

**SOCIAL CAPITAL FORMATION AND DISPOSITION OF THE
HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS IN TURKISH POLITICS**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

**BY
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**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF
URBAN POLICY PLANNING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS**

JANUARY 2013

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL CAPITAL FORMATION AND DISPOSITION OF THE HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS IN TURKISH POLITICS: THE ANKARA CASE

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February 2013, 101 pages

Large cities in Turkey have been at the centre of political field since the foundation of republic. However starting from the late 1950s, the political dynamics of the large cities have changed immensely thanks to the rapid migrations from the rural areas. In a short space of time half population of the large cities was constituted by the migrant population. In a competitive political environment political parties entered a dynamic relationship with the migrant population characterised by so-called patron-client relations. On the other hand there was also a process of radicalisation of politics during the same period led by the large city politics. There was an uneasy and delicate relationship between clientelism and radical politics in the 1970s. This balance has been changed dramatically in favour of clientelistic relations by 1980 coup d'état as the decline of the class politics paved the way for various forms of identity politics including Hemşehrilik relations and hometown associations as its organizational form. The thesis focuses on the hometown associations as a key form of social in general and political capital. Although hometown associations have been used as a stepping stone to the political carrier from the very beginning, this strategy became highly influential after the 1980s. The empirical research shows that despite effective working of such a strategy, it tends to create a legitimacy problem for the hometown associations and the political figures using employing such a strategy.

Keywords: Social Capital, Trust, Clientelism, Hometown Associations, Political Party,

ÖZ

TÜRK POLİTİKASINDA SOSYAL SERMAYE OLUŞUMU VE HEMŞEHİRİ DERNEKLERİ: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Anabilim Dalı

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Tarık Şengül

Şubat 2013, 101 sayfa

Büyük kentler Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşundan bu yana siyasal alanın merkezinde olmuştur. Ancak 1950'li yıllardan başlayarak büyük kentlerin siyasal dinamikleri önemli ölçüde değişmiştir. Bu değişimin önemli kaynaklarından biri kır kökenli göç olurken, çok kısa sürede büyük kentlerin yarı nüfusu bu kesim tarafından oluşturulmuştur. Yarışmacı siyasal bir ortamda siyasal partiler göçmen nüfusla patron-adamı ilişkilerince nitelenen dinamik bir ilişkiye girmiştir. Diğer yandan aynı dönemin büyük kent siyaseti dikkate değer bir radikalleşmeye de konu olmuştur. 1970'li yıllarda patronaj ilişkileri ile radikal siyaset arasında oluşan hassas denge oluşmuştur. Bu denge 1980 darbesi sonrasında sınıf ilişkilerinin gerilemesinin bir sonucu olarak kimlik siyasetinin öne çıkması ile patronaj ilişkileri lehine değişmiştir. Hemşerilik ilişkileri ve dernekleri kimlik siyasetinin parçası olarak öne çıkarken, bu örgüt ve yapılar siyasal alanda yükselmenin atlama taşları haline gelmiştir. Bu tür bir stratejinin ortaya çıkışı daha gerilere gitmesine karşın, 1980 sonrasında çok daha etkin hale gelmiştir. Tez çerçevesinde yürütülen alan çalışması hemşerilik siyasetinin yükselişine işaret etmekle birlikte, toplumsal alanla siyasal alan arasında hemşerilik dernekleri aracılığıyla kurulan ilişki toplumsal tabanda bu yapıların ve bu yapıları kullananların meşruiyet zeminini zayıflatmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Sosyal Sermaye, Güven, Klientelizm, Hemşehri Dernekleri, Siyasi Partiler

“Anavarza binekleri,
Kurda benzer sinekleri,
Memed sana ođul demem,
Yıkmayınca konakları”
İnce Memed’den

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I am grateful to Tarık Şengül who has been more than a teacher for me. Not only during the thesis but also since I met him, he had a great influence on my life. I wish to thank him for teaching me not only about academics and academic life but also being a straight-up man, how to stand my ground and how to be honest and sincere. I would like to thank to Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç who contributed to my thesis with their highly constructive criticisms.

I would also like to thank all my professors in METU including Assist. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Bayırbağ and Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ayata for their sincere help and influence.

And I am grateful to my interviewees who had helped me to learn about real field of politics outside of the campus, for their sincerity and their contributions.

On my family front, I would like to thank my mother Ömür Çağlak and my father Serhan Şenalp for their support and endless belief in me.

Ayhan Melih Tezcan, Mehmet Penpeciöđlu, Yasemin İlkay, Ufuk Poyraz, Esatcan Coşkun, Emrecañ Sevdin, Oya Acet, Yiđit Acar, Onur Özkoç, Oganalp Canatan, Serkan Kılıçkaya, Sencer Şakurođlu, Samet Ağca, Aytekin Karatekin, Kamil Engin Karaman and all my friends: thank you for your contributions during the preparation of this thesis.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

Political participation has been one of the persistent issue in the academic and political circles. This is so partly due to the fact that voice of large segment of society remains outside the political field as they fail to find effective channels to find some form of representation in the field. Ironically, the political parties themselves as one of the key mechanism of representation have such organisation structure that ordinary people find difficult to penetrate. They often remain corporatist and elitist structures with highly exclusionary strategies.

In societies like Turkey, patron-client relations have emerged as one novel mechanism of representation for ordinary people and especially urban poor. In Turkey especially in large metropolitan cities it has been widely used by the migrant population after the Second World War as it proved that patron-client relations work effectively in getting favours such as finding job, getting a municipal service or receiving some form of aid. Further it also proved that the networks around patron-client relations are also instrumental towards the entrance to the political field itself as an actor.

This thesis focuses on hometown associations as one of the key organisation form in building social capital which in turn is used as a political capital by some of the leading members of such associations and explore the mechanisms of building social and political capital by using hometown associations by placing an emphasis on the costs and benefits of such strategy.

Chapter I deals with theoretical framework built around such key concepts as social capital, trust, clientelism and habitus. Social capital is one of the topical concept

employed in the literature to analyse the social relations around the networks and trust is placed to the centre of such an analysis mainly due to the fact that social networks are only effective if those involved in such networks have some form of trust to each other. In this sense, clientelistic networks are a good example of social networks and trust in such networks built upon some form of exchange of favours with loyalty. Yet such an exchange form could be an undermining force depending on the special circumstances. While the social capital and trust is central in clientelistic networks embedded in political field, the actual working of such networks are also influenced by habitus of involved parties.

A successful field research requires proper preparation. The researcher needs to set a strategy in order to create the suitable atmosphere in her/his interviews. The interviews should be done in a comfortable environment because through these interviews you may be in a position to ask the most private details of one's life. Furthermore the field research should be compatible with the theoretical part of the study. For this reason I have analyzed and tried to inject Layder's Research Map to the field research. Bourdieu's relational approach on form of capital is compatible with Layder's approach on field study because it also uses a telescopic approach where levels of enquiry intersect and interact.

As mentioned earlier, the thesis takes the case of hometown associations as one of the example of building social and political capital. To this aim, some of such associations in Ankara has been investigated. Before providing a discussion of the findings of the research, Chapter II deals with the methodology of the research by using Layder's Research Map. The Research Map includes four main elements: the *Self*, the *Situated activity*, the *Setting*, the *Context* and general dimension of *History*. These elements refer to closely interrelated levels of social organization.

By using such a map Chapter III, the thesis provides a broader view on hometown associations by focusing on their history, organisational structure, legal framework, social structure as well as the financial dimensions. Such an analysis shows that while

such a form of organisation has been a persistent property of migrant population from the very early years of their arrival to the large cities, post- 1980 witnessed to rise of hometown associations as a part of the revival of identity politics.

Chapter IV involves the findings of field research carried out in Ankara around some of those hometown associations. Although the semi-structured interviews were carried out with the leading names of such associations, similar interviews were also conducted with the ordinary members of such associations. While the research shows that in some ways these associations are quite effective in building social capital leading to political one, such a strategy has its own down sides. There is a persistent use of hometown associations as a stepping stone to politics by the leading names who act as a broker. But this creates some form of trust problem between the leading names and ordinary members. It is not a marginal case that ordinary members feel that their support has been used by the leading names in an improper manner. This is so especially the leading names either fail to get an effective position in political field or when they do not support the network after making a successful entry to the political field.

Concluding Chapter provides an overview of the findings and some rising questions for the further research.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There is no such thing as society...”

M. Thatcher.

“The social world is accumulated history”

P.Bourdieu

Every actor in society pursues specific ends of their own. Whether it is finding a job or becoming a political figure or a leader of a party, even realization of social revolution; on the way to achieving these ends actors require certain sets of resources of various types and intensity. Resources necessitate time and effort to acquire and enable actors to act in order to pursue their ends. The more resources one has the more diversified is her/his options. Different sets of resources lead to different solutions to problems or obstacles on the way to achievement of actors' ends. Similar situations faced by different actors are to be handled differently according to the resources at their expense. Although, most generally, resources are considered to be economic commodities available for mercantile exchange; this may not be the case each and every time. According to Bourdieu “Economic theory reduced universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange which is oriented to maximization of self-interest.” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.46) In my own words, social life cannot be reduced to economic exchange. Economic resources are not the only resources available to social actors. Partaking in social networks, affects the positions taken by the actor in games in which survival strategies constructed.

Actors, on different levels, accumulate different forms of capital and aim to produce and reproduce their dispositions in the games they partake. However, importance of one form of capital changes according to the character of the game played in a certain field. For instance, in an unpublished research conducted in Ankara, Siteler I have witnessed social capital taking form of trust, in a closed and clustered production space, whose actors are manufacturers who have been residents of the same area for decades, is far more important than institutionalized cultural capital since rules of the games played in that area are built on trust. Thus conversion of

social capital into economic capital which takes form of trade at this point is far more easier than conversion of institutionalized cultural capital into economic capital. Conversion process of one form of capital to another is complex and takes time and effort. One type of capital has different effect on the individual's disposition in different games.

