarding Ministry of National Education, Regulation on the Non-Formal Education Institutions? Accordingly; limited number of items that are in scope of the regulation and gives an idea about the objectives and the work system of the Public Education Centers, and are regarded to be important, have been analyzed. Especially, the contents of the 3rd and the 5th items lay emphasis on the subjects that are directly related with the urban integration.

The concept of “social activity” mentioned in Subparagraph “n” of Paragraph 1 of Article 3 of the Regulation has been defined as “non-course educational activities such as meeting, contest, exhibition, panel, trip, symposium, festival, fair, etc. that are organized open to trainees and public”. Such organizations show that the said Centers access the urban-dwellers more easily and have vast opportunities to have educational and socio-cultural activities with the same by making direct contact with them within the frame of the social activities they organize. This situation also creates an important movement area for such Centers to solve the urban problems. Urbanized people can be enabled to gain several values and behaviors that would provide urban integration through the activities organized by such Centers. Proper, constructive and urban-problem-solving focused educational and socio-cultural activities that would be organized within the framework of the purpose would help to minimize the urban problems.

The principles on non-formal education have been included in Paragraph 1 of Article 5 of the Regulation. Such principles have been specified as “public openness, fitness for needs, sustainability, plannedness, innovation-and-development openness, voluntariness, everywhere education, life-long learning, scientifness and integrity, and cooperation and coordination”. Especially, such principles as “fitness for needs, everywhere, and education innovation-and-development openness” show that such courses can be opened in almost every location and so as to meet the requests and expectations of a large class. Needs, requests and expectations in the urban areas may show regional differences; and the order of priority of them may also differ. Therefore; literacy courses or vocational courses come to the forefront in some regions, while cultural courses such as foreign language, music, and painting are preferential in some other regions.

Vocational and technical courses included in Subparagraph “n” of Paragraph 1 of Article 3 of the Regulation aim at providing the adults with occupation and making them included in the labor market as well-equipped employees. Urban-dwellers’ being getting such services through the public
education courses at any time they wish is an opportunity that must be utilized very well in a society. Because, the vocational courses doing an instrumental duty in the process of jointing the individuals to the urban economy provides generation of a more qualified labor in the urban area. The unskilled labor in cities has to work in the unqualified jobs. Such unqualified jobs require working under an unstable, low-income, and non-insured employment. This situation, also affecting the productive production negatively, causes deepening of the differentiation observed in the class structure in society in terms of economy and socio-culture. Vocational courses have more importance in this sense for the unskilled workers who mostly constitute the lower-income group in the society. Ensuring particularly the specialization and maturity of the trainees in the low-income group in society will increase possibility of employment. Besides, such trainees will find the opportunity to practice their professions in which they are specialized. This will make positive contributions both to the economic condition of the people and to the urban economy.

In Subparagraph “g” of Paragraph 1 of Article 3 of the Regulation; course place has been defined as "fixed or temporary building, saloon, and etc. where course activities are performed in any field or branch in districts, towns, counties or centrums depending on city centers". It is possible to make the following conclusion from the Article: Training and education activities of Public Education Centers are not limited with those performed in their own central buildings or the places like schools. Such Centers have been enabled to conduct training and education activities in a broad area depending on the quality of the courses they organize. So, these Centers have the opportunity to conduct their educational and socio-cultural activities in a wide range extended from a scale of city and county to the streets of districts and towns. For example; an information sharing or an educational activity can be performed within the framework an organization that would be carried out together with the mukhtars (village/district headmen) in any point of a district ranging from a school or a tea/coffee house to a district bazaar which is suitable for such activity. Probably the most important distinction to be emphasized in this kind of studies is that such Centers have the right to go into action by themselves in order to realize a certain project. Accordingly; either urban-dwellers may directly apply the said Centers to attend the courses opened, or the said Centers may go into action by themselves to access the urban-dwellers and realize a certain project. Fundamentally, this situation can be considered specific to the authorities who are in a managerial position and are determinative.
in decision-making process in Public Education Centers. First of all; it has been found that the success of such Centers are conditional to the vision and working system of the public officials who undertake the management of the said Centers, and their will to convey the adult education to large masses. Now that the success of such Centers in public education is subject to fulfillment of this condition to a large extent, the situation tells us that the person or persons who would undertake the management of such the Centers must be determined discriminately on the basis of merit. More effective operation of these Centers can be enabled, and contribution of the said public education to the urban integration can be maximized only to the extent that the said circumstances are provided.

Parent-Teacher Association has been defined in Subparagraph “I” of Paragraph 1 of Article 3 of the Regulation. According to this definition; Parent-Teacher Association is responsible for providing integration and cooperation between the said Education Centers and the families. Besides, this formation consists of managers, teachers, specialists, qualified instructors, trainees, parents of the trainees under the age of 18, and volunteer people experienced in public education. Such definition, at first, shows that Parent-Teacher Association has an important role and has undertaken an important task in decision-making process. Furthermore, such formation-constituting members’ being representing a great circle indicates that the said formation might be determinative on in what field the courses to be opened within the body of these Centers ought to provide training. Demographic structure, economic and socio-cultural nature, environmental values, and historical properties of each residential area have the characteristics of guideline that would give an opinion on which courses must be opened primarily in which residential area. In this regard, both due to having an organic structure and to having a good command of the information on residential areas, Parent-Teacher Association can operate efficiently on the course variety of the Public Education Centers and the curriculums to be applied. However; it is essential to include the other urban actors in this process. The fact that the urban actors would be highly useful for determination of the public education activities so as to meet the urban needs and demands, must absolutely be emphasized. Actually, making important determinations on what courses would be opened in line with the local common needs will no doubt increase to the social benefit of the public education. In this regard, the courses and educational programs to meet as much expectation of the large classes as possible must be prepared. It will be enabled to convey the public education to large classes only with this
method. The way to convey the sense of belonging related to the residential area, the consciousness of urbanization, and the awareness of urban integration to the large classes within the context of such educational programs will be opened. For the very reason, contribution and determinateness of the urban actors representing the large masses in this process has become much more essential.

The objectives that make public education important in terms of the urban integration effect are also included in the general framework of Türkiye Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Strateji Belgesi ve Eylem Planı (2014-2018) (Turkish Lifelong Learning Strategy Certificate and Action Plan (2014-2018). For example; the necessity to bring new basic skills to adults in the scope of the courses and programs to be opened within the body of Public Education Centers has also been emphasized in this document as well. It is expressed that it has been desired to make more investment on the resource of human, i.e. urban-dwellers over such courses. More importantly, it is underlined that it has been aimed to make education close to learners/urban-dwellers as much as possible via such courses and education programs (MEB (MoNE), 2018). In the urban areas where the urban integration is not provided, social disorganization or social exclusion becomes unavoidable. A series of factors of a politic, social, economic, psychological and cultural nature such as social injustice, income gap between the social classes, lawlessness, political uncertainty, instability and conflict, institutionalization problem, unemployment, inflation are shown among the causes of social disorganization. Urban integration is out of the question in areas where social disorganization prevails. Hence, social trust cannot be a matter of discussion in societies where social/urban integration has not come into existence. Fundamentally, social trust is the trust in social institutions and the most intense and important type of institutional trust finds meaning in the trust and loyalty to the state. As specified also by Yaka (2010), the trust of the state is established by means of the social institutions. Likewise the planning body being a device used for building in state in spatial planning, Public Education Centers can be used for the same purpose efficiently. Such Centers that are seen to have taken an instrumental role for preventing the social exclusion/disorganization, fighting against poverty, and generating a higher-quality living space in urban areas must be made the entities that could be used in a much more conscious and effective manner. It is possible to overcome by healthy-functioning public education institutions the problems of those who have difficulties because of income inequality, ethnic or religious origin, social gen-
der, educational status, and/or physical or mental disability in urban area; and that of those who find hard to access the urban services. In this sense; Public Education Centers must be made strong, efficient, and equipped so as to play a much more efficient role with their organizational structure, personnel, and physical capacity.

5 Conclusion

City-specific shared values being inured by the urban-dwellers, and the determinative status of such values on the urban actions assume importance for a harmonic-and-healthy-developing urban structure/form. Urban problems may confront us in a new form everyday by changing and varying in ever-changing and transforming residential areas with their dynamic and intricate structure. Especially, the attraction of the metropolitan cities and the functional quality of the urban life and economy cause the population density in such cities. The most important driving force of urbanization in our country is no doubt population movements. The populations which detach from the little towns (small-scale residential areas) or the rural areas carrying different values and practices tend towards bigger-scale cities like metropolises. The population condensed in the large cities has mostly been faced with serious issues such as accommodation, transport, employment, health, education, and recreation. Access to or benefit from the services provided in these areas cannot be easy every time, and will not be easy; either. Besides, the population in small residential areas having their typical values and practices confronts new urban values and practices when they come to the metropolitan cities. Therefore, a new urban population component having different values and practices that would repeat themselves at each time comes into existence between the long-term residents of the city and the new urban-dwellers settled in the city. It is possible to sort the major urban problems triggered by this situation such as exclusion, unemployment, unskilled labor, deep difference between the living spaces of the low and high income groups caused by the income gap between the social classes, unproductive and inconsistent urban services and inequality in access to such services. Such structural problems that feed the urban alienation, disharmony, anarchism, othering, and abetment in the urban area have made the social and spatial integration in our cities. Actually, solutions are tried to be found by the planning body, which is an organ of the local administration, for the problems per-
taining to the spatial integration with a conscious intervention. Likewise, it is possible to find solutions for the problems regarding the social integration over the activities of Public Education Centers. Structural characteristics, manner of working, objectives and target mass of these Centers turn this formation to a mechanism precious enough to play an instrumental role in the phenomenon of urban integration. Therefore, we are of the opinion that more qualified solutions can be generated for urban problems by means of education that would be given in numerous adult-oriented educational and vocational courses being opened within the body of Public Education Centers. However, it is necessary to reconstruct and re-equip such Public Education Centers in a manner to render services on conscious and educational issues so as to provide particularly the urban integration. In this sense; objectives, principles, organizational structures, manners of work, personnel, and physical capacities of the Public Education Centers must be reviewed and such Centers must be reconstructed so as to provide more efficient and rational public education to adults.

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An Essay on the Instrumental Role of Public Education Centers


This chapter is based on a few main themes. Among them is the inherent bond between urbanization and urbanism. In effect, urbanization is generally about infrastructural processes, relations, and products, whereas urbanism is about superstructural ones. Accordingly, “urbanization reveals the economic and demographic aspects, urbanism reveals sociological ones” (Urbanization Council, 2009: 17). However, just as infrastructure and superstructure cannot be separated in social life, urbanization and urbanism cannot be separated in urban settings.

On the other hand, the global potential for urbanization and urbanism is quite striking, so much so that “urbanization is now a global process, into which developing countries are increasingly being drawn. In 1950, only 30 per cent of the world’s population were urban-dwellers; by 2000, this had reached 47 per cent – 2.9 billion people – and by 2030 it is forecast to reach 60 per cent – some 5 billion people” (Giddens, 2009: 220). This expectation includes both the increased number of population in cities, meaning its urbanization, as well as its urbanism. In this light, the idea that the world is becoming a global village rather turns into one where it is becoming a global city, thus approaching the reality of the world becoming more and more urbanized.

That the world is rapidly becoming urbanized requires the occasional comparison between Western societies and Turkey throughout this chapter, because the urbanism in the West is considered to be better established and more balanced compared to non-Western societies. The city itself is even said to be a crucial part of Western values, institutions, and history. According to Weber, for instance, the West makes use of its cities and urbanity when displaying its differences from the Eastern world (Pınarcıkoğlu, Kanbak, Şiriner, 2017: 77). In this regard, comparing the urbanization process and symptoms of Western societies with Turkey be-
coming urbanized is a useful approach to considering the subject in many aspects.

Finally, in light of these points, we go deeper into the heart of this chapter, urbanism in Turkey. Because this process took place over a long period of time in the Turkish context, we go back to its beginning, to the early days of the Republic. Subsequently, we will note 1950s as another historic turn in Turkey’s process of urbanism. Similarly, migration, slums, and hometown associations will be studied separately and in detail for the mark they left on urbanism in Turkey.

1 Urbanization and Urbanism

Urbanization and urbanism are, in reality, concepts that complement, maintain, and give meaning to each other, because wherever and whenever urbanization begins, it is expected that the process of urbanism will also flourish. In that case, urbanization is the leading prerequisite of urbanism. Urbanism requires urbanization.

Urbanization, as the name suggests, is the construction and proliferation of cities as opposed to the rural areas. It is essentially about the differences between cities on the one hand, and villages and the countryside on the other. These differences, chiefly economic, political, and sociocultural ones, form a nested whole. In this sense, urbanization contains the structural economic, demographic, cultural, and political changes in urban areas as much as it does the increase in the population and the number of buildings in urban settlements (Mazlum, 2017: 269). In this purest sense, urbanization represents both the differences between one settlement and the other (the fact that the city is more advanced than the country) and the proliferation of cities across the country.

Level of development of a city, how regulated it is, or the pace and type of advancement on display differ from city to city. Urbanization differs from country to country, city to city, and society to society, meaning that, while the basic criterion for urbanization generally remain the same, life indicators often do not. Responsibility for this condition, which may seem like a contradiction, falls to the individuals, society, and politics who carry out the process of urbanization themselves, for “the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire” (Harvey, quoted in Tonak, 2013: 16). So, the quality and capacity of
urbanization cannot be divorced from the allowances, plans, and actions of those who bring life to the city, whether they are right or wrong.

Regardless, the existence and the proliferation of cities as opposed to the countryside has long been met with approval. For instance, “a German proverb has it that the city air will set you free … and according to Marx, the greatest material and mental division of labor is the one between the city and the countryside. The contrast between the city and the countryside emerges from the movement from barbarity to civilization, from tribalism to the state, from regionalism to the nation, and persists throughout the history of civilization up to our day” (Pınarcıkoğlu, Kanbak, Şiriner, 2017: 75, 80). Therefore, within this historical continuity, there are several connections between civilization and cities and urbanization.

The connections in question can generally be considered under the topic of ‘city culture,’ for it is a fact that urban centers and urbanization have a culture of their own. Urban culture, generally praised for its basic qualities, can be heavily criticized for the same qualities with a negative approach. In this sense, for some urban culture is the epitome of, say, individualization and modernity, productivity and punctuality, multiculturalism or rich cultural possibilities and experiences. And from the opposing point of view, urban culture means to get lost in insecurity, ordinariness or loneliness. Taking both these views into account, urban culture is a rich mosaic of all. Ultimately, this cultural mosaic of cities, or urbanization, with its technology and economy, advanced architecture, urban planning and construction, organization and the uniqueness of its population, is ultimately considered more civilized than the countryside (Bingöl, 2017: 220-222).

The actual characteristic face of these bonds formed between urbanization and urban culture on the one hand, and civilization on the other, is the process of becoming urbanized. One of the clearest characteristics of urbanism is that it is always direct and has to do with the city. In this regard, urbanism carries qualities that are related to, unique to, and cannot be divorced from the city. Another unchanging aspect of urbanism is its direct connection to the structure of the city to which it belongs. According to this association, determining what kind of urbanization process takes place is closely related to the kind of city in which the process takes place. Finally, it should be kept in mind that urbanism is always a process.

Within this framework, urbanism expresses people learning and adopting the views, attitudes and behaviors unique to the city, and incorporating urbanism into their socialization process. In principle, this manner of socialization, which is unique to the city, indoctrinates a life specific to the
city. Certainly, urbanism ties together people’s past lives, demographic roots, social circles, occupations, incomes, educations, and the time they spent in the city (Urbanization Council, 2009: 30).

As can be seen, urbanism covers quite an expansive area. However, its borders still run parallel to certain points. For instance, where did urbanism as a unit of life get its start? Are individuals urbanized from the start, by being born and raised in a city? Or did they migrate to the city and experience being an urbanite later? What are the duration and speed of these experiences’ spread over time? In fact, it is widely known that the former makes the process of urbanization easier and more positive, whereas the latter makes it longer and more problematic. This is made particularly clear in the case of urbanism in Turkey.

Similarly, having city-appropriate occupations and living in city-appropriate housing definitely play significant roles in economically integrating into the city. Otherwise, it is highly possible that one will be left out of urban economy, urban life and habitation. And this is one repercussion to which urbanism in Turkey is no stranger. On the other hand, being open to the heterogeneous urban culture plays a significant role in learning how to live in a city and learning and interpreting the urban culture, for when one’s own personal culture is synthesized with the general urban culture, the probability of urbanism being internalized and permanent would be higher.

These and similar variables all touch on the basic steps of urbanism, which is a process. Along with these economic, demographic, political or cultural stages, urbanism ultimately means exhibiting a lifestyle that is more compatible with urban culture. This lifestyle is a continuous whole with city-appropriate dwellings, occupations, and social behavior patterns that portrays urban life. Then, as a lifestyle, urbanism can also be summarized as earning and embracing several attributes of being an urbanite.

It can be argued that, of all the attributes of urbanism, relatively the most crucial and advanced is “consciousness of urbanism,” for this consciousness means understanding the urban culture, having a sense of belonging to the city and its dynamics, feeling responsibility for urban developments, and also facing urban alienation, feeling the difficulty of taking common action, and encountering the possibility of desensitization, probably all at once (Urbanization Council, 2009: 17, 22; Tatlıdede, 2014: 19). In that case, consciousness of urbanism means integrating into the city through—and despite—its general attributes. Thus, through this consciousness, individuals experience the spatial, economic and cultural spirit...
of the city, and through this spirit interpret who they are, who they should
and should not be.

With this approach, the importance of the consciousness of urbanism for cities and urbanites is clear. In fact, as the world becomes urbanized more rapidly today, cities become common spaces for the majority of the world population. By extension, each city is in a race for the ideals to become more habitable, better developed, more egalitarian, healthier or more beautiful. And it is those who live in the cities, those who run them, and the national politicians who will position their cities in terms of these ideals. Thus, the visions and levels of consciousness of city dwellers, administrators, and politicians will determine the fate of both the cities and urbanism.

2 Big Picture of Urbanism in Turkey

It’s safe to say that urbanization and urbanism in Turkey have unique qualities. The country’s individual quality in this matter has to do with certain structural characteristics. In fact, today’s Turkey has shaped itself with the mortar of what it’s taken from the East since the Ottoman era, and from the West especially after the Republic. In that sense, Turkey is possibly the only state in its region and among its neighbors to bear the traces of both Eastern and Western worlds. Therefore, it’s appropriate to keep the framework so wide when discussing Turkey’s urbanization and urbanism.

In so doing, Anatolia is revealed to be no stranger to cities built under the Ancient Greek and Roman influences. However, in trying to understand the cities and the urbanism of contemporary Turkey, the East cannot be ignored. Similarly, it is widely known that urbanization and urbanism in the West is mostly driven by free individuals. Cities in the East, on the other hand, can be said to have been built by the state with political purposes (Uğurlu, 2017: 26, 47). With such structural residues, urbanism is Turkey is both Eastern and Western, all the while including basic qualities that it built upon them itself.

Chief among the unique qualities of urbanism in Turkey is the problem of synchronicity with urbanization. In other words, there’s a time discrepancy between urbanization and urbanism in Turkey. For instance, “… for Western societies, urbanization … also represents urbanism, but that is not the case for Turkey. In Turkey, urbanization comes first, followed by urbanism” (Karaman, 2003: 108). The main reason for this discrepancy has
to do with Turkey’s process of industrialization. Having started industrialization late compared to the West, Turkey also lagged behind in terms of the urbanization and urbanism processes that the West weaved around industry. Or rather, because Turkey has not completely industrialized, it also attempted to carry out its urbanization in a non-industrial field, or it had to. In this regard, “whereas Western cities depended on the existence of industry, in non-Western countries industry developed as dependent upon the existence of cities … İstanbul and İzmir owe their identities as cities not to their industries, but to the trade networks of 19th and 20th centuries” (Demir, 2009: 15). Having taken fundamentally different steps towards urbanization, Turkey consequently displayed a striking path towards urbanism as well.

Another distinctive quality of Turkey’s urbanization and urbanism is the pace it displayed in these fields, beginning with population. In fact, rates of urbanization and urbanism in Turkey have increased drastically from the early years of the Republic to this day. Accordingly, in terms of the intensity it has displayed in urbanization and urbanism, Turkey has developed faster and further than the West. According to İlhan Tekeli, Turkey even leads the world in terms of urbanization. Tekeli underlines that fact with these remarks: “When (machine-based) urbanization started, I was a fifth-grader, and urbanization will have been completed before I die. There’s no other example of urbanization rapid enough to fit within a single person’s lifetime” (2014: 6).

The cause of this asymmetry between Turkey on one side and the West and the rest of the world on the other is that developed countries have completed their urbanization and urbanism processes long before Turkey, and in a natural manner (Karaküçük, Gürbüz, 2007: 78; Mazlum, 2017: 269). Also, this completion was reached by fulfilling several consecutive and essential phases. Besides, Westerners went through these phases step by step, not at full speed the way we do. Turkey, particularly in the early years of its statehood, considered itself to be a late arrival to these issues. Considering itself to be in a disadvantageous position in terms of the deficient heritage of the Ottomans, Turkey tried to make up for this deficiency as soon as possible with enthusiastic attempts of the young Republic. Actually, such amendment efforts were more balanced and well-planned early on. In the early years of the Republic, the main goal for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and other administrators was to create a process of urbanization based on industrialization, without neglecting the villages. Accordingly, the Republic brought a modernization of institutional and spatial urbaniza-
tion, however formal, to the young Turkey (Berkay, 2009: 91; Kurtuluş, 2017: 200).

However, after about the first thirty years of the Republic, the pace of urbanization and urbanity increased to the point where it made any attempt to control it difficult. Thus, Turkey produced several significant results during this process, economically, politically, infrastructurally, architecturally, and of course, culturally. Or, more precisely, Turkey created significant problems in its urbanization and urbanism process because of the pace on display. In this regard, perhaps the most significant point that urbanization and urbanism have in Turkey is that they are problematic.

One of the root causes or agents of the problems in question is generally related to the subject of migration. Slums and hometown associations top the list of critical problems caused by the urbanization and urbanism processes in Turkey. Therefore, migration, slums, and hometown associations symbolize the main problematic developments in Turkey’s processes of urbanization and urbanism.

3 Migration and Urbanism

Migration and immigration in Turkey, with its basic or current causes and temporal or lasting effects, is a reality of its own. According to Görmez (2012: 18) the cause of migration goes so far as to leave a mark on modern Turkish history. He claims that migrations have left the biggest mark on Turkey throughout the history of the Republic, directly or indirectly. This is why, in Turkey, migration is a subject that’s handled seriously.

When such weight is given to migration in Turkey’s social structure, urbanization and urbanism emerge as major processes in which migration opened up a sphere of influence for itself. In other words, migration has been influential, if not decisive, in urbanization and especially urbanism in Turkey. The type of migration that shaped urbanism in Turkey is internal migration. And the unchanging route of this migration is from countryside and villages towards cities, meaning a small percentage of internal migration in Turkey is directed from city to country, and the vast majority of it is directed from country to city. This clearly means that, to a great extent, it is the rural and villager population that drives urbanism in Turkey.

From the point of view of basic urbanization principles or overall sociological principles of urbanism, this population migrating from rural to urban areas needs to undergo a radical transformation, from rurality to ur-
banity. Villagers, or the population migrating from rural to urban areas, are expected to adapt to the city with its economy, dwellings, new cultures and shared social relations, and become urbanites over time.

However, it should be stated initially that urbanism in Turkey hasn’t sufficiently developed along these usual and required expectations. As will be made clear later on, urbanism in Turkey has moved along the lines of two opposing segments, one rural and the other urban, meeting each other in the city but not quite socializing; for this moment of meeting has initially been abrupt, spontaneous, and above all, far from the consciousness of urbanism, and it has remained that way. Thus, in the case of Turkish urbanism, the rural migrants have not urbanized but, more crucially, cities and urbanites have been negatively influenced. This is why “the issue of cities being ruralized has been around since the early days of migration and today confronts us as an ever-sharper discourse. Within this framework, the main problem in Turkey is the violation of social rules, social insecurity, boorishness, and coarseness towards public spaces” (Erman, 2017: 234; Kılınç, Çelik, 2009: 155). In that case, we should also mention the “non-urbanism in Turkey” in this narrative.

The most important causes of non-urbanism in Turkey in the context of migration usually have to do with problems in urbanization, for, as mentioned above, urbanization in Turkey is a problematic process. Where and why these urbanization problems arise, however, is just as important as the problems themselves. Thus, we should briefly mention the relationship between urbanization problems and migration.

At this point, there’s a familiar reason lying behind internal migration in Turkey.

“In Turkey, mass migration from villages to cities began with the structural changes in the area of agriculture, brought about by the machination process thanks to the post-World War II Marshall Plan … The flow from villages to cities and the disruption in the demographic balance that followed … is a result of man’s disrupted relationship to soil” (Erman, 2017: 228; Berkay, 2009).

When we approach internal migration within Turkey from this angle, it is understood that the population that was made redundant in agriculture was, first and foremost, left dissatisfied economically. The dissatisfaction in question was inevitably exacerbated by the limited means of education, healthcare, and cultural activities in rural areas as well, for when taken as a whole, “there is little to discover in the countryside” (Özdenören, 2014: 28). Thus, full-scale migration from rural to urban areas started. Certain
causes of internal migration within Turkey are thus discussed around the repellent quality of the rural areas.

An opposing explanation is the appeal of the city. According to this, because rural areas lose population because they repeal people, urban areas gain population because they attract them. The appeal of the city is based, first and foremost, on the better developed trade and economy, corporate services being offered, and the attraction of its heterogeneous culture. Therefore, cities remain a constant center of attraction for the population that migrated so far and will continue to migrate.

However, it is clear that the population that migrated to the cities for their (relative) appeal have not quite urbanized despite the attraction. In that case, the appeal of cities in Turkey is not realistic or functional enough in adapting those who migrate to itself. Therefore, the problem of urbanism in Turkey is about more than the repulsiveness of the rural areas or the appeal of the urban ones.

At this point, the pace and intensity of internal migration in Turkey is a definite influence on the non-urbanizing of the population. In fact, it is impossible for the rapid mass migration to cause certain problems in the cities. One of these problems is the problem of urbanism. At any rate, in order for the lengthy and gradual process of urbanization to go as relatively smoothly as possible, the population needs to be ready for it. However, the mass internal migration in Turkey has made this difficult, and even reversed the process.

On the other hand, the existing structure and capacity of the cities receiving migration have exacerbated Turkey’s problem of urbanism. Or, to be more precise, cities that faced such intense and rapid migration have mostly found it difficult to integrate the incoming population, especially economically and culturally. These difficulties were only made worse as migration went on and calcified as they merged with the structural problems of the cities.

Ultimately, on the basis of migration, a mass of problems including the false appeal of cities, the excessive scale of migration, cities being unable to deal with it, and political factors have brought us to this point in Turkey’s non-urbanization.
3 Slums and Hometown Associations

Slums and hometown associations are among the last thing that urban life and culture would want. But they are a common sight in Turkey, especially in big cities. Thus, they represent maybe the most typical example of the fact that Turkey has not sufficiently urbanized. They also set back the country’s urbanization.

Sorting these two among themselves, we may begin with the slums. “Slums are usually defined through legality, as illegal structures built upon land not owned by the occupants, upon land that is publicly or privately owned, without the consent of the landowner, without permits. A typical slum settlement goes up on the city’s periphery, has no legal status, is deprived of urban infrastructures and services such as water, electricity, sewage, roads, schools, and healthcare centers, and is problematic in terms of both ownership and appropriate construction rules” (Erman, 2017: 227). This description, relating the general structure and qualities of slums, is certainly not independent of Turkey’s infrastructural problems. At any rate, this is the reason for the necessity of approaching slums primarily and generally in terms of infrastructure. Considering the slums within this context, Tekeli describes the advent of the slums:

“Turkey was not ignorant on subjects like urbanization, urban architecture, etc. A certain body of knowledge had been created, there were laws … But when rapid urbanization got underway, this equipment did not turn into one that could solve a problem, but one that made it more difficult for the problem to be solved … Meaning, the population growth is at three percent, add another three percent through migration; population grows at the rate of six percent. It’s impossible for Turkey’s capital accumulation to deal with that … For it needs to create jobs for the new arrivals, build infrastructure in cities, build housing in cities, bring services to cities … These all require capital. Turkey has no capital; the capital is severely limited … And the skills of those moving from country to city do not allow them to live in the city in that modernist context … Bureaucrats and the urban middle class cannot come up with a solution. The unequipped new arrivals to the city find the solution. Thus, the slum is born …” (2014: 6, 7).

This summary tells us that the slum problem in Turkey has to do, once again, with internal migration and urbanization. In more definite terms, whatever causes slums to develop in Turkey points directly to internal migration and urbanization? According to the part of this connection related to migration, “dominant type of migration in Turkey is mass and chain migration” (Çakır, 2011: 213). This common feature of migration in Turkey
has caused migrants from similar backgrounds and points of origin gather together in similar cities and areas. The first step towards this gathering that goes on to resemble an accumulation is providing dwellings for those arriving in the city. Thus, slums constitute the principal living space for relatives or acquaintances following each other and migrating to the same city.

The rise of slums in Turkey can thus be grounded within the context of internal migration. This process has been climbing rapidly especially since the 1950s, so much so that “in 1950s there were 80,000 shanties in Turkey; this number rose to 240,000 in 1960s and 600,000 in 1970s. Today, there is an estimated 2.5 million units in slums … In the three major metropolitan areas, the share of population living in slums is over 50 percent. Population living in the slums make up 65 to 70 percent of total population of Ankara, about 55 percent in İstanbul, and approximately 50 percent in İzmir” (Ermın, 2017: 238; Mazlum, 2017: 277). This dramatic rise in slums and slum populations brings up the relationship between slums and urbanization, as well as migrations.

Within the context of urbanization, cities in Turkey that dealt with heavy migration have been quite generous and courageous in keeping their doors open to all migrants. However, cities have, frankly not been good hosts in showing hospitality to these migrants, for the big cities in Turkey that allow migrants are already struggling with certain difficulties and problems of their own. Add newcomers on top of that and the problems and challenges of urbanization further intensify. Thus, cities started experiencing problems in terms of providing schooling to the local and especially the newly arrived population, enriching them culturally, and providing them with employment, just as they had problems providing sufficient, comfortable living spaces that are integrated into the city. This is how the organic interaction between the slums and Turkey’s urbanization problems got underway. The relationship between urbanization and slumification in Turkey is, for some, much more than that: “The story of urbanization in Turkey is also the story of slumification” (Ermın, 2017: 235).