Bourdieu, while explaining this process, takes two approaches into consideration: *economism and structuralism*. Economism reduces all forms of capital in economic capital whereas structuralism “reduces social exchanges to phenomena of communication.” (Bourdieu 1986, p.54) A pure economic approach may consider capital accumulation other than economic, a waste of time and effort. On the other hand, other forms of capital can also be converted into economic gains. Convertibility of other forms of capital to economic form is a determining factor for its efficiency. For instance, studying in a university require a certain amount of expense in terms of both money and time. Once graduated, it is expected to provide institutionalized cultural capital which enables the individual to take part in games in the specific field studied and improve the dispositions taken in the game, consequently converting institutionalized cultural capital into economic capital as a salary. Furthermore, in social life it provides the individual symbolic capital as a university graduate. In consequence; the types of capital in one's expense affects how we relate to other actors and finally it affects the fabric of society. The fabric of society is formed by the relations taking place in it. Society is composed of not only the individuals but also the relations between actors. Social capital relates to individuals, their dispositions and relations among the actors, the networks and the structures. The structures determine the constraints of the games played and furthermore it produces and reproduces habitus of the actors.

The ways actors use and convert their social capital changes at certain moments of history. The ways network of social relations and engagement of political parties to these networks changes. Historical moments such as a coup d'état not only change actors' dispositions in the field but also changes structure of society. To give an

example on how patterns of acting and structures of organization change we can lend our ear to one my interviewees. He explains that numbers of hometown organizations rose after 1980 coup d'état since people were afraid and they tend to be organized in looser ways due to weakened links between labor unions and political organizations. They were afraid that their kids could not find jobs because they were politically active. He states politics were not even a daily topic in these organizations' meetings. They were afraid that their organization would be closed or the organizations' assets were to be confiscated. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)¹

1.1. SOCIAL CAPITAL

Political parties are organizations not only organizing the society but also defining a special set of relations among members of the society in which they are organized. (Uysal-Topak, 2010) Turkish political history was interrupted with three army interventions in last fifty years. Political parties were abolished, banned or forced to change names numerous times. Turkish Constitution was restructured twice. Interventions and interruptions in political history not only change relations among actors or individuals but also redefine social relations and connections all over. A change in social relations and connections is reflected on games played in the political field. Actors in political sphere changed ways of accumulating and utilizing social capital.

There are various definitions of social capital. The three main approaches we will take into consideration are Bourdieu (1993), Putnam (1993) and Coleman (1988). These three authors define social capital in different terms. Putnam relates social capital more to a social structure. He claims social capital has been re-invented at least six times over the twentieth century (Putnam 2000, p.19) Social capital according to Putnam is a character of the society. His question is more related to if a society is strong in terms of social capital or not. Entities such as trust (which we

¹Because I can not use their real names not to affect their political career, the interviewees will be mentioned by their hometown.

will analyze in a deeper manner under the next heading “trust” in p.24) form resources to determine intensity of a society’s social capital.

... Social capital refers to connections among individuals- social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some called “civic virtue” (Putnam 2000 p.19) who benefits from this connections, norms and trust – the individual, the wider community, or some factions within the community... The theory of social capital presumes that the more we connect with other people, the more we trust them and vice versa. (Putnam 1995, p.665)

Putnam defines social capital as an entity that belongs to the society that it is produced within. (ibid, p.666) Social capital is a resource available to members of the society. It is a product of relations among members of that society. Certain aspects of these relations, such as trust, among members of a society determine the caliber of social capital and its convertibility into other forms of capital in situations when necessary. In Putnam’s view social capital is a product of society and used by individuals. Similar to Coleman’s:

Social capital constitutes a particular kind of resource available to an actor... Social capital is defined by its function. It’s not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with the elements in common: they all consist of some aspects of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in absence would not be possible (Coleman, 1988, p.98)

According to Coleman, similar to Putnam, social capital is produced within society but differently it is produced through relations of individuals. According to Coleman, social capital, as other forms of capital, serves to certain ends. However character of these ends is determined by structures of networks. Social capital can serve social ends as well as individual ends. It can serve ends of certain group as it can hinder the other from reaching their own. For instance, social capital accumulated through collectivities such as civil society organizations serves collective ends of the community related to the organization. On the other hand, social capital accumulated

by a certain individual can facilitate necessary means for an individual to achieve prestige, public office or monetary benefit. In some cases collective and individual ends serve one another's good. For instance, one of our interviewees states:

If we have a MP, doesn't matter this is (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum), select one, one you know and trust. He will open the way like a bulldozer. If this is our job why do we lose time with a pickaxe. Consequently the MP, especially when the party is in power, will be very useful. Service to villages matters, service to the people matters (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

This is a way of thinking we commonly see in the hometown organizations. Many of the executives or directors in hometown organizations plan to take role in politics. The reason stated for this urge is to help or serve "people of their own". Naturally, I am in no positions to question their sincerity in this urge. However this is a perfect example of win-win-win situation for all sides of the equation. The individuals gain a seat at the parliament or any level board of directors, the hometown organization achieve a point to get into political networks to make their voices heard and political parties gain bulk votes and support from the respective organization. However this situation is only useful for the hometowners of the winners of the elections because it clearly affects the way resources are distributed.

Another view on social capital is relational. Bourdieu takes the definition one step further into the society. Production, reproduction and distribution of social capital take place in the relations among individuals and the networks of the society. It is an entity belonging to the actors in the games that takes place in general structure of society.

Social Capital is the aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or in other words membership of a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit in various senses of the word. (Bourdieu, 1986 p.51)

The social capital, according to Bourdieu, is formed in the social networks for use of social actors. It is collectively owned, it is an entity which comes into existence within the relations of actors. It does not have to be instantly used but it keeps a certain potential for a future situation when it has its use. In political sense, years of work in hometown organizations may result in a candidacy for office. For the group of people who pursue the same end for their hometown or hometown organization social capital of the group returns in representation in the parliament or a board of directors. For the individual who embody this social capital it returns in form of a chair as a province president or MP.

After all, social capital -in all definitions- is a resource. It is accumulated by social relations and enables its owner to vary her/his survival strategies in the way to achieving certain ends. The volume and capacity of social capital determines the games and the networks a certain individual can be a part of. It is not the amount of social capital which determines integration into these networks and games but the character and density of relations. Integration into certain games or networks enables individuals to achieve ends through advantageous dispositions. The actors can partake in different games due to intensity of their social capital and capacity of their social networks. Thus, social capital, in some cases, facilitates options any other forms of capital cannot. For instance, leaders of certain civil society organizations are potential candidates for political or public offices, deputies etc. Although many businessmen desire such candidacies and ready to provide monetary support for election budgets, social capital is what provides these hometown association leaders advantage for political candidacy.

After a discussion on social capital, I would like to use another term which is similar to social capital but used for the social capital specific to the political field. I use the term “political capital” to set aside different sets of resources unique to political field. This topic has been discussed with reference to social capital, political participation and democracy. (Uslaner 2004; La Due Lake 1998; Jackman&Miller 1998) These studies show that social capital is intrical part of politics. Political

capital is a type of social capital unique to political field. It is produced and reproduced in the political field or in the fields related to politics. Since the social capital is crucial in analyzing field of politics, its effects in this field have to be focused on. The field of politics requires certain sets of resources and certain sets of relation to be involved in this field thus I need to set apart the social capital in general sense and the social capital specific to the field of politics.

Politics is the art of managing social structures. Thus, only certain type of social capital is employable in political sphere (La Due Lake 1998, Paxton 2002). As a form of social capital, political capital is also formed through relations of the actors in the field of politics. Political employability of a social relation depends on the networks it is accumulated within and its potential convertibility into political relations. For instance, social relations within a non-political social group cannot be easily converted to political use. On the other hand, civil society organizations such as *Social Democracy Association*, which is strongly related to RPP (Republican People's Party), can be a useful gateway to *politically related social capital*. Another good example could be labor unions which are known to be represented in political parties various times in history both formally and informally. To diversify DİSK, KESK are in relations with left parties and TÜRK-İŞ and HAK-İŞ with right parties. Shortly, political capital does not have to be accumulated in the political party organizations. It can also be produced and reproduced outside party organization in organizations related to political sphere. It can be a street corner chatting with neighbors or it can be in a university campus.

Individual motives for social organization can be directed from individual to society as well as from society to individual. (Coleman 1988, Bourdieu 1993, Passy and Giugni 2001, Putnam 1993). In the former, individuals are motivated through the class/group/identity they belong to. They act within a class/group/identity consciousness and aim for social good and naturally own well-being through social good. (Putnam 1993) In such a structure main motive shapes around social struggle and solidarity. In this sense accumulation of social capital and integration into social

networks are the main purpose rather than instruments for further purposes. Accumulation of social capital aims for newer and wider survival strategies. In some cases, social capital can also be used to claim certain positions or candidacies within political parties.

As games and networks which political capital is accumulated changes, time periods political capital is employed depends on positions taken by the actor within the game s/he is involved. Politics is a field of struggle with opposing ideas for authority both inside and outside the party organizations. In other words, political exclusion is not always temporary. In some cases, political capital accumulated within the organization can be kept alive outside the organization until a chance for the excluded to claim for authority again. In cases where authority within the political party changes hands, networks take key roles for legitimacy of newly established authority. The opposition uses social capital previously accumulated to enforce obstacles against actions of the new authority. These obstacles can vary from slowing down the appliance of orders to using democratic ways to throw down the gauntlet to the new authority. Changes of authority don't always mean change of all networks and games within the organization. Often the victor of the elections faces the former networks established all around the authority area. Already established networks within the organization and newly constituted or revitalized networks struggle for the legitimacy of authority. In this struggle changes of actors' dispositions in games played form the "new" structure of the political party.