Comparing Turkey’s slumification to a story reveals the setting of that story as cities, and its heroes as slum-dwellers. The authors of the story, on the other hand, are the nation’s politicians, for this slumification, expanding since 1950s and turning into the country’s reality, reveals the fact that politics on this issue has been decisive and consistent (!). So much so that, certain developments openly depict this situation.
For instance, “research shows that, slum construction in Turkey hits a peak in periods before elections” (Çakır, 2011: 221). This, of course, is a meaningful occurrence. In fact, pre-election periods are the most convenient times to make promises or tolerate certain wrongs in an effort to maximize votes. One of the main targets of pre-election promises or politics of temporary tolerance is the cities, and one of the more important issues subject to politics and elections is the slums. Current positions and futures of slums, pieces of land they are built on, their building permits or the demographics of their locations are almost entirely up to political decisions. Besides, slum-dwellers are aware of this particular sensibility that slums have towards politics. It is with this awareness that, in Turkey “… slum-dwellers have not been passive in the face of politics, instead establishing relationships with politicians based on self-interest, and bargained to legalize slums and to bring infrastructure and services to their neighborhoods” (Erman, 2017: 248).

Another striking development revealing the political aspect of slums in Turkey took place in 1984. “The amnesty of 1984 … allowed slum-dwellers to raise buildings up to four stories on their own plots of land, thus allowing them to share in the urban land rent … As slums turned into apartment buildings and became commercialized, rate of tenancy in old slums in city centers went up rapidly” (Şatrioğlu, 2011: 352). These examples make it easy to understand how slums became commercialized, legalized, and politicized. Thus, politics is revealed as the third ground, after migration and problems of urbanization, that brought slumification in Turkey to where it is today.

However, the story of slumification in Turkey, directed by urban politics, obviously does not have a happy, or urbanized, ending. In the context of direct urbanization, and especially in the early years of their proliferation, slums have been greeted as highly problematic constructions. That’s because slums, in terms of both their own culture and the relationships they cultivate with the city and the city-dwellers, are highly eccentric formations. Because of these eccentricities, slums have created living spaces and lifestyles that are incongruous with the cities they tried to link up with. This dichotomy with slums on one side and cities and city-dwellers on the other derive as much from the slum-dwellers being interested in their own worlds as from the attitude the city-dwellers displayed towards them. In this regard, “slums, when they made their presence visible in urban spaces, created unease among the urban population and were met with severe reactions … for the slum-dwellers were described as a crowd who
were neither urban nor provincial, could not embrace the habits, opinions and lifestyle of the city, had a high birth rate, no reading habit, who did not attend movies, theatre, or concerts, did not worry about personal hygiene … and who, thus, turned the city into a village” (Erman, 2017: 241, 243).

These descriptions of slum-dwellers may seem harsh at first. But when we consider the requirements of city life and indicators of urbanism, these expressions are not entirely wrong. Slum-dwellers, with the houses they build and the culture they impose upon the city, truly resemble mis-matched patches upon the city’s texture. This mismatch certainly expresses problems of adaptation and difficult lives for the slum-dwellers as well, for these people, just as they are strangers in the cities where they arrived late, are also distant and foreign to the hometowns they left behind. Thus, slum-dwellers are stuck, not only within themselves, but also in the cities and among the city-dwellers that they cannot penetrate.

It is meaningful to mention hometown associations at this point, because they take care of problems that some troubled parts of urban life may have with urbanism. Generally speaking, “the purposes of hometown associations are to bring together individuals from a certain area, to preserve and maintain the cultural and local values of that area, and to provide moral and material help to fellow townsman” (Urbanization Council, 2009: 79). According to this, the existence and purposes of hometown associations follow the same logic of townsman fellowship. Hometown associations only gain meaning in places where one is not native to and feels alienated, or in other words, cities. These associations essentially bring together people in these strange places and work for them to not lose touch with their essence.

Among those who benefit from these purposes and aids provided by hometown associations are slum-dwellers, for they represent people of the same region, same culture and maybe even the same fate who left their hometown but could not (yet) fit in with the city to which they migrated. In this light, townsman fellowship and hometown associations resemble sociologic and psychologic shelter to slum-dwellers and those having a hard time urbanizing.

On the other hand, the numbers that reveal the existence of hometown associations in Turkey today are quite striking. For instance, “Approximately five percent of all Turkish associations in 2006 are hometown associations … and almost half of these associations are in the city of Istanbul” (Urbanization Council, 2009: 31). According to data provided by
the Ministry of Interior’s Department of Associations in March 2018 shows a total of 112,564 active associations in Turkey. Of these active associations, 15,655 are hometown associations. 53, 23 percent of all hometown associations are in the Marmara Region.

Taking these numbers into account, hometown associations can be said to have a negative effect on urbanism. For, just as slums raise dwellings and living spaces that don’t conform to cities, hometown associations form social relationships that go against urbanism. Besides, given that these associations are more common in the regions and cities on the receiving end of migration and with a higher potential for urbanism, it’s probable that the damage they will do to urbanism will increase, for urbanism expresses and advises the coexistence of people from various ethnic origins and cultures, people who do not resemble each other. Hometown associations, concentrating in exactly these places with high potential gather together and organize people who are similar to each other in almost all aspects.

Besides, the main context of this organization has nothing to do with the city. Hometown associations, by their nature, long for the rural areas and villages. In this light, hometown associations, despite existing within urban areas, attempt to cultivate places and cultures that clash with the city. Just like the slums, hometown associations work towards not urbanizing the urban population, but ruralizing them.

4 Conclusion

Urbanization has certain basic qualities and potentials of its own. According to this, urbanism is a superstructural process of change directly related to urbanization. The change is always towards the more heterogeneous, the better developed, the urban. This progress of urbanism is globally applicable.

Urbanism in Turkey, on the other hand, is similar to this discourse in principal, but paints a different picture in reality. Chronic urbanization problems are intrinsic to Turkey’s urbanism problems. In a country where urbanization is problematic, migration-heavy and faster than usual, urban-

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ism also follows suit. Urbanism in Turkey expresses a process that is hasty, superficial, and driven by the rural and not the urban population.

Chief among the most visible examples of Turkey’s incorrect and insufficient urbanism are hometown associations and slums. Hometown associations and slums are basic indicators that set back urbanism in Turkey, or, optimistically, halt urbanism in the country. These also display and feed the lack of the consciousness of urbanity. Taken this way, in terms of the unparalleled role they play in the future of urbanization and urbanism, the necessity to develop consciousness of urbanity is certain.

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1 Introduction

When domestic disturbances and political crises started in Syria in 2011, nobody could estimate the magnitude of the developments that would arise from such incidents and the prospective impact of the process was yet to be interpreted duly. In fact, it was possible to see crises emerging constantly and, along with 2000s, changing regimes, and destroying or reconstructing areas of social contract not only in Syria, but throughout the Middle Eastern geography. The developments which were later termed as the Arab Spring created a domino effect, followed by domestic disturbances and sect wars, rather than creating a spring-like atmosphere they promised.

It became inevitable for Turkey to be involved in the process in Syria by reason of its status as a neighbour and issues concerning border security. When domestic disturbances emerged in March 2011 in Syria, the initial mass migration movement was towards Turkey\(^1\). We still see that border crossings have been ongoing in increasing numbers since that initial movement. According to the data released by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the official number of asylum-seekers in Turkey is now over 3.5 million. More than 90% of these asylum seekers are currently living in areas outside of camps or in surrounding cities. According to the figures published by the UNHCR, 70% of the asy-
lum seekers consist of women and children (UNCHR Turkey, 2017). Finally, the Directorate-General of Migration Management under the Ministry of Interior recently announced the number of Syrians under temporary protection to be 3,540,648 as of 1.3.2018. In breakdown by age group, Syrians between 19 and 24 occupy the largest share here with 540,624 (Ministry of Interior, 2018). If we consider this age range of young individuals, it is possible to estimate the high extensive impact of any educational processes they would receive in this period. On the basis of the 2016-2017 data concerning Turkey, there are 14740 Syrian students attending state or foundation universities in higher education (Erdoğan, 2017: 15). This figure is expected to rise in the coming years for Turkey.

Data and figures are important in the context of social studies for reading the social area; however, figures also remind us that the humane aspect of the social approach should not be reduced to numbers. Every form of migration will inevitably create deep effects in the lives of people. While displaced individuals find it difficult to reconstruct their new lives with their own identities, they also bring along new problems for destination countries. Concepts relating to social cohesion, integration, or integration have come to the foreground along with the impact of migration. Migration has also become a phenomenon to be addressed with its sociological, economic, and administrative aspects. The rich literature on migration represents an area maintaining its dynamism owing to recently diversified flows of migration and a variety of aspects observed in such demands for migration. The study aims to offer discussions pertaining to the general aspects while addressing a specific segment and a specifically situated aspect of this matter. Primarily, the study will address concepts of relevance in the first parts to provide an accurate description for the subject-matter. These introductory parts will be followed by the description of the findings obtained through field research. Finally, the study will focus on the review of the social dimension of such forced migration.

2 Conceptual Background

This part is a brief evaluation on the concepts which have supported field research and are necessary for relevant analyses. First of all, it will be important to offer information on the sociological and historical contexts of such concepts as migration, asylum, migration movements, and integration, which constitute the main perspective of the study. Migration move-
ments have been – and are still – affecting societies for various reasons in history. The world has seen migration movements of asylum-seekers and refugees, who can be categorised in forced migration, for the last fifty years. These individuals who emigrated from their countries by reason of very problematic experiences aim only to find safer refuge. The geographical and socio-economic conditions of Turkey commonly lead it to be a transit country for such migration movements. Asylum-seekers or potential refugees coming mostly from undeveloped countries have to reside in Turkey albeit temporarily.

As a concept, migration can be classified in different forms depending on its social cultural motivations and the characteristics of migrating groups. Migration is divided into two categories of migrants: 1. Group Migration; 2. Individual or Family Migration. Group migration refers to a movement from a geographical region to another observed in primitive ages mostly in the tribal model of living. However, individual or family migration signifies migration movements encountered around the world to extend from least developed countries and/or regions to developed jurisdictions (Özkalp, 1995: 209). Despite a number of general definitions concerning migration, this matter is addressed with a common perception: “Movement from origin to destination” (Karpat, 2003:3). For this perception, the concept of migration may be defined as the process whereby people change their location on a specific geography or individuals or social clusters move from one location to another (Lee, 1996: 16). However, according to Güvenç (1996: 21), migration can be defined as the temporary or permanent relocation of not only people, but also living creatures in biology and zoology.

When considered from the historical perspective, the phenomena of migration and asylum became topical after World War II. The world witnessed mass movements of flight or migration from oppressive and totalitarian regimes. During this period, the dominant view concerning the question of migration and asylum was that “asylum-seekers should be protected as victims of war”. The number of people who changed their location or were displaced after World War II in this context is around 20 million.

This migration wave brought along an increase in political and legal arrangements. Primarily, the establishment of the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) in 1947 and of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1951 appeared as favourable arrangements for displaced individuals. The Office of the UNHCR was founded on

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14.12.1950, by the General Assembly of the United Nations to become the leading agency for refugees and resolving their problems. This body commenced its activities to assert the rights and welfare of refugees around the world and ensuring that every individual could lodge an application for asylum and be accommodated safely in another country as a refugee (Uzun, 2015: 108). The same date also marked the signing of the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees to define accommodated asylum-seekers and guaranteeing their rights in countries of destination. The 1951 Geneva Convention provides the following definition for asylum-seekers:

“Any person who [...] as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”

Turkey was among the first signatories of this Convention. Turkey announced its declaration concerning the Convention in the Ratification Law No. 359 on 29.8.1961 with a significant “geographic limitation” to the 1951 Convention through stating that Turkey construed and acknowledged the phrase in the beginning to read “as a result of events occurring in Europe”. The geographic limitation to the Convention has been maintained until now. Although Turkey established this geographic limitation as it could not foresee the obligations and consequences arising from the article, countries ratifying the 1951 Convention with geographic limitation were able to maintain such limitation under Article 1/3 despite the 1967 Protocol prohibiting such limitations.

The Convention and relevant instruments put in place arrangements concerning concepts; however, exact definitions pose problems. When considered from the most generic perspective, the right to asylum is included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a fundamental human right. Accordingly, the Declaration states that “[e]veryone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution” (Art. 14). Nevertheless, the term “refugee” can be commonly confused with “asylum-seeker” by reason of the “right to asylum” of refugees protected by human rights instruments. While a person given the right to asylum in a country is defined as a refugee, the Glossary of Migration-Relat-
ed Terms refers to an “asylum-seeker” as a person who wants to be admitted into a country as a refugee pending the result of their application (Tunç, 2015: 32). The asylum-seeker status is temporary and once the refugee status has been recognised, it is regarded to have been in place from the beginning. In this respect, the refugee status is a legally retrospective concept (Kaya & Eren, 2014: 18).

For the arrangements in Turkey, the domestic legislation was revised under the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol. However, domestic regulations do not offer any definitions for these concepts. However, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the “United Nations Declaration on Territorial Asylum” on 14.12.1967. The Declaration addressed the concepts of asylum and asylum-seeker not mentioned in the 1951 Geneva Convention or the Protocol of 1967 and established principles for states parties. The Declaration clearly regulated “the right to asylum” despite the absence of a definition for an asylum-seeker (Uzun, 2015: 111).

In addition, social integration stands out as another concept concerning the question of the study. Movements of displacement arising from migration bear significant consequences, which lead to significant changes both for individuals and within communities. Such consequences can be categorised as those for the migrating community or host community. However, the social integration process affects both of these groups. In fact, the integration of migrants to and the acceptance of migrants by the host society are two processes that are home to significant problems (Sezgin and Yolcu, 2016: 419). Therefore, the study will offer a discussion on social integration in addition to remarks on the residence of Syrian students in Turkey.

In fact, integration represents an on-going natural process throughout a person’s life. This process starts with a demand in a person’s environment and revolves around the point disrupting balances with such demand. A person needs certain mechanisms to restore the balance (Özçetin, 2013: 6). In this context, every new environment will bring with it the integration process and relevant problems. Integration, in its essence, is not only individual in nature and is related not only to a person’s self-competence. At the same time, it pertains to a consequence and an implication of life. Therefore, we are talking about the concept entailing a social aspect. We can address integration in three different dimensions and forms. The first is referred to as physical integration. This integration process is spontaneous whereby a person's physical body reacts to and is shaped by new conditions. As for biological integration, the foreground is on a specific
lifestyle maintained or improved in line with the conditions in the environment. Finally, social integration has two specific directions. The first direction refers to a change in the social area due to cultural impact including technology. However, a person can realize a change by adapting to cultural norms imposed by their own environment. Thus, people adapt to the society surrounding them and exhibit behaviours consistent with its cultural traditions and lifestyle. In this manner, communication in the society will develop and result in improved interaction (Özçetin, 2013: 7-8).

As stated in the definition of integration, education is an important element for a person to get used to mass relocation arising from migration and to adapt themselves to social life. In fact, every stage in education, including higher education, contributes to socialisation.

Social integration requires thorough consideration and a scientific approach as the concepts of wealth and poverty, social capital, and social classes in general social life (Sezgin and Yolcu, 2016: 423). Nevertheless, it is difficult to establish a fully descriptive definition for this concept. It remains only possible to put forth certain common deliberations on the concept of social integration. According to Beauvais and Jenson, criteria for obtaining to social integration can be listed as follows: common values and a civic culture; social order and social control; social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities; social networks and social capital; territorial belonging and identity (ref. by Sezgin and Yolcu, 2016: 424). However, a general definition of the concept of social integration can only be explained through asking questions concerning the society demanding integration. Through what integration process in which situation and in the face of which problems can integration occur? The matter should be addressed from this perspective.

Consequently, questions concerning social integration underlie also the education, success, and social acceptance of Syrian students that represent an important variable and constitute the subject matter of the present study. While dealing with the question of social integration on this theoretical basis, the study will focus on the problems of social integration encountered by Syrian individuals as university students in a foreign country rather than integration to the university life. Education is most effective factors for the integration of foreign communities to the host society for every age group. Once migrants have become a part of the system despite its differences from the place of origin, the respective processes of integration will gain impetus.
3 Syrians in Turkey: Drawing the Legal Boundaries

The concepts of “migrant”, “refugee”, and “asylum-seeker” are frequently confused with each other. Moreover, the legal status of Syrian refugees who have found asylum in Turkey remains one of the most debated aspects of the subject-matter. They asylum-seekers fleeing from the problems in Syria recently have been registered until now by Turkish officials at their border points of entry; however, they were accommodated in refugee camps without access to the refugee registration process of the UNHCR. As a result of its open-door policy, Turkey offered the temporary protection status to Syrians and is determined not to return them to Syria, unless they wish to be returned, until the end of the conflict in their country. Turkish officials consider Syrian citizens as “guests” and there is no official instrument in Turkey or internationally that define their status as refugees or asylum-seekers despite the absence of any limitation concerning the length of their stay. Turkey has been keeping its borders open and allowing Syrians to stay in the country with de facto protection. In spite of this, Syrians being left in an uncertain position as “guests of the state” leads it to be perceived as temporary and retractable and adds to the fear of deportation among Syrians in Turkey (Poyraz, 2012: 65).

Once the civil war in Syria deepened in 2014, it started to be considered that most of the Syrians that had migrated to Turkey would stay in the country permanently. Turkey amended its Syrian policy and ratified and enacted the Law on Foreigners and International Protection in April 2014 with certain articles that would clarify the legal status of the refugees in Turkey. The law was followed by the publication of a regulation concerning temporary protection on 22.10.2014 under Article 91. The Regulation on Temporary Protection provides for an arrangement in the temporary protection regime for Syrians with “temporary protection status” in Turkey. The instrument also clarifies the legal status of Syrians, as well as their rights and social benefits. The Regulation employs the phrase “those under temporary protection” for Syrians, but it also prescribes that “Syrians shall be given ‘temporary protection identification’ and offered education, access to the labour market, social benefits and services, and interpreting and similar services”. One of the most important provisions allows Syrians with the identification above to work in certain professional fields upon obtaining the respective work permit. The full implementation of this Regulation is important both for the protection of the rights of Syrians now in Turkey and for the more effective resolution of refugees’ problems.
by public officials. The regulation should be emphasised in this respect (Kap, 2014: 31-32). Despite all of these legal arrangements in place, Turkey is yet to identify a comprehensive strategy for the solution of the problem at hand. Nevertheless, this regulation indicates that the issues concerning integration and integration will become larger problems if migrants are able to stay permanently in legal sense.

4 Universities as a Source of Social Encounters with Syrians: The Example of Van Yuzuncu Yıl University

The consequences of the arrival of Syrians in Turkey become visible in different fields and at different times. One of these consequences is signified by universities. The children of Syrian families in the age range for higher education experience their transition to adulthood, but also the implications of the migration. According to the figures of the Council of Higher Education (CHE), young individuals or the most qualified group within the population from Syria represent an influential social layer in terms of both social integration and the interpretation of the effects of migration. The number of international students in higher education in Turkey is 108,076, with 71,854 male and 36,222 female students, according to 2016-2017 statistics. Specifically, in higher education policies in Turkey, the number of international students was observed to have increased and approached 100,000 during the 1990s as a result of the approaches developed under internationalisation (Coşkun et al, 2016: 29). The 2018 data show the number of Syrian students to have reached 14,000 and thus the fastest increase in the number of foreign students among Syrians.

The initial arrival of Syrian university students in Turkey arose from the decision for students who had to leave their higher education unfinished after leaving their countries due to domestic problems in Syria. An arrangement was put in place on 3.9.2012 concerning Syrian students (and Turkish students who had to take a break from their higher education in Syria) only for the 2012-2013 academic year under the decision dated 29.8.2012 of the Council of Higher Education (CHE). This arrangement allowed seven universities, namely Gaziantep, Kilis 7 Aralik, Harran (Şanlıurfâ), Mustafa Kemal (Hatay), Osmaniye Korkut Ata, Çukurova (Adana) and Mersin, situated close to the border region to admit Syrian students as students of special circumstances. This decision sparked a de-
bate by reason of its provision allowing persons not able to produce their relevant documentation due to the conflict environment to be admitted into higher education programmes “on the sole basis of verbal representations” (Erdoğan, 2017: 16). The decision was then put into effect in the Circular No. 57802651/1008 subject to Article 4 of the respective Decision of the Council of Ministers. Afterwards, CHE issued a decision on 9.10.2013, for Lateral Transfer from Syria and Egypt to Higher Education Institutions in Turkey (Seydi, 2014:288).

Van Yüzüncü Yıl University, the location of research, offered Syrian students in Turkey access to education. Van Yüzüncü Yıl University became a part of the programme offering education to 460 Syrians at various universities under the scholarship programme of the Presidency of Turks Abroad and Related Communities in 2013 and ranks within the first ten among the universities offering such services as reported by CHE. As of 2016 – 2017, the number of Syrian students attending Van Yüzüncü Yıl University was 300 including 183 male and 117 female students.

4.1 Field Study Methodology

The present study employed both quantitative and qualitative techniques to add a quality that is able to offer solutions in addition to its descriptive capabilities. The data collection methods utilized for Syrian students during research are: 1. Semi-Structured Forms/Questionnaire; and 2. Tracer. Certain problems were encountered in reaching the students although they were accommodated within the University campus. This was the reason behind the utilization of the “tracer” technique. The semi-structured questionnaires were applied to the contacted students. The questions concerning general information were formulated as closed-ended questions, while

2 As a brief overview of the history of Yüzüncü Yıl University, the university was founded on 20th July, 1982, approximately 8.5 months following the enactment of the Law No. 2447 on Higher Education on 6th November, 1981. Yüzüncü Yıl University is home to 14 Faculties, 4 Institutes, 11 Colleges, and 19 Application and Research Centres serving 27,048 students in total, namely 16,565 Undergraduate, 3,289 Postgraduate, and 441 Doctorate students. The education and training activities are offered at a campus situated on Van Lake at 15 km from the city centre.


their future predictions were not structured. The questions were prepared as original content through a review of samples on the Likert scale. The questionnaire was implemented through face-to-face interviews. Thus, it was both possible for the questions to be understood by students in a better way and for the reliability of the questionnaire to be improved further.

The study universe included Syrian students under temporary protection that had come to Van from Syria and were receiving education at various colleges, faculties, and institutes of Yüzüncü Yıl University. The preliminary findings indicated that 242 students attended faculties, vocational colleges, and institutes during 2014 – 2015. 65 of these students were covering school expenses from their own resources and without any scholarship, while 177 students availed themselves of scholarships. The breakdown of the students by vocational colleges, faculties, and institutes is provided in the table below.

Tabelle 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocational College, Institute, Faculty</th>
<th>No. of Students without Scholarship</th>
<th>No. of Students with Scholarship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics and Administrative Sciences</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theology</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering and Architecture</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Özalp Vocational College</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Vocational College</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Vocational College of Healthcare Services</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Health College</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary Sciences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Under these data, the study universe included 242 students. It was therefore rather small and finite. Moreover, the group of Syrian students attending Yüzüncü Yıl University, who are addressed by the present study, was heterogeneous. The entire universe was employed as a basis for the study owing to such justifications. This method called full enumeration was considered to be capable of offering clearer and more accurate information. The study initially addressed a pilot area and then, started with the field research. Even though the targeted number of students was 242 in the study sample being the same as its universe, the study could only cover 197 students because some students refused to be a part of the questionnaire, while others were not present at the university campus despite their on-going enrolment.

The data collected were classified according to their quality and the results of the semi-structured questionnaires were analysed through SPSS (Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences). The associations between variables were analysed separately. The two-way analysis of data was implemented through SPSS.

4.2 Field Study Findings

The findings of the field study primarily aim to focus on specific results, notably those on interpersonal relations and friendship relations in social life. Findings concerning homesickness, traditions, customs, lifestyles, and the sense of belonging were assessed as issues encountered by Syrian students under discussions on social integration along with findings on the difficulties experienced upon their arrival in Turkey.

4.2.1 Demographic Findings

The general age breakdown of participating Syrian students is as follows: 20.4% of or below 20 years of age; 17.4% of 22; 19.8% of 23; and 21.6% of 24. This shows the students to be of higher education age as expected with a balanced breakdown in terms of age.
As can be seen in the graph above, 56% of participating Syrian students were women and 44% men. This breakdown is consistent with the breakdown among the Syrian students around Turkey.

One of the questions posed to collect demographic information concerned nationality. According to the answers, 68% of the respondents stated that they were of Arabic origin; 23% Turkmen origin; 5% Arabic origin; and 4% Syrian origin. Considering the breakdown by physical locations, the prominent cities were found to be Aleppo, Homs, Idlib, and Latakia. Participating Syrian students attended a large number of different faculties, namely 15.6% at the Faculty of Education; 15% at Engineering; 10.2% at
the Health College; and 10.8% at Letters. With respect to the classes, 21% of the participating Syrians were freshmen; 20.4% in second year; 28.1% in third year; and 26.3% in fourth year. The ratios of master’s and doctorate were 3.6% and 0.6%, respectively. This breakdown by class indicated that the number of graduate students is much higher than postgraduate students.

Another question posed to obtain information on the sample and compare analysis results with those of other analyses was related to the mother tongues of Syrian students. 75% indicated Arabic; 21% Turkish; and 4% Kurdish. This question enabled the examination of the effects of the mother tongue on their academic achievement and integration to education.

*Graph 3: Breakdown by Mother Tongue*

Information pertaining to the sample will be understood better with the results concerning family and income situation. These data are also necessary for data analysis indicating the changes in the process of social adaptation. According to these results, the income levels observed among the Syrian students were less than 300 TL for 20.7.5%; 300 – 600 TL for 34.7%; 600 – 1200 TL for 20.4%; and 1200 – 7000 TL for 17.4.
Another field of information in the study was around the question concerning the income status of the families of Syrian students in Syria. As indicated by the figures above, the income level of the families of Syrian students decreased when compared to their income level in Syria in line with the previous table. Furthermore, the question on the head of the family continuing to work in the same profession as in Syria was responded to negatively by 75% and positively by 15% of the respondents. This result encompasses significant information to explain the reason behind the change in the income level and standard of living among Syrians. The students are observed to have experienced a negative change in terms of both their economic positions and social statuses as a result of the forced migration.

85% of the participating Syrian students stated that they were staying at state dorms in response to the question as to their current place of residence in Van. This result indicates that Syrian students did not experience any issues when it comes to accommodation as is the case with other students of foreign origin around Turkey. In addition, cards of the questionnaire addressed economic findings pertaining to Syrian students. Accordingly, the serious students were asked to state the sum of their monthly expenses. The detailed descriptions of expenses provided by the students showed that they are expenses ranged between 300 TL and 600 TL in the majority of cases. Expenses were observed to be close to or slightly less than the amount of scholarship they were receiving. The only public Source covering the needs of Syrian students was identified to be the programme of YTB. 79% of Syrian students indicated that they were receiving scholarship. 21% of the student were not receiving such scholarship as their application procedures had not been completed at the time. When it
comes to the adequacy of such scholarship, 62.3% (104 students out of 167 respondents) of those receiving scholarship responded positively, while 18% (30 students) responded negatively.

4.2.2 Social Life and Social Integration Process of Syrians

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), evaluating integration policies at the international level, lists Turkey at the lowest ranks of the index. A detailed review of the numeric data provided by the Index reveals that Turkey is scored at 15 (38th among 38) in terms of Labour Market Mobility; 49 (32nd among 38) in terms of Family Reunion; 5 (37th among 38) in terms of Education; 32 (28th among 38) in terms of Health; 11 (36th among 38) in terms of Political Participation; 27 (28th among 38) in terms of Permanent Residence; 34 (27th among 38) in terms of Nationality; 26 (36th among 38) in terms of Anti-Discrimination. In accordance with a general evaluation established by the index, migrants are stated to be going through a difficult time in terms of migration and integration and reference is made to the steps to be taken for social integration and to resolve issues experienced by migrants/refugees. Karaoğlu argues that integration-related problems are inevitable in the absence of language skills. In addition, these problems are exacerbated by psychological implications and social behaviours (2007:27). Specifically, in an environment where integration related issues create problems even during university education or after migration from villages to cities within the same country, problems in social integration will be inevitable in the aftermath of forced migration to another country (Çöllü and Öztürk, 2010:223).

In the context of such explanations, the students were directly asked the question “Do you miss where you have come from?”. This question was used to measure the impact of their recent migration on the Syrian students. Accordingly, 1.8% of the Syrian students selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 1.8% “Don’t Know”; 96.4% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”.

Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is an international Project covering indicators developed and employed annually to evaluate Migration and Integration policies of countries. See: http://www.mipex.eu/turkey.
In response to the question as to whether they had difficulty in getting used to their current location due to homesickness, 32.9% of the Syrian students selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 7.2% “Don’t Know”; 59.9% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”. These data point out to the fact that the students had the sense of longing for where they used to live, their country of origin. This finding is a fundamental indicator for a large number of issues as it points out to the need for psychological support mechanisms. In connection with this finding, integration related problems word inquired on through questions concerning life in Van. In response to “The cuisine in Van does not fit my habits”, 28.2% of the Syrian students selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 6.6% “Don’t Know”; 64.1% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”. 1.2% of the students did not respond to this question. Another question was related to the traditions and customs in Van. In response to “I find the traditions and customs in Van different than those in Syria”, 25.8% of the Syrian students selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 6.6% “Don’t Know”; 67.7% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”. A similar question included “I live in line with the traditions and customs of my own culture in Van”. In response, 30.5% of the Syrian students selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 6.6% “Don’t Know”; 62.9% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”. In addition, when responding to “I have difficulty in getting used to certain rituals and celebrations in Van as they are rather different”, 35.9% of the Syrian students selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 7.2% “Don’t Know”; 56.9% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”.

Accordingly, it is possible to state that the social integration of Syrian students in Van is facilitated by their absence difficulties in maintaining their own cultural values despite the foreign culture. The highly negative
response of Syrian students to the question as to their difficulties in adapting to Van stands out an indicator for this fact.

*Graph 6: Are You Having Difficulties in Adapting to Van?*

In the follow-up of the aforementioned question, the 21% of the Syrian students that admitted to having difficulties were requested to detail such difficulties. In response, they indicated the language barrier as the most common difficulty with 4.2% in addition to such other issues as discrimination, alienation, lack of scholarships, unavailability of medical care, and lack of accommodation opportunities. When these findings are compared with the results of the study for Turkey, access to education and employment are on the foreground for Turkey, while the number of those not specifying any problems is higher with the most common problem being the language barrier for Van.

Moreover, participating Syrian students were given “I experience language-related problems while communicating with people” and in response, 45.5% selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 6% “Don’t Know”; 48.5% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”. In this context, the Kurdish language being enough for communication with the locals in Van is a factor for Syrian students finding it easy to communicate in social life while experiencing problems arising from the language barrier in their academic achievement or education. Although their mother tongue is mostly Arabic, the number of Kurdish speakers is also high with 26%. Moreover, their training in Turkish is facilitating communication, as well.