Studies conducted in Turkey have focused on ethnic and political side of the hometown associations. (Schuler 2002, Güneş-Ayata 1994, Kurtoğlu 2004-2012, Uysal-Topak 2010) This study will try to explain how the hometown associations affect the field of politics in terms of leaders of the associations making their way into the field of politics. I will focus on individual life experiences which were affected by the structural changes after 1980 coup d'état. Thus, I will try to explain individual dispositions and defense mechanisms. Finally, throughout the study we will use social capital and political capital as two of our main tools of enquiry and

often try to combine them, even substitute them while I will make use of other concepts such as trust and clientelism to explain how these networks are formed and changed.

1.2. TRUST

“A less trusting society is a less civil society”

(Uslaner, 2000 p.569)

Actors take different dispositions according to their social capital, networks they take part and general structure of that field. The structure of the society, politics is conducted in, is the main determiner of the rules of the field of politics. In relation to this, trust is one of the key elements which shape society's structure. The character and intensity of trust in a society determine how closely the networks are woven. Uslaner claims “...trust is a form of social capital, one of the building blocks of a civil society. But like any other form of capital, you have to make an initial investment to create new resources.” (2000 p.589) In addition to this, trust is accumulated by relations among individuals. However it is a socially owned entity which is in use of every member of the society.

Politics is an instable field where enormous changes take place from sundown to daylight. Thus, actors in politics spend years constituting relations of trust. Most political figures work with colleagues they have known for decades. It is nothing less than expected that once actors claim authority within a political party, they prefer to work with individuals in these networks of trust. Actors build these networks in order to activate in times of need. When dispositions of influential members of these networks change, for instance, when a high ranked member of any organization is elected to a provincial presidency, a number of members of these networks are given duties according to their own disposition within the network. Trust is an important determinant for these candidacies. Because politics necessitate certain understanding of trust in order to work together. Through the discussion of trust, I will question the character and formation of these trust networks. Trust,

similar to social capital, is difficult to measure. However, Uslaner uses a simple survey question in order to measure general trust in society: “*Generally speaking, do you believe that most people can be trusted, or can't you be too careful in dealing with people*” (Uslaner, 2004)

This question measures whether individuals trust other individuals whom they don't know in person. However, today's metropolises host millions of people from different backgrounds and different hometowns. The question is “Why should people trust ‘others’ they don't know.” since it is impossible for people to know one another in a city of more than five million of population, as it is the case in Ankara.

Uslaner defines two typologies of trust namely: General trust and Particularized trust. General trust is what is defined by the question quoted above. Shortly, trust in people we don't “know”, is the trust in society in general. However, trust is not the only element that forms social capital.

...trust, networks, civil society, and the like, which have been associated with social capital, are all epiphenomenal, arising as a result of social capital but not constituting social capital itself. (Fukuyama, 2001, p.7)

On the other hand, particularized trust is the type of trust individuals have for other individuals who are “like them”. Here I may get help for explaining the term “like them” from Bourdieu. Although I will have a broader discussion about habitus later under the next heading (p.35), I may comfortably say that “like them” means individuals from similar backgrounds and who are object to similar objective conditions economically and socially. Particularized trust is expected to be easier to obtain since it is easier for individuals to connect and communicate with individuals who are “like them”. Thus trust within organizations, especially political parties, is closer to particularized trust because members of the same political party have common grounds although they may differ on some issues. This analysis is not only applicable on political parties but also applicable to hometown associations. One of our interviewees (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum) state that just the urge of

speaking about their hometown, reminiscence of the good old days may bring hometowners together. Thus, particularized trust and general trust telescopes in such an organization. Although the individuals from the same hometown don't know each other in person, their common historical backgrounds and the conditions they were objected to, once they migrate to the city is enough to bring them together.

We may trust those who are most like ourselves or we may take greater risks for a more general form of trust. Only the latter is a form of social capital--which you can invest and hope to reap additional income from that initial down-payment. Particularized trust (of your own kind) entails little risk, but won't make you--and the wider community--either prosperous or vibrant. (Uslaner, 2004, p. 3)

Uslaner, in short, defines generalized trust as the belief that "most people can be trusted", particularized trust as the belief only your own kind is trustworthy. (2000 p.573) Moreover he characterizes generalized trust with democracy while particularized trust with authoritarian or totalitarian societies. He makes this analysis based on participation to decision making. Generalized trust is inclusive, bridging. It promotes consensus and democracy. On the other hand particularized trust is exclusive but bonding. It promotes stronger relations within a smaller community where as weakens the ties between a member and a non-member. It promotes a closed community and lessens cooperation with "others".

The reason, in my view, has to do with the fact that such groups have a narrow radius of trust. In-group solidarity reduces the ability of groups members to co-operate with outsiders, and often imposes negative externalities on the latter. (Fukuyama, 2001, p.9)

Furthermore, Uslaner states particularized trust is not a form of social capital. In a broader sense, particularized trust does not contribute to creating a vibrant social life. Particularized trust is exclusive; it only serves certain members of society which supports a closed society.

Generalized trust leads people to get involved in their communities; (...) Generalized trust creates the "bridging" bonds that link people to

folk unlike themselves. Generalized trustees have an expansive view of the size of what we may call their "moral community," the people with whom they have common interests. (Uslaner, 2000, p.576)

Uslaner makes an emphasis on reciprocal character of particularized trust. However field of politics require certain resources in terms of social capital. Thus, political parties relate to both types of trust. Political parties make use of both types of trust. Members of political parties come together around a common aim and programme. Consequently, they share common experiences which enriches generalized trust: “...encouraging opportunities for civic engagement creates trust. Trust should motivate people to join more groups and participate in other activities that will further their positive feeling” (Richey, 2007, p.84)

General trust helps to create more vibrant and more politically engaged society where as particularized trust helps a strongly bound organization within the party. General trust within society helps the party to mobilize the society when necessary whereas particularized trust helps a stronger party organization. Unfortunately, exclusive character of political organizations gives particularized trust an advantageous position. On the other hand, Uslaner claims people who believe that they can make the world a better place and are not afraid to work with strangers will become active individuals. Thus, networks within a political party must be both bonding and bridging. Bonding within the party itself and bridging the party to society. He claims “When people trust only their own kind, they withdraw from civic life.” (2004, p. 14) Trust within a party network is a must for the inner working of the party however a trusting society in general is also crucial once party claims state authority.

Until now under this heading I have discussed two concepts of trust from a more theoretical point of view. However, these two typologies are rarely found in pure forms. Words such as “like them” or “unlike them” are crucial to differentiation of generalized and particularized trust. Expectance of some kind of instant reciprocity is not involved in generalized trust. However, expectance of a general trust within

the whole society takes place of individual reciprocity. In other words, general trustees are neither completely naive nor their behavior is intentional. On the contrary, they trust in order to have a more vibrant, more social, more trusting society. They expect a return for their trust in terms of a more vibrant society. On the other hand, individual decisions between general trust and particularized trust are not completely individual. This is what brings about unintentional character of the generalized trust. Social structure and objective conditions play a decisive role to determine individuals' level and radius of trust. Uslaner states generalized trust deteriorates in communities with economic inequality. Individuals who take smaller share of the economic resources have more reasons not to trust other members of the society. In other words the less fortunate have less reason to be engaged in society: *“Even though generalized trust has a moral foundation, it does depend upon social and economic contexts. Even though generalized trust is stable over time for most people, it is not unmovable.”* (Uslaner, 2000, p.581)

Thus, trust is not a resource ever objecting to changes once obtained. Social conditions determine the life expectancy of trust. For instance, in an unpublished study conducted in Siteler, individuals who are object to difficult working conditions such as long working hours and low wages seem to develop a certain psychological barrier that people who lived in the city center would not understand them. Furthermore, they supposed that people who lived in the center would not watch the TV shows they watched. Their habitus limited them to interact only with “their kind” which can be stated as an exclusive form of particularized trust. They preferred to stay in the “neighborhood” and chat with friends rather than to visit the city center.

Social trust not only affects the radius of interactions an individual has but also helps a more politically active society. However the vice versa is also true. In the United States, trust in others increases in Presidential election years, perhaps because people look to these contests as opportunities for civic renewal. (cited in Uslaner 2004 from Rahn, Brehm and Carlson, 1997) Politically and socially active

society brings individuals together and creates an environment that enhances strengthening of trust and as a result accumulation of social capital. Uslaner defines trust as the key component of social capital which plays an important role in all sort of civic activism whether it is running for the office or volunteering for charity or donating money. (2004, p. 19) Thus, the more political the society is the more trusting it is and vice versa. Political parties and civil organizations are not fields where the trust is consumed. They are the fields where trust is enhanced. Considering two typologies, political parties are common grounds for particularized trust where as they are the main source and target of generalized trust.

Certain people or certain groups are connected to certain others, trusting certain others, obligated to support certain others, dependent on exchange with certain others. Holding a certain position in the structure of these exchanges can be an asset in its own right. (Burt, 2000, p. 347)

However, character of politics also hinders development of a trusting society since it is a field of struggle among opposing ideas. The trust and social capital accumulated in political field is only useful in the first step for the capital owner. This brings about the question “What about the ones who are out of these circles?” Unfortunately, in a structure dominated by political authorities certain groups are destined to be excluded regardless of their potential for social capital accumulation.

Yet, the relationship between democracy and trust is not a simple equation where democracy leads to feelings of optimism and control and then to trust. Democracy can only produce a sense of optimism if people believe that they have a real chance to affect change. In some democracies, there is little opportunity for alternation of parties in power and in others people may not believe that it makes a great deal of difference whether one side wins or the other. (Uslaner, 2004, p. 30)

In classed societies or in any society one group is ruled and the others are the rulers, the environment is not appropriate for general trust to flourish whether it is a democracy or an autocracy. Politics is rarely a win-win game. While a party holds office, others have to stay in the opposition camp whether it is an inter-party

election or a general national election. However, “You can't build trust when some groups feel left out of the society and believe that others control the resources.” (Uslaner 2000, p.580) Ideally, democracy is a system which whole society should be part of the decision making process. Excluding certain parts of society from this process both endangers the legitimacy of the decisions and general trust in society. Democratic environment and process of consensus can only be realized with trusting actors who can “disagree respectfully”. (ibid, p.580) Uslaner states, trusters' values promote consensus and compromise both in the society and in the polity. (ibid, p.572) Since political parties are composed of somewhat different opinion groups, trusting in individuals who belong to different networks enables party organization to work in harmony. At this point, relational character of generalized trust and particularized trust is once more emphasized. I have numerous times exemplified particularized trust within the party organization and general trust between the party and the society. Here we see two typologies switch, while particularized trust is a defense mechanism within the party organization as generalized trust is a tool for legitimacy rooting in society as a whole.

At this point of the discussion, a deep analysis on features of democracy would not help the integrity of the thesis. Thus, I will settle with clarifying that the term democracy is used in the most general sense. However, excluded parties both from the games and the fields are important for the composition and structure of those fields and games. Moreover, it is important to point out that trust can flourish in a democratic society. It is very important that the fields are not exclusive, especially when the field of politics is considered. Although politics is an exclusive field by its nature, the more political the society the more vibrant it is.

As I come close to the end of this particular discussion, trust is often discussed in relation with political participation. It is accepted as one of the indicators of intensity of trust in society. (Teorell, 2003; McClurg, 2003; Uslaner 1999, Uslaner 2000; Richey, 2007; Putnam, 2000) However, participation may be realized in different levels. Individuals may realize numerous activities in political field with

different levels of participation according to their dispositions in this field. For instance, voting may be the most wide-spread way of participation together with discussing daily political events with friends or colleagues. However, running for office is not as common as that. Uslaner claims, we are today far less engaged in the society. He claims individuals hold back from participating in organized communities. (2000, p.582) A less organized community means a less politicized society.

1.3. HABITUS

*“Inside each one of us,
there exists part of yesterday’s man”*
(Bourdieu, 1973)

Concept of Habitus is central to Bourdieu’s way of understanding social structures. In order to grasp a better understanding of political structures concerning this thesis it would be very helpful to understand how actors in the field of politics determine their dispositions. Actors’ historical backgrounds and behavioral patterns are very effective in their positions. Habitus’ are formed by individuals’ experiences and vice versa.

Habitus are these generative and unifying principles which retranslate the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary life-style, that is, a unitary set of persons, goods, practices. Like the positions of which they are the product, habitus are differentiated, but they are also differentiating. (Bourdieu, 1991/1, pp.9)

Similar to Bourdieu’s other concepts, habitus is also relational. It is reproduced by the actors’ decisions and it reproduces the actors by affecting their dispositions. Habitus defines and is defined by what an actor eats, how s/he eats it, what sports s/he is interested in, what political view s/he belongs to and at what level s/he is integrated to politics. (Bourdieu, 1991/1. p.635) Bourdieu’s habitus is “long lasting” rather than “permanent”. Bourdieu defines habitus as “systems of durable

dispositions” (Even when these positions seem to be part of well-organized plan or anticipations, they are “determined by past conditions of production of their principle production” (1973, p.63) Furthermore these dispositions are not only products of habitus but also they reproduce the conditions they were produced in. Thus habitus create a series of decisions and/or actions which are not at all pure product of individual intentions or plans. This does not mean that these decisions are not accompanied by strategic calculations. However the calculations themselves are also produced in these conditions. At this point it must be reminded that habitus and individual are not entities apart rather they are intricate beings affecting, producing and reproducing one another.

Bourdieu does not deny that individuals make calculations, plans due to their aspirations. He also does not deny that objective probabilities are closely connected to these aspirations. (Bourdieu, 1991, p.65) Objective calculations and subjective aspirations are also closely connected since individuals are to change their subjective aspirations due to objective probabilities to extend chance of achieving them. Bourdieu uses Marx’s example from *Grundrisse* to make his point clearer. If one has no money to travel even though he has an urge to travel then it is no effective urge, true urge, according to Marx. Thus individuals, when determining their aspiration, exclude the options which are objectively improbable. For instance, during an unpublished study in Siteler, Ankara, in 2010, I have met workers who have excluded the option of visiting a mall since they have no money to buy anything from there. One of our interviewees has stated that he would not go to malls because he gets angry when he cannot buy something he sees and likes on the display cases thus he chooses not to go and not to get angry. He also stated that he didn’t find malls genuine so he would rather “*hang out in the neighborhood*” than visit a mall. His former experiences hinder him from visiting a mall. It must be stated that this “choice” is not only an economic one. It roots deeper in his habitus because habitus roots deeper than today’s conditions.

Habitus' are not formed by present conditions only. They are a product of reproductions of generations because the family constitutes a large part of individuals' habitus. By its very nature, historical conditions are strong groups of determinant factors in formation of the habitus due their permanent characters. For instance, Bourdieu defines what commonly known as "age gap" or "generation gap" as habitus formed in somewhat different conditions although they were produced in the same class conditions. One situation considered scandalous or unthinkable can be considered normal for another generation. One may consider a situation as regular while her/his father regard it unacceptable. This proves that conditions are long lasting since habituses are also reproduced in social structures such as family; they are affected by historical conditions. Situations evaluated in different social conditions can result differently. According to Bourdieu one must abandon theories those consider "practice as directly determined by antecedent conditions and entirely reducible to pre-established mechanisms" as "these mechanisms exist in infinite number" (Bourdieu, 1991, p.66) Although historical conditions are somewhat more durable than any other factor that affect individual practice, they are not immovable. What provides this flexibility to objective conditions is its relation with individual actors and in the final analysis the product of this relation: Habitus.

Practice is... the product of the dialectical relationship between a situation and a habitus, understood as a system of durable and transposable dispositions which, integrating all past experiences, functions as a matrix of perceptions, of appreciations and actions, making possible the accomplishment of an infinite variety of tasks... which permit the resolution of problems having the same form, and thanks to incessant correction of the results obtained, that these results dialectically produce. (Bourdieu, 1973, p.67)

Bourdieu defines practice as the product of the relation between situation and habitus. If we carry this definition to term we have been using throughout this study, the relation between individuality and habitus produces practice which is the action or reaction taken by the individual. This relation produces the habits, patterns of behavior. After all, it is the habitus producing the habits. Past experiences teach us to react to situations in a defensive manner in order to protect our integrity. Habitus is

what brings yesterday's mistakes through to today in order to hinder us making the same mistakes over and over again. This "unconscious" process is not unconscious at all. It is merely more than forgetting the history. The history itself brings about who we are today and how and to what we react to. "It is yesterday's man who dominates us" although we don't realize that it does since it, undeniably, is a part of us. It is so much a part of us that we don't even sense it. Because identity of condition produce similar systems of disposition, the results brings the individuals who are object to these conditions together and differs them from other actors. It creates certain homogenization and rationality specific to the environment the actors belong to. (Bourdieu, 1991, p.68) This brings individuals together as a group in games and as a class in society as a whole. Historical conditions are what bring people together as a class rather than individualistic preferences.

Because they are the product of dispositions which, being the internalization of the same objective structures (...) the practices of the members of the same group or of the same class, possess an objective meaning that is both unitary and systematic, transcending subjective intentions and conscious individual or collective projects. (Bourdieu, 1991, p.71)

Then these classes formed by the same objective conditions would tend to act in similar ways which is also supported by the physical space they tend to come together. Thus relations among actors are never closed to effects from outside of this relation. Rather they are closely related and interpenetrational. Thus the relation in its naked form would never be enough to reflect the reality or the truth that is hidden in the interaction. Thus the collective action produces the situation and is at the same time product of conjuncture of dispositions the situation relates to. In other words, this conjuncture brings about the reactions the situation necessitates for the continuation of the history. The historical processes are both results and reasons for individual events that transpire and on the other hand the reason why they don't take place in any other way. Furthermore these three elements, the situation or event or individual action, the habitus and in final analysis the objective structures constitute conjunctures which are never totally independent from one

another. Without discovering nature of this production and reproduction processes one cannot understand the difference and relation between long-lasting structures and subjective conditions, namely the habitus, which produces and reproduces it over and over in history with certain characteristics remaining constant. Although it is not possible that every member of the same class to have the same experiences in the same order, they have more chance to have more similar experiences than an individual who is a member of another class. (Bourdieu, 1991, p.75) In other words, Bourdieu does not assume or suppose that every member of the same class have the exact same experiences in the exact same order. However what brings them together is the chance of having had or to have similar experiences in similar environments. These environments are strong determinants of these experiences. His point of view doesn't assume that people who are object to same objective conditions tend to have similar experiences thus produce similar habitus' which bring them closer in their choices. Individuals who are object to similar conditions with similar resources naturally produce similar defense mechanisms against problems of their own. In short, similar problems bring about similar solutions. Therefore these solutions bring people closer in order to form organic classes in society.

Finally, after giving an overall view on habitus, it must be stated that habitus concept doesn't suppose a total impersonality of individual actions. It states that individual actions are product of objective conditions and reveal certain homogeneity in classes object to these objective conditions.

Considering the habitus as a subjective, but not individual, system of internalized structures, schemes common to all the members of the same group or class which constitutes the condition of all objectification. We are, in this perspective, brought to found the objective concertation of practices and the uniqueness of the world view on the perfect impersonality and substitutability of singular practices and views. (Bourdieu, 1991, p.76)

Habitus is not what makes this homogeneity and what hinders the personal character. Actually the situation is quite the opposite. Habitus, due to its subjective

character, is what gives products of objective conditions the personal form. Habitus, by producing and reproducing the structures, is formed by the structures the individual is objected to in her/his lifetime. For instance, habitus formed in early ages before school determine the experiences throughout the elementary school, so does the experiences in elementary school for high school and so on throughout our lives. Our history is formed by these experiences thus formed by our individual habitus. Habitus is what brings these experiences together in certain order to being one and unique life story. To grasp a better understanding of one life and point of view this is why I always began my interviews with requesting a family history and childhood from my subjects in field studies. Individual histories come together to form a collective history of a class. Thus individual histories are similar for individuals in the same class not because habitus determines so but rather contrary. Habitus is a both result and product of individual history and so is the class history and homogeneity for individual history.