The other discussions that will be determining for social integration analyses in the study pertain to the practices in the daily lives of Syrian students. Syrian students were asked to list their most common in free time. They marked the most frequent activities with 1 and the least frequent activities with 8. Their most frequent activities were outdoor sight-
seeing, visiting shopping centres or places, working out, hanging out at cafes, visiting libraries, going to internet cafes, other (not marked exactly in questionnaire forms), and going to the cinema in the order of preference. Consequently, it is possible to state that the perceptions of Syrian students exhibit a wide range for free time, because they are not spending high-quality free time. They were also asked about the people they spend their free time with most frequently.

Graph 7: Who Do You Spend Your Free Time with the Most?

In response to the question as to who they spend their free time with the most, 50.9% of the responding Syrian students indicated their Syrian friends; 9.6% their friends of Turkish origin; 38.9% both Syrian and Turkish friends. 0.6% of the respondents did not answer this question. Another question was related to how they selected their friends. In response to the question as to whether they considered nationality or ethnicity in their choice of friends in Van, 86.2% of the Syrian students selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 3.6% “Don’t Know”; 10.2% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”. Accordingly, although Syrian students are spending time more with their Syrian peers, this choice is observed not to be deliberate in nature. As they do not consider nationality or ethnicity while choosing their friends, this also show us that their choice of friends is spontaneous without such prejudices. The results pertaining to social life are also indicative of problems in and levels of social integration. For this reason, one of the remaining questions is related to prejudice and alienation.
I Think that I am Alienated by my Friends during my Time in Van.

The Syrian students in the sample group were given “I think that I am alienated by my friends during my time in Van” and in response, 57.5% of the Syrian students selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 13.2% “Don’t Know”; 29.3% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”. These responses may also be due to Syrian students spending time mostly with other Syrians in the social environment. However, when the question is asked as “Do you think students of Turkish origin act biased towards Syrian students?”, 57.5% of the Syrian students selected “Completely Agree” or “Agree”. This finding indicates that social integration is not being secured.

I Think that Students of Turkish Origin Act Biased (towards Students of Syrian Origin).

Another question posed to the sample group pertains to their satisfaction levels in terms of their social environment. In response to “I am satisfied with the social environment at the university”, 18% of the Syrian students
selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 7.8% “Don’t Know”; 73.7% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”. 0.6% of the respondents did not answer this question. Their preference of their Syrian peers also applies here as a factor.

Graph 10: *I am Experiencing Difficulties in Building Relationships with Students in Van.*

Finally, the graph above shows the responses of Syrian students to their difficulties in building relationships with students in Van. Accordingly, 46.7% of the Syrian students selected “Completely Disagree” or “Disagree”; 7.2% “Don’t Know”; 46.1% “Completely Agree” or “Agree”.

The study attempted to analyse the behaviours and attitudes and perceptions Syrian students around social integration and prejudice. As observed from the results obtained from the questionnaire, Syrian students indicate that they prefer communication with people from their own environments by agreeing that they are having difficulties in building relationships with people in Van, although they mostly responded positively to questions concerning their choice of friends or satisfaction with the social environment. We can state here that the students choose people from their origin as friends to a greater extent and prefer to receive help from friends of the same origin when faced with any problem. This is a result of both the commonalities in their problems and the ability to communicate better with these individuals. It is possible to indicate that Syrian students have not been integrated with their residence despite the availability of areas where they can and counter Turkish students in social life.
4.2.3 Future Expectations and Predictions

Finally, Syrian students were asked questions concerning their expectations from the future. These questions allow for the evaluation of the permanency of Syrians in the face of them being defined as guests in Turkey.

**Graph 11: Do You Consider Staying on in Turkey after Graduation?**

72% of the Syrian students responded positively and 28% negatively to the question as to whether they considered staying on in Turkey after graduation. When asked whether they considered staying on in Van after graduation, their responses were positive for 12% and negative for 88%. These ratios show that Syrian students do not wish to stay on in the city Van even though they express not to have encountered any problems here. This finding is undoubtedly affected for the limited job opportunities in Van. Similarly, 74% of the Syrian students responded positively to the question as to whether they expected to see employment opportunities in Turkey, while the negative responses remained at 26%. Therefore, it is possible to state that they will be staying in Turkey permanently if job opportunities are created for them here.

In response to the question as to whether they considered going back to Syria after the end of the war, 86% of the Syrian students responded positively and 14% negatively. We can see that, despite their expectation of employment, they wish to return to their own homeland almost to the same extent.
When asked about the possibility of going to another country, 27% of the responding Syrian students said yes, while 73% said no. Those who wanted to go to another country were further asked about their reasons; 7.8% indicated education opportunities, 6.6% family-related reasons, 5.4% employment opportunities and economic reasons, and 7.2% better living conditions. Turkey can secure social integration by creating job opportunities for young Syrians qualified for the country and who can be effective for interventions to social conflict.

5 Conclusion

The years spend at the University represent a difficult period for individuals owing to problems and new experiences. This period will have even more challenging implications for individuals in higher education far from their own culture and in the traumatic aftermath of forced migration. In fact, this stage of life has brought along rather difficult phases for a large number of young Syrian individuals in higher education. They had to abandon their countries before they started attending university or graduated from their programmes. On one hand, the only goal of these individuals fleeing from war has been to survive; on the other, the prolongation of the process contributed to concerns for the future. Syrians came to Turkey without any of their belongings and most of them sought asylum here through illegal means as can be seen in questionnaire results. The interviews indicate primarily the number of students and families living in camps to be rather high. Turkish officials offered possibilities for Syrian individuals Turkey attending higher education in Syria and those in the initial influx were able to enroll at universities as special students on the
sole basis of their declarations. This possibility facilitates the adaptation of students to their new lives after arriving here merely to survive the war. At this point, the study can be stated to reflect results that can be generalised for Turkey according to the findings obtained from the field research evaluation along with its theoretical part. First of all, Syrian students attending Yüzüncü Yıl University, who constituted the study universe, are observed to have come to Turkey mostly at higher education age and with their families in line with their demographic results. The majority of the questionnaire respondents are from Aleppo, Homs, Idlib, and Latakia regions of Syria and more than half of them are women. The group is dominated by those of Arabic origin and most of the individuals arrived in Turkey in 2012.

The study has also yielded results concerning economic indicators among Syrians. While some students live by their scholarships, others are supporting their families as their monthly expenses remain below their scholarships. In addition, the economic income levels of families fell significantly and there have been changes in professions of heads of families after migration. These facts make it more difficult for Syrian students to adapt to their new lives and are influential on their homesickness to a great extent. Homesickness and concerns for the future are observed to prolong the process to come to terms with the life in Turkey. Combined with differences between education systems, unfinished university programmes, and the language barrier, there has been an upsurge in the problems of the members of this community. Specifically, students expressed in the questionnaire that they were not experiencing any problems in Van; however, their unwillingness to continue living in Van indicates their perception of migration as a forced movement and as a position of despair. For this reason, the students specified also that they were determined to return to their country of origin after the end of the war. Another result concerns the social relationships which can be defined as indicators of social integration. A large group among the students expressed that they mostly built friendships with migrant Syrian students. The most notable factor here is the students’ perception that the people sharing same fate will understand them better. Nevertheless, there are a large number of respondents who believe Turkish students to be prejudiced against them. Even though universities – considered to be places of abundance for free thinking and discussion – are environments with the greatest possibility for encounters between different identities and cultures, they are also observed to become discriminatory places for Syrians. However, this situa-
tion is exacerbated by other students having insufficient or incomplete knowledge of the status and rights of Syrians.

In an age of significant difficulties in establishing consensus among sociologically different communities, countries geographically similar to Turkey experience problems aggravated by the increase in discourses of multiculturalism. Combined with the social interactions created by migration movements, this finding reveals the process of social integration to be a long road. Turkey will remain as a transit country for Syrians, unless it is able to create employment and higher education opportunities for their future even with a highly qualified group like university students. Consequently, the present study both represents a reference for the generation of a common policy for the problems encountered by Syrian students at the stage of higher education and offers feedback with respect to the practical repercussions of social integration processes of the global age of today.

References


Historical and Sociological Analysis of Women in Turkey

Olcay Tire, Murat Cem Demir*

Every society is made up of women and men together. Both sexes need each other, one cannot exist without the other. However, in most cases men and women are not exactly equal. The main reason for male domination is hidden under the concept of gender. Gender is socio-cultural reading of biologic difference (Little: 2017). In patriarchal culture, women's social status and roles are unevenly shaped compared to men.

The social position of the woman has changed according to the forms of production, religion, culture and traditions that dominated in history. Generally, the historical process has a tendency towards women. Women's inequality in Turkey, social position occurring with printing and exclusion practices; sociology will be expressed by supporting historical information. According to Carr (1990), history is not a discipline that the events speak for themselves, but a discipline that the historian speaks of them. Here, we will try to deal with the social thing in the historical course.

We can roughly examine three basic periods as the social position of women in Turkish history. The first period is the Asian period in which the tribal life prevails. We will express this period as pre-Islamic period. The second is the period in which the agricultural production and religious ideology dominate, marking the position of the Turkish woman after the adoption of Islamic religion. We can place these two periods roughly into the pre-modern universe in Turkish history. The third period corresponds to a more secular and modern stage. The Turkish woman, along with the modern republic, is considered in this era in the immediate past and present.

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1 Turkish Women in Pre-Islamic Period

Before Islam, the general position of the Turkish woman is quite different from the other historical periods of the Turks. Ziya Gökalp in his work "Türkçülüğün Esasları" gave detailed information about Turkish woman before Islam. "According to Gökalp, the old Turks are relatively democratic and feminist. It is believed that under the influence of shamanism in the field of religious belief, a woman has a sacred power. In the same way, it is believed that you have a holy gentle man with the influence of totemism. This belief pushes them towards equal rights for men and women in the field of law. We see concrete examples of these in the field of public law. For example, orders must begin with the words 'Khan and Wife (Hatun)'. Women (hatun) would be with the khan in feasts, conventions, worship and ceremonies, chaplains on war and peace boards” (trans by Abadan 1982: 7).

According to Gökalp, matrilineality and patrilinearity are equal in ancient Turks. This equality is evident in some institutions. For example, nobility does not only come from the patrilinearity but also from the matrilineality in Old Turks. In order for a person to be considered a noble, both his mother and her father must be noble (trans. by, Arat 1986: 71-72). In addition, women and men to be married in the Old Turks do not have to wait for their elders to die in order to get their share of family heritage. Both parties take the family right in advance and combine their goods to become a common host. Therefore, in ancient Turks, the house is not merely the property of the husband, but a common asset with the woman (Abadan 1982: 7). Another thing that shows social equality between men and women in ancient Turks is marriage. Marriage takes place with the consent of both sides. Likewise, the right to divorce is recognized by both genisus (Kırkpınar 1999: 46).

According to Turks, "marriage and nesting" is the foundation of Turkish states (Ögel 1979: 174). Marriage is dominated by monogamy and there is no polygamy. However, during the periods of imperialism, except for the real wife, Khans were able to find women as the name of kuma (co –wife), from other cities. But these co – wife is not real partners. The sons of the co- wife (even their father Khan) can never be khan. Because co wife are not of khan's own province, they are usually Chinese Princes (Arat 1986: 73). At this point it can be stated that nationalism is observed in the Old Turks.
Polygamy has not been experienced in ancient Turks for a long period of time. But it seems to have emerged in connection with the economic order that the state has gone through. It is a coincidence that khan wanted to have more products than needed. This material basis can also be considered to have permeated the social and civic life of the administrators.

In the Turkish societies in pre-Islamic period, the child birth is an important object of investigation from the feminist sociology. In ancient Turks, girls' births are never mourning. The customs such as the killing of the girl children seen in some societies at that time have never been seen in the Old Turks. This shows that the girls, who will become a woman in the future, have been welcomed from the beginning. On the other hand, men and women are equal in terms of parenting to children. Women have rights over their children like father (Kırkpınar 1999: 49). The right of custody within the family is given not only to the father but also to the mother (Doğan 2010: 191). In short, in the Old Turks the family has a largely democratic structure. Therefore, in those days, women and men have almost equal social positions and rights in the family. This can be seen as one of the most important generations liberating women.

On the other hand, both in the Old Turks and in other ancient societies until the passage of agricultural production, the only production that exists in nature is the fertility of the woman. For this reason, women have tremendous value because of their fertility and production for their humanity. However, with the passing of agricultural production, man now begins to participate in production, and the need for his physical power increases in this production. It can be said that the necessity puts the woman in the background and brings the man in front of it. In addition to this infrastructural cycle, there is also a further economic breakthrough, which is called a surplus product, as the product produced in agriculture is more than needed. Men have mostly begun to own themselves in agriculture, mostly because they work for themselves. Thus, the societies including the Ancient Turks have stepped into the transition process to the patriarchal system.

As a matter of fact, and the status of women in the family and society in the patriarchal system have clearly decrease. However, the real radical change in the lives of women in Turks was formed by Islam. When the Islamic law was combined with the patriarchal system, In Turkish societies, the status of the woman went publicly and rapidly backward.
The Influence of Islam and Turkish Women

It is not only limited to a change of religion that Islam enters the lives of the Turks. Islamic principles have not only remained at the theological level but also affected the law. As such, the influence of Islam on Turkish women has developed in a bidirectional and restrictive manner: Islam has played an active role in both women's and societal issues.

The history of pre-Republican Turkish women can be handled in two major processes as Seljuq Empire and Ottoman period. However, the effect of Muslims on Turkish women is mainly felt in the Ottoman Empire. As already mentioned by Kırkpınar (1995: 75), the resources to provide detailed information on the social, economic and cultural conditions of Seljuk women are very limited. For this reason, the Ottomans should be mentioned mainly.

With the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, Islam became more influential in Turkish life. In the Ottoman Empire, power which is dominant in the palace and society is largely religion. Therefore, it is desirable to organize all social life according to religious rules first. In social life as a requirement of Islam women have low status; education, work, divorce, profession, the right to travel alone on the street is constrained. The places where women go and travel are restricted by the state. It is arranged with the fermans to what point in which vehicles, in which parts of the vehicles, and on which glasses the worshipers will worship to the tiniest point (Çakır 2011: 227).

For example, during III. Osman period in Ottoman (1754-1757), women were forbidden to go out in Istanbul except for the days of sun daying which the sultan had reserved for himself. Women must wear plain and covered clothing when they go out on the restricted days. Otherwise, women were thrown into the sea at the order of the Sultan (Bakacak 2009: 628-629). In the Ottoman Empire, women were removed from social life. Women are associated with spouse and family roles. Women and men were not allowed to co-exist side by side in public life, even according to Çakır (2011: 228) this distinction was not limited to social life but continued after death. Separate tombstones were set up for women and men to determine gender and statues.

The image of a weak woman derived from Islamic law was drawn sincerely in the Ottoman Empire. For example, women do not even have the right to decide on their own, even when they are married. The woman is at the disposal of her father when her husband is not married or widowed in
marriage. If the father of the woman is dead, the one the Kadi will determine is his guardian. (Arat 1986: 97-98). Similarly, in the Ottoman society, marriage is usually organized by parents, while girls do not have the right to choose their wives. It is not possible for the bride and groom to see each other until the wedding day. The damad should send some money to her father under the name "weight" (Kırkpınar 1999: 81). Although this practice has been abolished in the Republic of the "dowry" especially in the eastern regions of Turkey under the name of this tradition it has continued throughout the 20th century. This practice is currently being carried out under the name of "money for trousseau" in the same region.

The decision to end marriage which was unequally established in the Ottoman Empire was unilaterally recognized by the only men. Men can use this right in the way they wish. After waiting for a three-month law violation (the process of determining if you have a pregnancy), the man may send the woman to the father's house. Divorce does not have to be based on legal grounds. For the validity of the divorce, there is no need to get a woman's consent or a judge's decision. Besides, she cannot take the children with her when she leaves. All rights belonging to children belong to the father (Çakır 2011: 202-203).

It is understood from these details that in the Ottoman Empire, women have no right to speak even in the most basic vital issues. Because the woman cannot sit in the position of an individual; women are incompetent beings who cannot think (maybe to be unwilling to think) and cannot distinguish between good and right. Only the position of the woman identified with the family role in the family depends on her husband's initiative.

This dramatic situation in the status of women is not unique to only east and Islamic societies. The situation in Christian Western societies is also similar. However, from the 15th century onwards, the West has experienced an economic evolution from agricultural economy to commercial economy and then to industrialization. Accordingly, breaking the patterns of the religious ideology and collecting in the light of the mind and the science, the individual and the woman have once again taken possession. This slice, which has found its true expression in the Renaissance and Enlightenment processes, has developed socio-political philosophies based on individual rights and freedoms, free thought, reason and consciousness (Kaymaz 2010: 336).

But since radical movements such as the French or the Industrial Revolution did not take place in the Ottoman Empire, both women and society seemed to have no distinction of individual rights and freedoms, mind and
science for the generic. The Ottomans came to realize this problematic situation in the following years. And in order to be able to get rid of the subject, he first declared the Tanzimat Fermanı in 1839. The Tanzimat Fermanı describes the military, political, legal and economic arrangements that are obligatory in order to get rid of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Westernization has also obligated some important rights and regulations concerning the life of the Ottoman woman.

Together with the Tanzimat movement, the first steps in the field of women's rights began to take place in the Ottoman Empire from the mid-19th century. Among the factors that led to the backwardness of the Ottoman society in the face of the capitalist West, the common view among Western intelligents in this period is that women have important roles in social backwardness. From this point of view, intellectuals and bureaucrats have made some reforms that affect women (Tekeli 1982: 377). These intellectuals and bureaucrats who want the westernization of the Ottoman society to become a western society should be able to choose women's clothes freely, prevent the law enforcement officers from participating in the private life of women, freely choosing spouses for marriage, establishing special schools for girls, accepting European- (Abadan 1982: 9).

Pro-western intellectuals in Tanzimat era insisted that women should be trained in particular. As a result of these efforts, the first midwifery courses in 1842, the first female graduates in 1858, the first industrial schools in 1863, and the girls' teacher schools in 1870 (Tekeli 1985: 1192, Kaymaz 2010: 337).

In this period, various ideological movements coming from Europe started to gradually become effective in the Ottoman Empire. The informal press has developed. The old madrasah began to break from the culture. A new class has also emerged. Since this new class knows a foreign language, it has closely watched the cultural and social events of the West and wrote the results in local journals and newspapers.

The press has a special significance for Turkish women. Because "women have to express themselves, promotions have been realized with the press channel for the first time" (Çakır 2011: 58). These publications have some common requirements. The main ones; women should be treated both by the state and by men without discrimination, the development of education of women and girls, the problem of covering, women's working order, women's political rights, civil law issues (Sancar 2012: 95).

These and similar developments were found supporters in the Young Ottoman and Jön Türk circles, and the situation of women became a sub-
ject of countless novels, plays, poems and philosophical writings in the articles of important thinkers of that period (Toprak 1982: 365). Bureaucrats and writers who began to recognize the West together with the Tanzimat and began embracing Western ideas began to insist that women's second-class positions in public and private areas should be changed in order to get rid of the Ottoman backwardness.

With the Islahat Fermanı (1856), these thoughts have been embodied and an important step has been taken that no one can reduce the second class due to their sex. Two regulations are important for women in this period. The first one is Arazi Kanunnamesi in 1858. The other is Sicill-i Nüfüs Nizamnamesi (Çaha 2010: 108). Arazi Kanunnamesi provides that the inheritance be equally shared between the brothers and sisters in respect of land ownership. Equality among the heritage, breeds and the presence of women in the census are indicators of the fact that women are beginning to exist independently in society, both husband and father. After the preparation of the Sicill-i Nüfüs Nizamnamesi, the women were included for the first time with the general census made in 1882, as well as information on the age, physical characteristics, civil and social status of women in the census (Çakır 2011: 204-205). In addition, the influence of the Western countries (Tekeli 1985: 1192), the abolition of slavery and carriage by the rule of the Sultan in 1847, is an important development in terms of the status of women.

Following such progresses II. Meşrutiyet (Constitution) was declared. Women had a more free life. Women as in French Revolution, began to demand freedom and various rights (Sancar 2012: 92). With the II. Meşrutiyet (Constitutional Monarchy), especially the women who have been educated in the world view brought by the earlier westernization steps, have established various associations for the education of their fellowmen and for the closure of the wounds of war. It is ensuring that women have equal rights with men by creating an organized and organized struggle there and putting pressure on the government. Thus, women will take the position they deserve in society and in the family.

The first important step in the beginning of the women's movement and in this direction has been journalism. The press, which offers the opportunity to write to women, has also made it possible for her to realize herself. In other words, let the woman make her own identity by writing action. As a matter of fact, it is no coincidence that the publication of women's writings in the magazines has created a sense of self-confidence... Fatma
Aliye, our first female writer, is known as the first Muslim Turkish woman novelist to debate women's problems in novels (Çakmak, 2011:60).

In this sense, according to Çakır (2013: 95), nearly 30 female associations were established from the Tanzimat to the Republic. Organizations such as the Association of Ottoman Turkish Women, the Association of the Ottoman Women, and the associations and workshops of the Ottoman Women's Association are all worthy of consideration. Organizations such as the Modern Women's Association, the Association of Cemiyet-i Nisvan, the Teali-i Nisvan Society and the Red and White Clubs informed from the angles, aimed to raise awareness, and provided important grounds for these issues.

This role is a necessity for war. As Tekeli (1982: 378) has stated, wars have actually made a more significant contribution to the emancipation of women than reforms. At the same time, due to wars, governments have had to accept the necessity of female labor power for economic life. For example, only 1,000 women were employed in socks manufacturing in Urfa. 4,780 women are working in the carpet weaving sector in İzmir, Sivas, Ankara and Konya, and 1550 women in textile industry in Aydın, Kütahya, Eskişehir and Karahisar (Abadan 1982: 11). In addition to the plant, the banks, PTT (postal agency), central and local public administration, and hospitals have opened their doors to women.

In addition to these, some scientists in the Ottoman Empire encouraged women to live in public life and caused the Islamic superiority principle to be shaken. Since 1915, Ziya Gokalp, a sociology engineer at Istanbul University, has initiated this shaking. In the essay 'The Essentials of Turkish Nationalism', Gökalp openly began to demand equal rights for women in matters of marriage, divorce and inheritance. His ideas inspired the legislators who drafted the Aile Nizamnamesi (Family Ordinance) dated October 25, 1917 (Abadan 1982: 11). The Family Decree, which came out in 1917, opened modern practices related to the establishment of marriage union and granted some limited rights to women (Çakır 2011: 205).

The Family Decree, which entered into force in 1917, adopted age 17 as the basis for 18 girls for men, bringing age restriction to marriage. It provided an official dimension to the marriage under the supervision of an officer and two witnesses, thus ensuring the state's intervention in the family institution. Multicultural marriage is limited (Çaha 2010: 127), but man's polygyny has not been removed altogether. With family decree, marriage of a husband to a second woman was left to the woman (Kırkpınar 1999: 114).
On that day, the woman, who had no economic income and did not want to divorce easily due to patriarchal relations, could not say no to marry her husband with a second woman. For that reason, it cannot be said that this law is valid. In fact, the law was abolished in 1919. It is possible to encounter the polygamy of men in the Eastern and South-eastern Anatolian regions during the 20th century in which the patriarchal traditions such as the title, the levirat, the sorarat and customs are seen as commodities and the patriarchal system and the rules laid down for religious women are strictly applied. Nowadays polygamy in this region, with the remaining assets of Syrian women are still forced to migrate to Turkey again.

Moreover, it cannot be said that the innovations brought by the Tanzimat and the Meşruyet directly influence the lives of all the women in the Ottoman Empire. These have primarily affected the lives of educated women living in large cities. As these women became conscious, they realized that life did not exist only with in-home roles, and they tried to influence other women through press and associations. But the real adventure of modernization began to Republican women in Turkey.

2 Women in Modern Turkey

In the Republican era, there are two important factors that try to create Turkish women. The first of these is that Atatürk is aware of the fact that women must have equal rights and conditions with men in achieving the level of contemporary civilization of the Turkish nation. The second of these is that it is the superior struggle that the women who show in the War of Independence, the Turkish woman, together with the men, gave a concrete and at the same time an invisible war: Women, for example, organized rallies in various illicit establishments and established associations in the process of independence. In order to survive, women started to work in public places, filled with war material and food for the soldiers on the front. These situations show women are actively involved in the War of Independence. With the War of Independence, the Turkish woman has clearly portrayed simultaneously that sexism is not natural, but artificial.

After the victory of the War of Independence and the declaration of the Republic, new era completely began for the Turkish woman. The main actors in this critical zone and spokesperson of the Republic of Turkey's
founder Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Ataturk, for example, said in his speech on 31 January 1923 in Izmir.

"A society, if only one of the sexes is able to get what the centennial requires, that society will be weakened halfway... The failure of our society is the result of negligence and imperfection of our women... When a society is engaged in an activity and the other is slow, it means that society has suffered... If science and science are necessary for our society, both men and women must obtain them at the same time... Because of this, our women will have knowledge and science and they will go through all the teaching steps that men have gone through... Women will walk with men in community life and become supporters and supporters of each other "(trans. by, Kaymaz 2010:345).

One of the important goals of the Turkish modernization project, as Kandiyoti pointed out, is the position of women in society. The Republic has been seen as an important symbol of women in the break-up of the hegemony of religion with the project of modernization planned and in the Ottoman society. Girls and women of the Republic, for example, performed with shorts in ceremonies, carried flags in school uniforms, danced in western fashionable evening dresses in prom (Kandiyoti 2011: 193).

In parallel, Tevhidi Tedrisat Kanunu (the Law on Unification of Education =Combining Education) was accepted as the first step to increase the education of women. With Tevhidi Tedrisat, girls and boys will be educated together in schools connected to the Ministry of National Education, where madrasah will be closed, contemporary and secular education will be provided, national consciousness will be established. Primary school is compulsory for everyone. Instead of the religious dogma based education system, new curriculum programs will be given to the awareness that girls are free people. A training program will be implemented to encourage women to be active in all areas of community life (Kaymaz 2010: 346).

It is the first and most important step in the transition to a secular social life that the students are able to receive the same education as male students with the Law of Tevhidi Tedrisat and the Removal of the Caliphate. However, due to the current structure of the society, all girls were not able to benefit from the rights given by the Law of Tevhidi Tedrisat. In spite of Atatürk’s educational mobilization, traditional woman perception continues to participate in a certain segment of society, especially in rural areas and lower classes. Therefore, the girls who were born in urban bourgeois families benefited from the education rights offered.

The second right granted for the freedom of women after Tevhidi Tedrisat is the Dress Code issued in 1925. With this law, the veil (veil,
sheet) that the woman had to obey due to religious ideology was removed from the center (Tekeli 1985: 1193). With the Dress Code, Atatürk intended to demolish the existence of religion, the most powerful symbolic influences on women. Thanks to this law, some of the Turkish women have achieved the freedom of clothing. It should be noted, however, that "the Turkish Revolution puts the Turkish woman in a total change and re-identification process not only in appearance, but also in life, habits, culture and social status" (Kırkpınar 1999: 122). Another of these re-identification efforts is the Turkish Civil Code, which was adopted in 1926.

The Turkish Civil Code, which entered into force on October 4, 1926, declared polygamy as illegal and granted equal divorce to both parties, and gave both of them parental supervision. So the woman, who has always been taken as a mother, has now become an equal parent with men. Heritage has also been accepted as a full equality principle. At the same time, the principle of equality between sexes has been observed in testimony (Abadan 1982: 15). Thus, these crucial issues, which are of paramount importance for the equality of civilized life, have been rearranged in favor of women. The marriage, the family, and even the law, which is actually one of the two legs, is made more visible with such arrangements and the woman's civilization is strengthened.

It is seen that Ataturk, who pioneered the innovations that took place in the 1930s, paid particular attention to women in order to be able to catch the contemporaries of a state that had just emerged from the war and was newly founded. Perhaps because he is the one most interested in children, the one who trains the child and the one who teaches the life, women can bring their children to the level of contemporary civilization only if they get all the training they receive.

Anyway, the reflection of this ideology in social life of the period has not been delayed. Looking back on those years, innovations have been echoed in the society. Particularly urban women participated in working life and continued working life together with mother. But these women, by the words of Kandiyoti, are "sexless", even to some extent, male. In a society where male cheerleaders are closely tied to the behaviour of women, it could have been possible with the strong signs that women participate in public life but not in maintaining their dignity and not presenting themselves as sexual objects to men (2011: 196). As a matter of fact, this is the case in the recent history of Turkish history.

When it comes to 1934, women are given the right to choose so that they can become real citizens. In this respect, the impact of women's ini-
tiatives and the superior achievement they have demonstrated in the War of Independence is enormous. But before this right was granted, women had attempted to set up a party in 1923 and enter the parliament. Women who participated in the work of associations who wrote articles in women's magazines in the Ottoman era, founded a party on 15 June 1923 under the name of 'Women People's Party' by the presidency of Nezihe Muhittin. The party's aims include promoting women's activism in society, promoting social and political rights, as well as voting rights (Çakır 2013: 97-98). But women are not allowed to form a political party. Because it is stated that women without political rights will not be able to form a political party (Sancar 2012: 165). According to Toprak, the Women's People's Party, which is desired to be established before the Republican People's Party (CHF), is not allowed with the concern that the People's Party, which is supposed to constitute the whole nation, is going to be separated (trans by, Sancar 2012: 165).

The women who did not get permission from the party founded "Turkish Women's Union" (TKB) on February 5, 1924. The party program is more moderate. The Association is aiming to reach Turkish women with all kinds of responsibilities in the face of social and political rights (Çakır 2013: 99). For this reason they want the right to vote. Despite the demands of the TKB, many intellectual women and men, signature campaigns, newspaper articles, polls and so on., the 1924 Constitution did not grant women the right to choose and elect (Sancar 2012: 166). The reason is that the opposition in Parliament at that time is very strong (Second Group) and their conservative views will not allow such a Constitution. In 1934, this conservative group was liquidated and the democratic group could move freely (Sancar 2012: 167).

In order for women to be 'normal' citizens like men, they are first given the right to be elected and elected in the Municipal elections on 3 April 1930. Then, with the amendment of Constitution on December 5, 1934, women are elected in parliamentary elections. Thus, women who are supposed to be the main protector of the secular Republican regime are seen as citizens for the first time and have equal citizenship status with men.

Following this giant step, 17 women won parliamentary elections in parliamentary elections held on 8 February 1935. In 1936, a woman was elected with an interim election. Thus, the rate of female parliamentarians in the Parliament reached to 4.5% in 395 deputies. This rate is a great success in that day's conditions. Because the rate has fallen steadily until the 1995 elections. From 1995 onwards, differentiated actions and discourses
of the women's movement, the influence of international contracts, and the work of feminist political scientists have increased the number of female parliamentarians (Çakır 2013: 125-126-127).