1.4. CLIENTELISM

*Clientelism involves inequality,
but so does society at large.
(Ayşe Güneş-Ayata, 1994)*

Formation of social capital takes different forms and in most developing countries patron-client relations is a unique pattern of building social capital especially among the low income groups. Basically, clientelism is a relationship of exchange in which a superior (or patron) provides favors for an inferior (or client), and the client in turn provides support for the patron. The form taken by this favors may vary depending on the type of clientelism. It may involve physical or legal protection, land or a job, economic assistance, service provision etc. As Clapham argues “it is a kind of relationship which characterizes any society in which there are sharp divisions (usually on class lines) between superiors and inferiors, but in which neither superiors nor inferiors form politically coherent class units acting together; instead,

individual superiors or inferiors need the security and support which is provided by members of the other class” (Clapham, 1985)

In competitive political environments with limited resources, clientelism gains prominence in the control of the state by gaining the support of large public. In such cases it is a highly hierarchical system starting from the nation to the grassroots level. Political leadership at the national level relies upon the local leaders by employing clientelistic favors. Such favors exceed the political benefits especially when the power is gained. Local leaders themselves employ the very same strategy at the local level to mobilize the local population. On the other hand local politics in such situations are often highly factionalized not only among but also within the very same party. Thus those who succeed to be an ally of those national or regional leaders exclude the rivals from the corridors of power within the party machine. Such local leaders turn to be a broker between his own local community and the party.

It would be mistake to assign a homogenous form to clientelism as there are various strategies leading to different form of clientelism. One of the most strongest form of clientelism involves the mobilization of ethnic and religious belongings.

Clapham is highly cautious regarding the desirability of clientelism despite its highly effective working in developing societies and provides two reasons to be so. In the first place it is built upon and acceptance of “a premiss of inequality between patrons and clients, and the benefits accruing to each of them from the exchange may be very uneven indeed. Clients only benefit in so far as they have anything to offer which the patrons feel a need to pay for (and cannot just exact by force). Unless there is an effective electoral system which gives real choice to clients, this may not be very much; it is much more likely to be a small sweetener to give them some kind of stake in the system, while its main benefits go elsewhere. Secondly, the particularistic or neo-patrimonial nature of the exchange carries serious defects of its own. It may serve to intensify ethnic conflicts, though it is equally capable of adaptation so that each group gets a slice of the cake. It leads to allocations often

very different from those which would be produced by ‘universal’ criteria of efficiency and need: the road goes to the ‘wrong’ place, the ‘wrong’ person gets the job. Itself a form of corruption, it encourages corruption in other way” (Clapham, 1985, 59).

Güneş-Ayata take the opposite position on the desirability of clientelism and states that clientelism is not only inevitable but also functional. Furthermore she quotes Lande, claiming that modern forms of organization and clientelism is not only compatible but also complementary. Lande bases his claim on that modern organizational forms do not provide all of the needs of the community and its individual members.(1994, p.19-20) These needs mentioned are strongly related with the realization of the clients’ and patrons’ individual aims. Clientelism is also related with need of trust between clients and patrons because clientelism in modern society is an informal relation, continuation of which depends on reciprocal protection of both patron and client. The patron gains the protection of her/his position in this unequal relation, where as the clients’ momentary or periodic needs are covered. (Kurtoğlu, 2012, p.144) Although the needs and the relations are not permanent, the clientelist relations are. Clientelist relations have been a reality of the Turkish politics for decades.

The character of the patron-client relations can be divided into four eras in Turkish polity. The first period would be the period until 1950, the single party period. Güneş-Ayata states at this period the only remedy for the periphery to reach central decision making processes was through notables. Eighty percent of the population lived in the “periphery” and their relation to the center could only be through the elites and the RPP. These elites were local landlords to whom the peasants owed loyalty and respect. The elites did not only protect them against the natural disasters such as flood or drought but also protected them against the “alien” state. The notables provided a link between the center and periphery while center recognized them as represent of the periphery.(Güneş-Ayata, 1994) Kurtoğlu defines this period as keeping RPP’s distance from the periphery. (2012, 157) The period can be

identified as the least participatory period since the eighty percent of the population was represented through notables of the area and the peasants relation to the state was limited to these individuals.

The second period is marked with the rule of DP until 1960. The 1946 parliament reflect a change from military and bureaucratic elites to professionals and commercial cadres. (Güneş-Ayata, 1994) This period can be characterized by face-to-face relations focused way of politics by the DP and JP. At this period the peasants felt for the first time that they were influencing the decision making processes although only through voting for RPP or DP. However, this period is the first period where the peasants had the chance to bargain in exchange for their votes. This lead to more accessible represants and more chance of satisfaction of personal demands of the periphery population.

The third period is 1960's where the RPP and JP were dominant. JP's local organizations were direct descendants of those of DP's. (Güneş-Ayata, 1994) This period represent introduction of ideological conflicts to the client-patron relations. The RPP aimed to mobilize the migrant votes in the cities in this period with help of its ideological rhetoric.(Kurtoğlu, 2012) This period also represent the urbanization becoming an important factor in Turkish polity and mobilization of urban votes. However these changes do not represent the end of earlier clientelist relations. Resource allocation was still organized through these relations. Demands such as employment, squatter rights were still individualized forms of spoils (Güneş-Ayata, 1994)

The fourth period begins with the MP taking power in 1983. MP in the general sense left a side face-to-face type of politics and applied pork-barrel distribution of resources. (Güneş-Ayata, 1994) This period is similar to first period in the sense that face-to-face politics were abandoned. However different in the sense that patron-client relations were carried to the public sphere and lost its private or personal character. Rumors of corruption, partnerships between party elites and “selective”

businessmen were cited in newspapers daily. (Güneş-Ayata, 1994)

During the JDP period, in 2007 R.Tayyip Erdoğan states “Hamili kart yakınımıdır” period is over.² Furthermore in 2012, this practice took its place in the labour law with a fine of 10.000TL³. Although these actions represent an awareness on the subject they do not mean the end of the clientelist appliances. Two main reasons clientelist appliances still continues can be stated as such. First of all, clientelism cannot be ended until its roots within social relations are cleared. Kurtoğlu defines clientelism as protection of interest of individuals who are included in a certain social network. (2012, p. 144) Thus clientelism is applied in social networks. These social networks are exclusive ones due to the benefits it offers. Actors take place in this networks and spend time and resources to keep their dispositions in these networks in exchange for these benefits. One of the main reasons the clientelism is so actively in Turkish polity is that the distribution of resources highly depend on these networks. Güneş-Ayata states that MPs routinely spend mornings to respond to the demands of their clients and keep records of the “favours” they have done so that they can claim favours in return.(1994, p.58) I have witnessed the same activities during my work-span in the parliament. The MPs considered the demands from their election areas as investments for the next elections and they have kept representant and offices in the cities where they were elected from. They tried to answer to these demands as much as they can and tried to create more and more ways to collect these demands such as social media. Many of these demands were related to employment. Erder’s study published in 2011, state only 22 percent of the employment was achieved through formal channels whereas 51 percent of the employment in the research group was achieved through channels provided by clientelist relations. (p.267) These relations are internalized both by the clients and patrons so much that expressions as “adamı olmak” “hamili kart yakınımıdır” etc. are commonly used. Güneş-Ayata states the reason for this is neither the clients nor

² <http://www.aktifhaber.com/hamili-kart-yakinimdir-donemi-bitti-128805h.htm> (last visited 17.02.2013)

³ <http://www.haber7.com/ekonomi/haber/907424-hamili-kart-yakinimdir-10-bin-lira-ceza-geliyor> (last visited 17.02.2013)

the patrons are interested in generality of equality and legal rules. (1994, p.10) Both the provider and the receiver are happy to be in such a relationship. In a market driven economy where unemployment is a serious problem such a relation is an advantage for the client since his/her demands are met. These relations bound to be present until economic and social inequalities are overcome.

Another reason of the clientelist relations is the structures its used within. In limits of our this study I am working on two fields namely the hometown associations and political parties. One of the reasons clientelist relations are common in these two fields is that both fields are exclusive and hierarchical. Thus clientelist relations are not questioned in this sense both by the clients and the patrons. The members of the hometown associations rarely demand to be active in politics. Even when they do they need to be leaders in these organizations which means first they need to challenge the current leaders in these networks. When they challenge the current leaders there are two conclusions. In the positive one, they achieve to become the new leaders and they start to continue the same way their predecessor followed to be included in political field. In the negative conclusion they end up as excluded from the field and as a result from the distribution network. In this sense the members try to maximize the benefits this network provides. In this sense the election criteria for the client is which patron can provide him the maximum resources.

Furthermore, in field of politics clientelist relations are rather limited and relative.(Kurtoğlu, 2012, p.146) Political parties are highly hierarchical organizations. In these nation-wide organizations there are numerous hierarchical levels from subprovinces to head of the party. All the levels are connected to each other in means of decision making. Thus, the resources subject to distribution in field of politics are more social resources rather than economic. Distribution of these resources in these networks depend on trust rather than merit. Which means that party posts are filled with who is more trustable rather than who has more quality according to the character of the position. On the local level, party elections run between the candidate of the center against local candidates and local candidates

have difficulty to win against central power. In an intra-party neighborhood representant election, I have witnessed people naming two competing lists as “Kılıçdaroğlu’s list” and the other list. The “Kılıçdaroğlu list” won by great difference as it did in many neighborhoods. The members vote for the centre’s list because they knew once the opposition group win the neighborhood would be excluded from the resource distribution networks. Since the neighborhood will not have a representant in the sub-provincial board, their demands would not be met or they cannot have anyone to reach to pass their demands to higher levels. As a result of this hierarchical organization, the lower levels have to be the clients of the higher levels because they control the resources to be distributed. Thus every level is responsible to the higher level in terms of trust and loyalty and the higher level is responsible to cover the needs of the lower level if s/he wants to continue to use the resources –votes in this situation- the lower level provides her/him.