In 1926, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey adopted the shortcomings of the Civil Code, eliminating the feminist women's struggles in 2001 with the new Civil Code on 1 January 2002 and entered into force. With this law, the grievances of women in the family have been completely removed by law, and they have equal rights within the family of women and men. In 1926, due to the social structure of the country, the ruling of the 'family leader is men' is changed and the 'marriage union is managed and represented by the together'. Then, by changing the provision that the work of the woman depends on the permission of her husband, the spouses are not obliged to work with one another to work (Gökçimen 2008: 34). With the new Civil Code, the wife of the family has the same position as women and men in the family, with the removal of the maternity material. However, these are the laws, and the view that man is the leader of the family still continues, especially in families with low socio-economic levels and families in which women do not have sufficient economic incomes.

Another of the most important changes in 2002 is the 'new commodity regime' law, which is issued to protect and protect the labour of women who are not particularly engaged in paid work but who are responsible for free housework (food, cleaning, etc.) and maintenance work on the premises. Thus, it has been legally recognized that women's domestic labour is an economic value, and the woman has equal rights in the property acquired during the marriage in case of divorce.

The current status of Turkish women in nowadays can be summarized with data of Turkey Statistical Institute (TÜİK). According to TÜİK (2017), “Population of Turkey consist of men (50.2%) and women (49.8%). The illiteracy rate of the Turkey’s total population, 5.4% in 2015, while this rate is 1.8% for males and 9% for females. The employment rate in Turkey is 46%, in the ratio of 65% male, while the female was 27.5%. The first marriage was seen in Turkey where most of the 20-24 age range with 37.5%. The proportion of men whose first marriage was between 20-24 years was 41.3%, while this rate was 34.3% among women. The ratio of women deputies Turkey National Assembly (TBMM) in 1935 was 4.5%, after 81 years, this proportion rose to 14.7%. The number of ministers in Turkey in 2016 was 27 which was just one woman. In our country, the rate of female mayors in 2009 local elections was 0.9%, while
in 2014 local elections this rate was 2.9%. Female headmaster rate was 2.3% in the 2009 local elections, while it was 2% in the 2014 local elections.”

Consequently, since the founding of the secular Turkish Republic women, it has been given the rights and status of a modern society requires. However, not all of these rights have been internalized by the whole society. But the rights of women have encountered problems in practice when they are included in the law. This situation arises from the cultural, political, historical and economic structure of the society we are in.

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Emotional Dilemma in Motherhood: An Analysis through Turkish Lullabies¹

Hatice Karakuş Öztürk*

1 Introduction

Beauvoir who thinks that the motherhood is an unpleasant trap, criticizes the ideology that promotes all women for being mother and the motherhood conditions (Beauvoir, 1996, 66'dan quoted by: Barutçu, 2014: 45). This perception of unpleasant trap has reflected to the attributes which has been ascribed by the writer to the motherhood. Such that according to her, motherhood is a mixture of "a weird egotism, altruism, imagination, sincerity, bad intention, commitment and quasi-dogness" (Beauvoir, 2010: 148). According to Badinter (2015: 22-23), this role which should unquestioningly be played by the woman is partly "like a gamble". Some becomes happy and gain a great deal personally, while some more or less tries to reconcile it with their contradictory desires. And some avoid from admitting that they could not achieve their goals and failed in motherhood experience. Consequently, parenthood is a long-termed gamble of a troublesome process. This situation sometimes leads to an emotion which considers the child as "a burden, a disturbing being from whom it should be get rid of" (Çeler, 2012: 170).

One of the interesting arguments we see among the studies in the literature on motherhood is that "a baby who is a product of a strong emotion such as compassion can be perceived with an emotion like hatred?" One of the significant opinions written by the writers who interested in this issue is as such: Some phrases in the lullabies, children's plays or fairy tales do not have innocent or emotional content as they are supposed to be. Winnicott's (1994) study titled "Hate in the Counter-Transference" is one of the attempts for grounding this reflection. According to the writer, if the wom-

¹ This study is the final version of the article named "The Emotions Concealed in Lullabies: Motherhood in Love-Hate Dilemma" which has published in the journal of Turkish Studies.
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an does not hate from her baby due to her experiences during the pregna-
cy and during and after the birth, she has to fall into masochism. For a
woman who experience double-valued emotions (compassion and hate),
these emotions somehow has to be thrown out. In this sense, the lullabies,
children's plays or fairy tales release the subversive thoughts in the wom-
an.

2 Pregnancy, Motherhood and Womanhood

According to Abrevaya (2007: 29), the body of a woman is the scene of
the perpetual losses during the lifetime. Many incidents such as the anxi-
eties created by the menstrual bleeding, the moment of birth, the ablactat-
ing of the by the mother are the incidents which occur in the body. Fire-
stone (1993: 210) defines the pregnancy as a barbaric thing. It is a tempo-
rary deformation of the body for the purpose of continuing one's species.
A pregnant woman needs to face with many reactions from inside and out-
side. That is to say, the reactions during the pregnancy such as the reac-
tions of the children as "why has this woman's stomach protruded?", the
gradual decrease of the sexual desire of the husband and the guilt feelings
aroused from this situation, woman's crying in front of the mirror on the
eighth month; all of these are heartfelt reactions. Beauvoir (2010: 127) de-
scribes this process as a tragedy. Bydlowski (Bydlowski: quoted by Er-
dem, 2015: 195) defines the pregnancy as the beginning of the period in
which the woman experiences a confidential encounter with herself and
names this situation which would not be seen in any period as "the spiritu-
al transparency of the pregnant woman". According to Erdem (2015: 195),
this period is a period in which intense unconscious concerns and conflicts
descend on the conscious. Mother frequently has moderate or major de-
pressive periods after the birth. They can have worried of that their babies
can be born with a loss of any organ before the birth. They can also have
worry of that they cannot hold the baby inside, namely the concern about
that they are insufficient, holey, resolvable and diffusible. Psychoanalyti-
cal theoreticians (Kaplan, 1998, quoted by Kuğü and Akyüz, 2001: 62) de-
fines this situation through a metaphor of that the baby is an empty screen
that reflects the hopes and the fears of the mother. The most significant
emotion in this screen is the fear (Keser, 2007: 40; Beauvoir, 2010: 127;
Barutçu 2014: 45). The woman has fears such as giving birth to a monster,
an alien or a defective baby. But the most fearsome thing is to give birth to
a monster. A defective baby or an alien baby is perceived the price of a sin by the woman. Alien baby is the child of sin; it seems like that a prohibition has violated: Many questions make the woman suspicious in this period. "What if my child is born as deformed, what if he/she looks like a freak, a moron or an ugly thing. Do I still love him/her? Or do I be horrified? What if I do not love my child?" Almond (Keser, 2007: 40) evaluated the reason of this fears as the reflection of "maternal aggression". Fear is a reflection of the monster inside the mother. The writer expresses this in the words of a mother as such: "I am disgusting and hateful, my child is hateful and a disgusting monster, may even be my executioner. I will not love him/her or he/she will not love me and this will further turn him/her into a monster and scary."

According to Solmuş (2012: 9-15), the woman experiences this emotional state in the attempts of establishing a balance between the life and herself. In one sense, it is a state of establishing a balance for her losses or anxiety for losses (the distrust for the belief in herself, her values, her talents; the anxiety towards losing her youth; the unwillingness for passing to a child-focused life etc.) The woman feels the pregnancy both as a enrichment and a mutilation; the baby in her stomach is a part of her body but also a parasite that exploits herself; she owns the baby as the same as the baby owns her; the baby summarizes the whole future and the woman feels herself as large as the universe while carrying the baby in her stomach; but this wealth also turns herself into a nothing, the woman perceives herself as nothing.

A new being would emerge and confirms his/her existence; the woman is proud because of this but on the other hand, she is a plaything of some dark forces; she shoves and tears. The strangest characteristic of the pregnant woman is her catching herself in a whole immanence state in the very same moment she goes beyond herself: she turns in upon herself during the periods of nauseating and vertigos; her body which has been hers until that day exists hereafter for another person and reaches the sizes she has never seen. From another angle, the pregnancy is the completion of the puberty for the woman (Beauvoir, 2010: 124-7). The woman replaces the person who gave birth to her through being a mother. This situation can be read as the end of an era for the woman. The beginning of another life lays in put an end to a phase that belongs to her. Besides, the motherhood is giving up from being the last generation. While the woman is the representative of the last generation as the child and then a teenager leaves this generation with the motherhood (Keser, 2007: 40-41). The experience of
developing an independent personality (Kuğu ve Akyüz, 2001: 62) is another newness which follows all these new situations. Finally, the childhood dreams and the maidenhood depressions revive in the woman during the pregnancy; the pregnancy is experienced in very different ways according to the relations of the woman with her mother, her husband and herself (Beauvoir, 2010: 124).

According to Abreveya (2015: 205), the sum of all these emotions adds a low-dose sense of hate which accompanies to the compassion of the mother as from the pregnancy. The body that changes during pregnancy is not belong to her but to the fetus and is subservient to the baby's growth. The sovereignty and right ownership of the baby on the body of the mother starts from the pregnancy. After then, the mother should arrange her life according to the needs of the child. For Beauvoir tells us (2010: 130-131), even the vomits during the pregnancy have a close relationship with this emotional mood. That is to say, vomiting the foods is a symptom of rejecting the pregnancy and the baby in the stomach. The writer suggests the argument that "the spiritual content of the vomits during the pregnancy and the content of the vomits of teen girls who suppose that they are pregnant are the same. Gluttony, loss of appetite and nauseating are also expressing the contradiction between withholding and throwing out the baby in the stomach. Vomiting behavior is the reflection of the fear to the body. Stomach secretions change during the pregnancy. This situation which is not seen in any mammals on the earth arises from spiritual impulses. Even though the woman desires the child with body and soul, her body disobeys when it has to give birth to a child.

According to Abreveya (2015: 202), after the birth, the mother face with a flesh and blood baby rather than the baby she has been imagining during the pregnancy. She can feel anxiety; perceive the baby as an enemy or fall in love at first glance when she looks at the baby. According to the writer, the desire of the mother for establishing a communication with the baby has silenced by the birth experience. The state of haste paves the way for the post-natal depression on the mothers According to Solmuş (2012: 21-23; Arslan et al. 2006: 72), the woman can face depression in various cases such as worry, sadness, despair, obsessive considerations (throwing the baby out of the window or dropping the baby from the hands while going up the stairs and sense of inability. The woman has a continuous rage against herself, her husband or her baby. The sense of worthlessness and the guilt feelings because of the thought of not being a good mother enough to her baby are significant. The complaint on the inability to return
to old days or losing the feminine identity is the other symptoms of depression. The writer calls these rise and falls experiencing by the woman as "motherhood melancholy" or "puerperality melancholy". Motherhood melancholy is an emotional state created by the obscurities after the new order which would emerge after the birth. A new order would be established because of that a new member will join to the family. In this period, the mother has obligations such as the post-natal disorders, changes in her body structure and adaptation to the baby and the new family order (Henshaw and Foreman, 2004: 267-272). The wave of change emerged after the birth causes many fluctuations in body and mental health of the woman. That is to say, some situations such as memory disorders, sense of desperation, confusion, lack of sympathy towards the baby, depersonalization, sadness, loss of appetite, anxiety, hostile attitude towards the partner, tiredness, anxiousness and stress, worry for the care of herself and the baby (Yüksekol, Arguvanlı and Başer, 2014: 59). Besides, the mother and the father hasten for returning their usual activities in this period. The father can especially have expectations by thinking that the mother can maintain her previous functions (Yılmaz and Öncel, 2009: 33-34).

According to Beauvoir (2010: 142), there is a new person in face of the woman after the birth and this person has some rights on her. Some women make love to their children while smiling with a great insouciance in the hospital but when they come home, they started to see the baby as a burden. Lactation also does not afford pleasure to them. On the contrary, they afraid of the deformation of their breasts; feel resentment as their nipple fissures and their mammary bland burn; the mouth of the child is wounding them. They suppose that the child is sucking the whole power, life and happiness in their body. The child turns them into a total slave and also lives apart from them. Namely, the child is nothing but a bully and the women glare at this little stranger who threatens their all personality. According to Badinter (2015: 147), motherhood is like living alone with a person who is mentally retarded and cannot control any of his/her limbs always from morning to night. Some mothers abstain from the monotony of dirty, oft-repeated and lowly appreciated duties and these women mention alienation and loss of identity. Finally, some of them confess that the thought of a full time caring for a baby caves them in. At last, the mother has become the slave of the baby (Badinter, 2015: 104).

"Women's breast are essentially belong to their babies and the mothers should learn that they are obliged to feed them" (Hasanoğlu 2015, www.radikal.com.tr). History dictates this order according to the ongoing
circumstances in all periods and expects behavior in accordance with this. This situation which is a sucking festival (Parat 2009: 80) for the child is also the festival of lost desires for the woman. In fact, this festival is partly stifled, partly comes under the sovereignty of the genital and partly is canonized. It is a festival of pleasures and desires as it is a festival of concerns and defenses. According to Hecker (2009: 59), this situation can be explained by that the nursing mother finds herself in the line of a conflict. According to the writer, the breast as an erogenic area is now in the service of the newborn. Then, how will the woman cope with this situation which involves both the pick point of the motherhood image and the sexual and incestuous emotions aroused by the sucking of the baby? Her subjective experiences also force the mother to find a spiritual solution to the aroused maternal and bodily sexual emotions. Nursing mother seems from outside as a figure like the non-sexual Virgin Mary. This situation has an influence over the subjective life of the mother. According to Badinter (2015: 108-109), the profound changes which disincline the woman from sexuality are the most fundamental reflection of this influence. Child realizes a true revolution in couple's life. According to Parman (2007a: 47), the couple proceeds to be a trio and the imagination of coalescing with, combining with, sticking to and being the same with the other will result in frustration; the result of their intercourse will separate the couple. Nursing mother yearns but she cannot be the object of desire for the father anymore. Mother sacrifices the love and endangers her relation with her partner. As a result, nothing can be contrary to a lover couple more than being parents (Badinter 2015: 108-109).

This period triggers another problem. According to Abrevaya (2007: 31), the fact that the woman experiences the motherhood and the femininity together is a source of conflict and distemper. Haber (2009: 73) mentions in the related study that the woman continues to be a woman even during the significant experiences such as pregnancy period, giving birth to a child, caring and feeding the child. The libidina, the erotic femininity which is also characterized by the subliminal imaginations in connection with childish sexuality revives with the birth of the child. This is the return of the desire yearned to the father (the man) who enables mother's keeping distance from her baby. According to Parman (2007b: 20), this situation is the "censor of the lover mother". It means that the mother's return her own love life and keeping a certain distance from the child in her imaginative world while providing a bodily care for her child. Mother's imagining her own love life both functions as a warning shield and provides the mother's
censor of the sexual emotions aroused in her during the maternal care given by the baby. In the related article, Haber (2009: 75) says that this situation balances the worries of the mother about her baby. Such an attitude makes a contribution not only to providing a better motherhood for the baby but also to herself. The existence of a man in the mother's mind is necessary not only for the baby but also for her to maintain her femininity while even experiencing worries about her baby. A re-participation of a man in mother's life represents also her social, professional and personal interests and these constitute her affirmation as a woman (Haber 2009: 75).