In the following part of this thesis I will try to show that such a way of carrying out political activities is a highly widespread practices in the political parties in Turkey. Starting from the top to the grassroots level clientelism is the most prominent and effective strategy of building political capital. Those who enters the political life is always well informed about the rules of doing politics. On the one hand they know that they have to establish some form of link with the higher ranks of the party and on the other they are quite aware of the fact that such a successful linkage requires them to gather some respectful degree of support at the grassroots level by developing some form of clientelism with the party rank and file.

CHAPTER 2: FIELD RESEARCH

I cannot state this study covers all the conflicts and tensions of two fields. My focus is on the intersection points of two fields, namely the hometown association leaders who attempted to enter field of politics and the political field itself. Thus the findings of the research have its own limitations in terms of validity. Furthermore because my political experience was in RPP, many of the associations visited are from the left side of the political spectrum. I have hesitated to study the right side because my analysis bases for the most part on my experiences in the field of politics. However I tried to include an association that is close to JDP in order to see their ways of conducting social relations. Another limit this study faces is that some of the associations are Alevi Organizations in the essence. However in the field, I have seen Alevi organizations behave almost the same with hometown organizations. Thus, I believe these associations should be included in this study.

Hometown caught my attention while I was working in Ankara branch of the RPP professionally. I was already aware that social networks and social capital was crucial to politics however a structure this much internalized was very interesting. At the first glance I realized that these networks are highly politicized. The actors included in both networks -namely the political parties and the hometown associations- use one for the good of the other. Do they aim to represent their hometown or do they use these organizations as a doorstep for politics? Neither claim is completely true, nor totally wrong. These two networks, especially in the provincial level, are so telescopic that it is not possible, even for the actor, to differentiate them. The leaders of hometown associations use their social capital provided by the hemşehri network in political parties and her/his political capital in the games played in the field of hometown associations. To grasp the reality in these networks a set of tools is necessary.

Methodology of this thesis consists of a number of different tools of enquiry. First of all it must be stated that, although some tools are more dominant, information

gathered through any of these tools will not be considered more important -or closer to truth- from any other. To be more precise, this research was conducted in a manner that tries to harmonize academic literature, information gathered through interviews with actors who partake in two of the main target fields, namely political and hometown associations. It also contains data gained through personal experience and statistical data provided by state authorities.

This study's main tool is semi structured in-depth interviews. The main reason in choosing in-depth interviews is learning about detailed family histories, political and organizational experiences of the actors. Interviews were chosen not in a fashion to form a sample space. It is useful to point out that in depth interviews were not done to prove the main thesis of the researcher. Rather, in depth interviews formed the main thesis of the study. "In place of the conventional read-then-do-then-write sequence of doing research" (Crang, 2007, p. 4) this study bounces back and forward between academic literature and information that has been discovered in the interviews.

2.1. LAYDER'S RESEARCH MAP

A successful field research requires proper preparation. The researcher needs to set a strategy in order to create the suitable atmosphere in her/his interviews. The interviews should be done in a comfortable environment because through these interviews you may be in a position to ask the most private details of one's life. Furthermore the field research should be compatible with the theoretical part of the study. For this reason I have analyzed and tried to inject Layder's Research Map to the field research. Bourdieu's relational approach on form of capital is compatible with Layder's approach on field study because it also uses a telescopic approach where levels of enquiry intersect and interact. (Table1)

Layder's Research Map includes four main elements: the *Self*, the *Situated activity*, the *Setting*, the *Context* and general dimension of *History*. These elements refer to

closely interrelated levels of social organization. However, Layder prefers to scrutinize them separately for sake of research and analytic purposes. He defines the micro level (Self) and moves up to macro level (Context) emphasizing that micro level is no less important than the macro level. Macro and micro levels are interrelated through the social activity itself. (Layder, 1993 p.71) Social activity is produced and reproduced through this interrelation. Accordingly, field research should follow the theoretic framework. As Layder states, this map can be used in two ways. Layder's research map is a guide first to conduct the field research and secondly it is a guide that interprets the results. First is to understand and analyze a certain published research. He also states that this way is the less important one because elements of every research co-mingle in different ways. However it is not the map's primary purpose. The map only defines "one way" of deciphering. The researcher's role here is to find the best way to use this map to decipher her/his research.

A more central purpose of the map is to design and plan an ongoing formulation of a field research. Layder states that main problem for students and professional researchers, is to begin a research. To answer the question "what shall I research?"(ibid, p.73) Moreover Layder shows yet another point where the map can be useful. The map may also be useful for researches which are already in progress which at this point can be suitable for field research part of this thesis since writing of thesis follows the field research. We will use Layder's Research Map as a guide for the upcoming parts of this thesis. However, first of all we should grasp a better understanding of the map itself.

Table 1: LAYDER’S RESEARCH MAP

		Research Element	Research Focus
		HISTORY	CONTEXT
SETTING	<p>Intermediate Social Organization: Work: <i>Industrial, military and state bureaucracies; labor markets; hospitals; social work agencies, domestic labor; penal and mental institutions</i> Non-Work: <i>Social organization of leisure activities, sports and social clubs; religious and spiritual organizations.</i></p>		
SITUATED ACTIVITY	<p>Social Activity: <i>Face-to-face activity involving symbolic communication by skilled, intentional participants implicated in the above contents and settings. Focus on emergent meanings, understandings and definitions of the situation as these affect and are affected by contexts and settings (above) and subjective dispositions of individuals (below)</i></p>		
SELF	<p>Self-Identity and Individual’s Social Experience <i>As they are influenced by the above sectors and as they interact with unique psychobiography of the individual</i> <i>Focus on life-career.</i></p>		

Although Self and Situated Activity are separable elements in theory it would be useful to introduce them together because it is difficult to separate them in practice. The notion “Self” points to an individual’s sense of identity, personality and perception of the social world as these are influenced by her/his social experience (Layder, 1993, p74). Identities, in terms of defining individuals and classifying them, can be useful for analytic and scientific reasons however every social activity for

any individual is more or less different. In this case every organization functions differently and every disposition in every game may show different characteristics. Thus rather than labeling and defining individuals it is of use to label or classify structures and experiences. Thus the researcher's duty is to analyze the surroundings and social settings certain self-perceptions are realized. Common characteristics reflecting social structures are what were emphasized in this research. Question sets used in the research are prepared in order to reach those common characteristics through personal experiences. Individual life stories reveal certain affected parts by the social structures. Personal life careers are defined by the higher level structures such as family, working conditions etc. On the other hand these structures are produced by combination of personal careers.

Defining the Self, Layder also defines an important term "Career". Career refers to the processes self-defines itself in, rather than moments. It is subjective similar to the self. And it is an important process in that the self defines her/his identity in relation to the other levels mentioned at Table1. Career does not necessarily point to economic or working life. It may point to more private matters such as the career of a marriage. The focus is on biographical elements of social experience and represents a link between social experience and individual identity.

Layder's term "Career" is similar to Bourdieu's "Habitus" in the sense that it relates to history of the self. Furthermore it determines the surrounding and state of being leads to the decisions of the self. The self decides individually however reflecting effects of the surrounding s/he is in. Layder sees the conceptions evaluating the self only with psychological effects as over-estimating. He rather puts an emphasis on social construction. (Layder; 1993, p.77) Layder, similar to Bourdieu, defines all elements in the map as shading into and interweaving with each other. (ibid, p.80) In other words, similar to Bourdieu, Layder defines social world "relational". All different elements of social world, from economics to psychology, are related in the sense that they form the decisions of the self. The producers of all these processes are individual careers where the actor of the history acts and reacts together with the

other actors of the same fields where s/he partakes. Production of the career begins when the actor interacts with other actors which explain why Layder feels the need to explain “situated activity” and “self” together .

Self in this study represent the interviewees, their life stories or in Layder’s words their careers. I have met with 8 interviewees from different associations and different hometowns. All the interviews were made through voice recording and transcription. However; all the conversations were not taped. Some of the interviewees hesitated to be on tape since all of them are politics related conversations. On the other hand, after a short conversation in which I explained them the aim of the study, all of them helped me. Some of the off-the-record conversations took four to five hours and some of the associations I have visited three sometimes four times. Through the interviews I also tried to get a grasp of the inner workings of the associations. Information on the interviewees can be found in the tables below.

Table 2. Information on the Interviewees

	KARAŞAR	ÇORUM	YOZGAT	GİRESUN
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male
Place of Birth	Ankara	Çorum	Yozgat	Giresun
Date of Birth	1964	1964	1959	1952
Date of Migration	1964	1969	1973	1970
Graduation	Hacettepe - Diş Hekimliği	Dicle Uni – Hukuk Fak.	Egypt	...
Occupation	Dentist	Lawyer	Engineer	Retired
First date in Hometown Associations	1998	1987	2009	Before 1980
First date in Politics	2001	Before 1980	Before 1980	1970'ler
Party	MP, RPP	RPP	RPP	SPP, RPP
Duty	MKYK, Parti Parliament	Candidate	Candidate	Province, sub-province administration

Table 2. (Continued) Information on the Interviewees

	DEDE	DİVRİĞİ	SİVAS	RİZE
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male
Place of Birth	Çorum	Sivas	Sivas	Rize
Date of Birth	1947	1964	1961	1968
Date of Migration	1969	1981	1987	1996
Graduation	Lise	Ankara Uni – Hukuk fak	Öğretmen	Muhendis
Occupation	Civil Servant-Retired	Lawyer	Self Employed	Consultant
First date in Hometown Associations	1997	1987	1988	
First date in Politics	Before 1980	Before 1980	Before 1980	2003
Party	none	RPP	RPP	JDP
Duty	none	Candidate	Subprovince administration	Candidate

The situated activity concerns with dynamics of the interaction itself rather than the response the individual gives to various kinds of social situations. (Layder; 1993, p.80) Individual's reaction tends to change according to the environment and the setting the situation is realized. Thus, it may be suggested that time and space of the social interaction affects the individuals' reactions. These reactions often tend to form a pattern of behavior. Layder exemplifies this relation with groups consisting of terminal patients and their relatives. In the groups information is unevenly distributed (in this case the terminality of the patient) certain types of behavior is observed. Individuals tend to act differently among relatives who know the case and in another way, among who are not aware of the terminality of the patient. He mentions numerous different cases -other than the patient and relative groups- every group, although they have similarities, tend to have their own unique dynamics. In Layder's words "... capturing the unique interactional dynamics of a particular group of people" is essential.

In this study to capture the unique interactional dynamics of the hometown associations I did not only visit the associations but also spent time with regular members and talked with them about the relations they have with their leaders or administrators. For every associations I have talked with 8-10 people. I did not record these conversations. However these conversations revealed that the leaders do not have the legitimacy that the elections reflect among the members. Clientelist relations between the leaders and the members changes election results. However the clients are not all happy with the patrons.

Layder mentions two aspect of the situated activity. (1993, p.84) Each moment of the interaction should have the imprint of the individuals concerned. For this the situation becomes personal as a part of everyday life. Thus the reaction is not planned prior to the incident, it is not intentional. For instance, in Layder's example, three workers who work in closed area doing repetitive tasks react to boring nature of their job with certain daily routines. Naturally, if the three workers were exchanged with three other workers, the new workers would react to the situations

differently. However, in the same fashion, they would provide their very own defense mechanisms to deal with the repetitive nature of their job.

Defense mechanisms among hometown association members also differ. Some of the members I talked with was at first hesitant since I was a stranger. However after the time span I spent with them, I saw not all the members are happy to see their leaders in the field of politics. One of the members claimed that the leaders were hypocrites that they talked and acted differently in political parties and hometown associations.

This brings us to the second aspect of the situated activity. The situated is effected by the surrounding. If I follow the same example, three workers who work in a closed environment, we may see how the surrounding affects this certain situation. Because they worked in an isolated space they had no pressure from their superiors, this setting made possible that the group produced their own routines. The setting created certain in-group solidarity and defended them from workplace conflicts or rivalry often seen when large numbers of individuals work together. The setting affects the way situated activities are realized. It is as an important determinant of the situated activity as the self acting and reacting within the social setting.

The same situation can be observed in hometown association members and leaders. Some of the leaders acted differently in different setting. Their attitude and style changed from one group to the other. This is not a negative characteristic all time. Because, as I experienced in politics such changes of attitude comes across as a talent to relate to all kinds of people for politicians. As I was talking about one of my interviewees to his associations members, the picture they have drawn was very different than the man I knew.

Setting and activity are rather different in use but complementary in nature. In principle, they should have equal importance in studies researching relation between structure and agent. For sake of practicality, balance of these two can be uneven as

long as they are considered closely bound. (Layder, 1993, p.89) This concern is not a mere longing for completeness. Although setting and activity are closely bound and dependent on each other they have different characteristics and properties. Although they are closely bound they stand as unique entities determining one another.

Firstly the setting has an already established character. The setting is ongoing compared to instances of situated activity. Layder exemplifies the situation with what if situation. Going back to three workers working in an isolated space, if the three workers were changed with three other workers, it is expected that, although the activities in the room they work change, the general working of the factory would remain the same. Thus, although the settings are formed by situated activities, the settings themselves remain basically unchanged.

In this study I consider the political field and the hometown associations field as the setting because all the actors I have interviewed is from these fields. Moreover, I can set the situated activity as the trust decreasing in the field. In such a picture you can see the actors being affected by both levels, and rebuilding these fields with their activities.

Secondly, various settings have various layers in terms that it connects to various layers of the identity. For instance a female worker in a man-dominated working environment is effected by the patriarchal character of the setting as well as she is effected by another layer similar to her male counterparts. The setting is also affected and determined by the actors within it. Relation of the setting to the actor – or self- changes once an actor or actors changes within a game. These changes in settings effect form and reproduce the macro context.

Understanding power and control as they operate in working environment requires more than understanding the setting. The relationship between situated activity and the setting is similar to the one between the setting and what is larger than it; the

macro context. Layder suggests understanding the experience of women at work one must have a general understanding of the workplace, gender segregation and so together with the work setting itself properly. (Layder, 1993, p.97) If the macro context of the work setting not understood well, analysis would be ill-pointed. Workplace houses gendered hierarchies as a reflection of gender relation in general. Thus, a sexual harassment case in a work place is affected by the situated activity, the instant situation it is experienced, the setting of that work organization, the certain rules the workers are subjected to and habits of the workers in general and the social context that situation is experienced. It is hard to analyze from which level this situation arise as it is difficult to separate one from another unless we understand how individual events form the macro context.

Macro context includes structures which are more permanent and resistant to change. Example of the female worker is very much of use because it also reflects the effect of each level on a certain case. We have already discussed the individual and setting dimensions of the situation. At this point we may also add a new layer to the discussion. Macro context where the situated activity takes place and the macro context are related. The general social context also defines the setting and the situated activity. The place and time where the situation arises is crucial for the analysis of the situation.

Context of this study is defined by a political moment in Turkish history, the 1980 coup, before and after. I have set this study's limits to understand the effects and difference of pre and post 1980 era. I have interviewed the actors who somehow experienced politics before 1980 to see and learn about the differences of two eras.

All four elements of the research map represent a certain feeling of time. Self is a lifelong and ever changing concept while situated activity can be measured with seconds. The setting of social interaction changes every time we go to work and come to our home. The context is the longest lasting one among all. However it also changes although it takes centuries. Even world's economic, cultural, political

structures change. However history is the most long lasting of all. “History represents the temporal dimension through which all the other elements move” (Layder, 1993, p.101) All elements are in relation and interwoven while they are also embedded in history. History is the largest entity where all relations are realized and reproduced over and over again. The part that remain constant and the parts that change constantly form the history. This is why historical development of a certain matter is crucial.

This study also includes a certain amount of participant observation since I have spent almost two years actively working and volunteering in RPP. I have worked as a consultant to the provincial chair, educational consultant and lastly as parliamentary consultant for a total of two years in 2011 and 2012. I have also been a part of politics in neighborhood and sub-provincial level personally. Some of the interviews were arranged through relations I have established during this period. Gaining access to these interviewees also required a certain amount of social capital. On the other hand, some of the interviews were done with individuals whom I met for the first time. Others were interviews which I knocked on the doors of association with or without earlier notice. Some interviews required pre-interviews or casual conversations.

The topic of this study was structured through this period of interviews. Consequently, it can be claimed that the topic of this study was not determined on the table or in the university campus but it was rather formed at the field where study was made. Thus from the beginning of the study field research was crucial to my thesis. One of the advantages of such a research method is to see that individuals acting in the field of politics and hometown organizations have more than one identity which is active or passive in different dispositions they take in different fields. For instance while (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği) has an “Alevi” identity -which he is proud of- and is actively represented in different Alevi organizations. He prefers to hinder this identity of his in the field of politics.

I don't appreciate politics being built on beliefs. All the beliefs are dogmatic and you cannot organize politics based on dogmatic views. This is a backwards way of politics. I find disturbing not only faith based identities becoming base for politics but also all kinds of identity based politics... (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği)

This situation of multiple identities was a difficulty throughout the research. Since all of the interviewees had more than one identity and more than one field which they took part, ebb and flows were witnessed in the interviews. At certain points they spoke as a political actor and at some point they have become leader of a hometown association and sometimes both. Thus changing identities due to changing conditions were also taken into consideration. On the other hand, conducting the research in such restricted manner, hinders me from making generalization. This study's findings are limited to the associations included in the research.

Crang claims that, researchers should consider the conditions the research is conducted in. (2007, p. 8) For instance, (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği) being a candidate for province chair during the period of the interviews may have affected the disposition he took as more political rather than his Alevi identity. Moreover, my close relations to (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği) and the place we met (his own office) may have been an effect on his ease in revealing his political stance. Crang claims "not only is the place where the researcher and her/his 'subjects' meet important to any study, but also the social context in which this is arranged." (2007, p.8) I have witnessed that place and setting of the interview affected answers the interviewees gave.

On the other hand, it must be taken into consideration that "the researcher's viewpoint is largely a product of social relations both within the academy and between it and the world at large." (Crang, 2007, p.7) Thus throughout the research process, I visited the associations and individuals more than once and made observations before I made the interviews. I have taken part in speeches the presidents or vice-presidents gave to their respected members. Shortly, I have tried

to observe the personalities of the leaders in different conditions. I have had off-the-record conversations to gain deeper insights on their political views, in order to get a better understanding of their world-view. Although off-the-record information cannot be directly used in this study due to ethical reasons, it is normally expected to affect the way information on the record is used. Information gathered in the interviews was used with necessary delicacy and objectivity. Furthermore, information on and off the record is used with certain consideration that would not endanger the individuals' political and organizational life and future. Because of this delicacy I have used nicknames for the interviewees I have met.

The importance of the interviews brings up a compulsory period of planning prior to the interviews. First of all it is very important to choose the most accurate interviews in order not to waste time and resources. For efficiency not only choosing target interviews but also timing and atmosphere are crucial. The researcher should find the suitable time for an interview that may go for hours. Limitation of time may lead to evasive answers. The researcher may find her/himself in a position where s/he needs more time to unseal the subjects that would be of use to the study. Thus time must be adjusted well to comfort both the interviewer and the interviewee. Prior to the interviews a research based on the target interviewee was carefully completed. Especially choice of the venue was done accordingly. Most of the interviews were done in the offices of the interviewees in order to provide a comfortable environment and not to make them feel intimidated or interrogated. Furthermore my experiences in politics made easier to connect with the interviewees because politics has its own set of traditions and habits. Field of associations and politics are due to similar type of social capital in that they both are based on an organizational culture and both fields are closely related.