3 Compassion, Hate and Lullabies

3.1 Winnicott: Hate in Counter-Transference

According to Keser (2007: 35), the story of motherhood is the story of compassion and desire. Julia Kristeva (Küey, 2007: 44) thinks that the birth of child pushes the mother to the labyrinth of a quite extraordinary experience. She defines the love in this labyrinth as such: "A love felt to another person. A love for oneself, a love which does not look like a love felt for an identical with oneself, a love even which does not look like a love felt for another with whom the subject coalesces with at all." Winnicott calls this hypersensitivity of mother to her baby until her pregnancy and the early weeks after the birth as "primary motherhood worry". The mother reaches hypersensitivity for being able to care her baby (Abrevaya, 2007: 23; Habip, 2011: 207). In this process, the mother instinctually identifies with her baby and thus satisfies both the bodily and the emotional needs of the child and provides the child the opportunity to develop and integrate his/her selfness (Parman, 2007a: 18). According to Parat (2009: 86), the compassion of the mother with her baby she feeds and glances each other has a depth. This compassion completely has characteristics of a love affair which provides satisfaction. It satisfies both the spiritual desires and the bodily needs. Even though this love represents a happiness form which can be reached by the humanity, it does not prevent the satisfaction of the desire acts which are suppressed for a long time and are needed to be called as pervert. According to Deutsech (Küey, 2007: 45-46), this situation of the mother is related with the last moment of the birth during which the senses of admiration towards the baby. The reaction
to the disintegration is tried to overcome by the re-exploration of the child. For the mother, her child is her own creation first and foremost. Beauvoir (2010: 147) underlines that the mother uses the same words with ones which she says to her lover while calling her child. The mother keeps on saying the adjective of property and employs the same methods in possessing such as kissing, fondling, tightly pressing the baby to her chest. Parman (2007b: 19) calls the love felt by the mother to her baby as "maternal love". The writer exemplifies the lines below as for this opinion.

My little love
There you are in the large bed of your mother
I can hug and kiss you hereafter
I can weigh your beautiful future
Good morning my tiny sculpture
My twin kneaded from totally naked flesh, blood and joy, my excitement...

Julia Kristeva (Abrevaya 2007: 23-24; Parman, 2007a: 19) emphasizes that the motherhood desire contains love as well as hate and the deep commitment as well as the necessity to draw away him/her in her heart. In this regard, the mother also inholds the negative from the very beginning. According to the writer, a double-valued is at stake here as it is in all kinds of love affairs. In other words, love and hate are together in this passion. Because of that the compassion and the hate fuels from the same resource. While the said compassion is exhibited openly, the hate is usually implicit. Because of that the hate has to resist the counter-reaction. Thus it is concealed. Another reason that creates this secrecy is that it features a sense of fear (Evren, insanokur.org). Famous Scottish writer Sir Arthur Conan Doyle implies the thin line between the love and the hate by saying that "a passionate love is the twin of a strong hate" (mahmure.hurriyet.com). Different balances come into play in the creation of this line between the love and the hate. That is to say, the love is correlative, namely double-edged: The loving one is on the one edge and the loved one is on the other. It can be called as compassion, love, passion, hate, etc. according to the form and the feature of the relationship between these two beings (Düzgün, 2011: 11). Besides, the intended aims of the love can be items which create conflict and competition. The transformation of compassion into a passion creates hate and violence. Love which is the excessive form of the compassion, in this sense, belongs to an uncontrolled field like dream: a field in which we see the untouchable one (ourselves) and find what we are looking for (Düzgün, 2011: 15).
From another angle, the compassion has to be replaced by the hate when it is conditioned (www.insanokur.org, Evren). When we paraphrase the subject; the humans are lost when they are overwhelmed with their passions and compassion-respect are lost at the very the same time. Conditioning the compassion means that one does not actually love the humans except oneself of love any facts. This situation explains the interest and compassion depending on the satisfaction of the emotions, opinions and expectations of the individual. As long as the conditions are met, the individual maintains to love. If the conditions somehow change, then the love is replaced by the rage, hate or exclusion which is the opposite emotions of love. The person who does this thinks that he/she still loves. An individual in this position cannot show courage to say "I love you for my own emotions and opinions/if not, I hate you" (www.insanokur.org, Evren). In cases of that it is not possible to express the sense of hate; the situations of excessive love can be at stake. Right after the love leaves alone through rupturing its contact with other humanly emotions and lose its reality ground (Düzgün, 2011: 20) the emotional state which is expressed as an excessiveness in love arises. In a similar vein, İkiz (2007: 64) also suggests the argument that various affections such as guilt, rivalry, hate emerge as well as the love and compassion along with the revival of the pre-motherhood history in the pregnancy period. According to the writer, this process is the most effective moment of the subliminal in a sense with the impulses it involves. And the baby makes huge requests from the mother physically and psychologically as from its birth and this causes the senses of hate in the mother.

I could not raise you
I could not have an ambition from you
I could not raise you with lullabies
I could not out you in light brown cradles
I could not walk off with you on grass
Lullaby my little one lullaby
My daughter without mother lullaby (Kemal 2005)

My baby is enormous, I cannot hold him
I song lullabies, I cannot make him sleep
He plays and laughs, he makes eyes at us
He does not eat his pap, he saddens me
He becomes partner to me when playing house
He becomes both mother, father and sibling to me
Winnicott (1994) argues in the related article that the mother firstly hates the baby before the baby hates her and the baby knows that her mother hates him/her. According to the writer, the reasons which create the hate of the mother towards the baby can be listed as such (Winnicott, 1994: 355):

1. The baby is not her own (mental) pregnancy.
2. The baby is not a child play, the child of the father, the child of the brother, etc.
3. The baby has not produced with magic.
4. The baby is dangerous for her body during pregnancy and birth.
5. The baby in an intervention to her private life, a danger for her interests.
6. More or less a mother feels that her mother demands a baby, thus the baby was produced for satisfying her mother.
7. The baby hurts the nipples even while sucking and this activity previously consists of chewing.
8. The baby is unmerciful and treats the mother badly and as an unpaid servant, a slave.
9. The mother has to love the baby with his/her stool etc., at the very beginning in any case and even if she has doubts about him/her.
10. The baby tries to hurt the mother, continuously bites her and all of these stem from love.
11. The baby continuously feels disappointment about the mother.
12. The baby's excited compassion is ostensible and when he/she satisfies his/her wants, the baby put aside the mother like an orange peel.
13. The baby has to establish domination at first; the baby has to be avoided from coincidences and the life should proceed in the baby's speed and this should be the duty of the mother all the time. For instance, the mother cannot be anxious when holding the baby on her lap, etc.
14. At the beginning, the baby does not know what the mother does and what she sacrifices for himself/herself. Especially the baby cannot allow her hate.
15. The baby is skeptical, refuses delicious foods she gives to him/her and causes self-doubt for the mother but he/she eats whatever his/her aunt gives.
16. The mother goes outside after spending a horrible morning with the baby and the baby smiles to a stranger who says "Look that sweetness!"

17. The mother knows that the baby will exact the toll unless she does the necessary things at the beginning.

18. The baby excites the mother but also annoys her – the mother should not eat the baby or replace him/her with sex.

Says shush says shush
Draws water from the well
Till my little one grows up
What her mother suffers
Crow, I hold you
I pluck your wing
I make hand fans
I sell to the wives
My little one will sleep lullaby
My little one will grow up lullaby
Lullaby my little one lullaby (Kemal, 2005: 10).

Father's name is fatty
Mother is regretful to bear!
Everyone is hostile to my little one
Wish the eyes of hostiles get blinded lullaby! (Kemal, 2005: 54).

Departed from Elmalı by foot
Baby oh ooooh baby oh!
Hang on my knees hang on,
Lullaby, lullaby, lullaby, baby oh!
My nuncle by horse my uncle by foot,
Baby oh ooooooh baby oh!
Baby drove me crazy,
Lullaby, lullaby, baby oh!
Drove me slave to a bad person,
Lullaby, lullaby, lullaby, baby oh!
Burnt me down,
Lullaby, lullaby, lullaby, baby oh!
Ravens roams on the air,
Crows split the shares
Bad news comes fast
Baby drove me crazy (Ünver, 2009: 8).

By saying lullaby lullaby
I am off my oats
I am ill from my heart
Get the doctor from frenk
Lullaby to my little one lullaby
Lullaby to my little lamb lullaby (http://www.bilgicik.com/yazi/ninniler/)

Their home's front is flower
Let's get the hook to cut
Baby is dead, let's cut out a shroud
Baby lullaby lullaby (Kemal, 2005: 44).

I throw an apple, it rolled
Lullaby my little one lullaby
It goes and hit the cradle
Lullaby my little one lullaby
The rope of cradle is broken
Lullaby my little one lullaby
My little one wakes up in the cradle
My little one lullaby (Kemal; 2005: 77).

Cradle of baby is of glass
I shook it, she falls sideward
Her gent father comes from Damascus...
Lullaby my little one lullaby!
I laid you place next to press
I sit up all night by my voice
I laid next to the baby
Lullaby my little one lullaby!
Wolves howl in the river
Wolves and birds smash the baby
Those not know my misery spears
Lullaby my little one lullaby!
Baby made me a bough
Baby burnt me down
Made me slave to all households...
Lullaby my little one lullaby! (Ünver, 2009: 20).

I went out by foot,
Let's endure these troubles,
Wake up my baby wake up!
Lullaby, lullaby, lullaby to the baby!
Cradle of baby is of pine,
Baby rolled and fell from the roof,
Her gent father comes from Damascus...
Lullaby, lullaby, lullaby to the baby!
Cradle of baby is of copper
It does not move, it is heavy,
I shale it like clockwork (Ünver, 2009: 24).

Mountains mountains almighty birds
Who stones my little one
Sleeps and grows lullaby
Walks willy-nilly then lullaby (Telkırat, 2008: 53).
Limb runs wants breast, lullaby lullaby
Child cries wants breast, lullaby lullaby
Mother says don't suck much, lullaby lullaby
Little one ate me, lullaby lullaby
By breast will gall, lullaby lullaby (Koz, 2005: 175).

All lullabies bear the traces of the mother's life. The subject, function and structure of the lullaby are determined both by the physical condition and accordingly by the emotional condition of the mother in the moment she songs lullaby (Cansiz Çek, 2011: 65). The world, the experienced incidents and the feelings for the child of the women are thus influential in the formation of the lullabies. In the lullabies, it has been expressing the wishes as well as the disappointments, fears, loneliness, yearnings, expectations, in brief the psychological condition of the mother (Çıblak Çoşkun, 2013: 503). As a result, lullaby is a kind of psychological treatment for the mother (Duman, 2016: 319).

Swing my baby, over the tree
Wind will blow, cradle will shake
Cradle will fall when bough breaks
Baby, cradle and everything will fall under the tree

According to Winnicott (1994: 356), this lullaby is not an emotional lullaby. The woman enjoys without knowing that she expresses hate in her words with a birth symbolism. Lullabies, child plays or fairy tales invite for releasing the subversive and aggressive impulses. According to Erdem (2015: 198), it is possible to see the transformative characteristic for aggressiveness of this play environment in this lullaby.

The sense of hate which is detailed in the article of the writer does not have a subversive characteristic. Bollas calls the sense of hate felt by the mother to her child as "loving the hate" (Şaşıoğlu, miraysasioglu.com). This hate is not a feeling which has an endamaging aim. On the contrary, it is a feeling which is felt to conserve the object and the relationship. One either oneself hates or endeavors for gross the other side out. Finally, one believes that a passionate relationship can only be possible with hate. Namely, according to this view, the hate is not the opposite but a function of the love. One acts with the fear of not be seen or be noticed by the other person. One wants not to become distanced but get closer through the hate.
According to Hasanoğlu (2011), the loving one should take the risk of hating. Intense emotions like love lowers one's mask and guard and becomes one open to all strikes. The sense of hate brings the idea of breaking up mature in human soul. The idea of breaking up is perceived as a reality and the sense of dread suddenly emerges. The sense which is perceived as hate is actually a self-protection reflex. In this sense, hate is only the name of the distance kept for overcoming the sense of being ignored. Our desire to put our loved one to our body and the desire not to see him/her anymore are both belong to the nature of the love and it is normal with this aspect.

Winnicott suggests the argument in the related article which is also the source of inspiration of this article (1994: 356) that the hate of mother to her baby without any reason can be tolerated. According to the writer, if the mother who is hurt by her child not hate in a proper way, she would have to fall in masochism and this can be caused a false theory such as that there is a natural masochism in the women. According to Erdem (2015: 198), the mother can be able to hate her baby but also should be hold herself back from not to impose this on the baby by words or behaviors. The rhymes, lullabies, fairy tales and child plays lend a helping hand to mother in finding a place to the double-valued emotions (love and hate) in the relationship.

4 In Lieu of Conclusion

Motherhood is a process which starts in the moment of the conception of the child. This process is both enrichment and a mutilation for the woman. For the woman, while it is enrichment in the sense of the confirming the woman and make the woman pride by this new being, it is also a mutilation because of that the child is a being who exploits the woman. This process in which the gains and the losses are paired together also turns the woman into a nothing in a way. In one sense, the woman who struck between two emotional state struggles for achieving the balance with the engagement of different emotions. Pregnancy and post-pregnancy are like a beginning of a new era for the woman. The woman who completes her adolescence period experiences a change of roles by replacing the person who gave birth to her. On the other hand, it is also a giving up from being the last generation. It is a journey from being a member of a certain generation to a member of a new generation. This period is also one of the ex-
ceptional times in which the woman's confidential encounter with herself is occurred. It is a period in which the worries, conflict, fear and anxieties make the woman suspicious furthest. There exist a couple of reasons which trigger these emotions. Firstly, the body which is changed with the pregnancy does not belong to her but to the fetus and in service of the fetus. The extreme emotions and many thoughts in mind brought by this sense of commitment overstrain the woman. That is to say, especially the scariest anxiety for the woman is to give birth to a defective child. Woman can perceive this situation as the sign of a sin. The ground of the new life also be formed along with this new period. It has been starting a priestess-like life for the woman. The woman can feel a need for returning to her love life and keep a certain distance from her child. We can say due to the sum of all of these experiences that the burden of the woman is not only the burden in her stomach. After all, the sum of all of these changes paves the way for emotional surges in the woman. For the woman, the last moment of birth allows a sense of admiration towards her baby. The reaction against the disintegration has been tried to compensate through re-exploring the baby. After the early weeks of the birth, the mother shows an extreme sensitiveness towards her baby. She instinctually identifies with her baby for satisfying all the needs of her baby. All of these emotions are actually the reflections of the love she felt to her baby. So much so that the woman uses the very same adjective which she uses for her lover. In this relationship which is called as the "Maternal Love", a double-valued situation is at stake like it is in all kinds of love affairs. In this love affair, the hate is sometimes covered and is sometimes ignored. Because there exists fear and it has be masked. And it is possible for the woman who struggles with the physical and psychological demands with the birth of the baby to have senses of hate. All the arguments expressed in Winnicott's article titled "Hate in the Counter-Transference" which is the starting point also of this article are not only a narrative of the subversive hate. This emotion is a kind of self-protection mechanism for the woman. It is an emotion which is felt to conserve the relationship for the woman. The emotion which is perceived as hate is actually a self-protection reflex. Hate which is a suppressed emotion is mostly compensated with the love which is the opposite emotion. The woman maybe fears from the sense of responsibility given by the fact of being the closest person of a child in his/her life. Being a mother means commitment. It means renouncing and existing for another person all the time. Besides, the revival of the post-motherhood history for the woman is at stake. The woman is subjected to change of roles.
in every respect. Her changed body will serve to a new duty. The motherhood predominates within the femininity-motherhood dilemma and her mind struggles for adapting this new role. On the other hand, the experience of pregnancy reminds the concepts of life and death to the woman. The woman maybe has never felt the fear and the death this close. Winnicott suggests the argument in the related article that the hate of mother to her baby without any reason can be tolerated. According to the writer, if the woman does not hate from her baby due to her experiences during the pregnancy and during and after the birth, she has to fall into masochism. For a woman who experience double-valued emotions (compassion and hate), these emotions somehow has to be thrown out. In this sense, the lullabies, children's plays or fairy tales release the subversive thoughts in the woman.

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