However, fields of associations and politics are often related informally. Relations are often established through individuals, historical ties or ideological ties. Although commonly rejected, associations often have political stances. For instance, during

our off the record conversation with one of the interviewees, president of Ankara branch of a foundation, told that respective foundation was a non-political organization. Together with this, he was a candidate for the parliamentary candidate list from RPP in the 2011 elections. He told that, his candidacy had no relation with the foundation what so ever. He told that he was pushed by his supporters as a candidate and he accepted. (M, 54, Chair, Yozgat) On the other hand, another interviewee openly states he acted as a political figure and followed a leftist ideology during his presidency in various associations. (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği) In case of former, association and politics relation can be evaluated only at the level of individual candidacy, whereas in case of latter the relations are both on individual and ideological level. One of the interviewees explains the situation as it is not an intentional choice but a natural one in order to feel safe close to the ones those are close to you. He defines this relation as being together with the ones those are “like you.”

Then it is best to stay close with people from your village. If not then, most generally, with Alevi's. If not then with Kemalists, with leftists is the right way. This is what our ancestors did. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

An inexperienced researcher such as myself requires certain amount of reading before going out to field. For this reason, support from academic field is crucial. It is important to find the most efficient interviews and to know when to end interviewing. It was very important for this study to know when to finish since politics is an endless field where the researcher may find her/himself distracted from the main topic s/he set at the beginning. Crang provided the reading prior to the research. The reason for choosing Crang's “Doing Ethnographies” was that he did not tell how to do your research but rather he defined set of concepts that can be used for variety of researches.

Crang uses three terms in ethnographic studies in order to reach “truth”. Firstly he defines *theoretical sampling* which refers to the process the researcher chooses whom to include in her/his study. He states this approach involves gaining selective

access to appropriate groups rather than random selection of research targets. Therefore it is not only a question of sheer number of interviews but quality and positionality of the information that they offer. (Crang, 2007, p.11) In other words, in this study, the subjects interviewed were not determined by a sample space but by the positions taken by individuals and associations in the field of politics. These dispositions taken by the associations can change due to their history or the present political scene.

Another term Crang uses to define studies' limits is *theoretical saturation* which refers to the point where information taken from the interviews repeats itself. (2007, p.11) When the information starts to repeat itself, it is a natural point of returning to analysis or seeking for a new viewpoint or a differently positioned group. For instance two interviewees from two different Alevi organizations who are both candidates for Member of the Parliament from Republican Peoples Party were interviewed. ((M, 54, Chair, Yozgat), (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği)) However their political dispositions are quite different. While one states public protests and meetings are cannot be a political tool, the latter mentions such meetings he organized with pride and respect. Both define themselves as leftist because of the party they relate to. Although both are politically active in the same party and in leftist politics in general, their political stances are almost antagonistic. Consequently we may see the two organizations acting in the same field taking opposite positions running for the same post or aim. Thus rather than discussing the dispositions and stance the individuals are taking it would be useful for the researcher to focus on the relations and bonds that bring together the structures that reproduce themselves over and over again in the same field.

And lastly Crang uses a third term; *theoretical adequacy* which refers to the confidence the researcher has in that the study covers all the tensions and commonalities in the field studied. In order to achieve such confidence the research problem should be approached from multiple perspectives. (2007, p.11) The reason why associations from different dispositions were chosen is to cover multiple

viewpoints. The study does not take sides however field of study is both narrow and large. Narrow in the sense that only two political parties were included in this study representing %75 percent of the votes. My focus was on RPP since organizations I have studied and got the initial idea from was associations close to RPP. However the field is large in the sense that associations need to be close to political parties in order to realize their ends and aims. Thus many associations relate with political parties or figures. My choices were made based on the dispositions taken in the field of hometown associations.

2.2. QUESTION SETS

Crang suggests preparing a checklist before semi-structured interviews in order to steer the conversation in the way the interviewer planned. (Crang, 2007, p.40) Thus, throughout the interviews a general question set was used (can be found in the appendix). However the question set was altered slightly before every interview according to interviewees' historical background in politics and hometown associations. Crang also suggests making a background research prior to the interviews since every interview has points of discussion unique to itself. (ibid, p.40) A number of the interviewed were people whom I have already met. However pre-researches gave me deeper information. Rest of the interviewees was people I have met during the study. For interviews that I have not met before, a basic internet research was enough since subjected individuals were publicly known figures, their historical backgrounds were available on respected associations' websites. However a small chat with the personnel working in the association was time to time useful. Publications made by the association and articles that can be found on the internet were also useful for constructing the question sets. For a number of the interviews I had to phone other contacts to see what was the interviewee's political view or to gather information on her/his background.

Some of the associations were easier to gain access, thanks to personal relations prior to the research. At the point of gaining access political experience of

approaching with proper attitude was useful. Thus, some associations were visited by highlighting researcher's academic identity where as some other were visited by highlighting the researcher's political identity. The question sets were adjusted according to the identity used.

Some organizations in the scope of the study, such as Cem Foundation or Alevi-Bektaşî Associations Federation, -although they carry certain geographic identity- are based on a religious identity, Alevi identity. Thus their relation with politics is tenderer than others. In light of sensitivity of these relations, question sets were altered in order not to abuse the access and hospitality of the administrators of the organizations. Here I feel the to repeat the reasoning why Alevi organizations were also included in this study. Alevi organization on provincial level act similar to hometown associations. First reason for this is that they represent a certain identity. The second reason is that Alevi's who came to Ankara needed these networks. Social capital enhanced in Alevi organizations is similar to hometown associations and it is similarly useful in the field of politics.

Before starting the interviews it is useful to explain the general character and aim of the study to interviewee clearly to gain her/his trust since what will be discussed is private and personal. Thus the aim and scope of the study must be clear . As mentioned earlier through the interviews question sets make the half of the job for the researcher.

Thus, question sets prepared for this research was prepared according to a certain aim. Question sets began with asking general personal information. Where s/he was born, where s/he grew up, where did s/he study university etc. At this part the aim was to gain general background information on the interviewee. Almost all interviewees are migrants from different cities around Ankara. Furthermore questions continued with family background in order to gain information how the interviewee connected to politics for the first time and to see what kind of a family environment s/he grew up. Later on questions focused on the history of the

interviewee in field of associations. At this point, pre-research on the interviewee was useful since I had to ask by giving names of the associations s/he took part. The questions continued with his relation to politics. Leaving politics to the end was merely an unintentional choice since politics is a more private matter and the interviewee needed to be comfortable telling me about her/his political thoughts and tendencies. Leaving politics to the end of the interview gave me time to explain the interviewee about the character of the study and gain his trust.

Questions range from general to specific. General questions aim to gather information about eras of the interviewee's career on a specific part of their lives. It may be limited by time as the first question which asks about the childhood and upbringing of the interviewee. Following questions define the details the researcher aims to gather. In case these details are mentioned as an answer, these questions remain redundant thus not asked not to be repetitive. At this point, it must be reminded that careful listening is the most crucial part of the interviews since the interviewee would not be happy to repeat details of her/his life.

The third part of the question set aims to gather information about the disposition of the interviewee in the field hometown associations in detail. Thus, it is very important to explain the general topic of the study to the interviewee if the researcher wants to get accurate answers. Otherwise you can see the interview getting out of control and find yourself discussing matters those are irrelevant to your study. The pre-research as you may see is used by stating the associations the interviewee took part in. Pre-research allows you to cover all the subjects you want to discuss with the interviewee and get a complete story of her/his career of the relevant era of her/his life.

CHAPTER 3:

HOMETOWN AND HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS

3.1. MIGRATION, HOMETOWN and HEMSEHRI

Metropolitan cities are places where cultures meet and form a field of solidarity as well as struggle. Thus hometown relations are of great importance in large cities which is a destination for migrant population. Today's metropolitan cities such as Ankara, has been receiving migrants from other cities. Between years of 1975 and 2000 almost 15 million people migrated to cities.⁴ Population of Ankara rose from 66.000 in 1950 to 4.8 million today. 4.6 million of the population lives in the metropolitan area.⁵ Almost one third of the Ankara population is migrants from the surrounding.

Table 3. MIGRANTS IN ANKARA

Çorum	336.694
Yozgat	293.748
Çankırı	222.524
Kırşehir	179.094
Kırıkkale	163.105
Sivas	143.153
Total	1.338.318

Source: Collected from the data http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=38 last visited January 8th, 2013

⁴http://rapor.tuik.gov.tr/reports/rwservlet?adnksdb2&ENVID=adnksdb2Env&report=wa_adnks_goc_ilara.RDF&p_kod=2&p_il1=6&p_goc=1&p_yil=2011&p_dil=1&desformat=html Last checked January 10th, 2013

⁵http://rapor.tuik.gov.tr/reports/rwservlet?adnksdb2&ENVID=adnksdb2Env&report=wa_turkiye_il_koy_sehir.RDF&p_il1=6&p_kod=2&p_yil=2012&p_dil=1&desformat=html Last checked January 10th, 2013

Migration from small Anatolian towns and cities to large metropolitan areas has been an issue of discussion for decades. İçduygu estimates between 1950-70 200.000 people, between 1970-1980 350.000 people, between 1980-1995 500.000 people migrated to metropolitan areas. (Cited in Aktaş, Aka, Demir 2006) These waves of migration have both sociological and economic reasons. However this study's focus will be on the results and effects of the migration rather than reasons because the focus will not be on migration period, rather I will be discussing the period when migrants came into the metropole and effected the games to form a new structure of relations within the political life of the large cities. Thus I will be discussing migrants' adjusting process to the city and the dispositions they take with special emphasis on the political field.

Ankara was founded by the state and the aim was to create a capital city for the newly founded republic with a population of around twenty thousand in the beginning of the twentieth century. Ankara has been at receiving end of the migration in the whole twentieth century and today its population is nearly five million. Ankara is a unique example among İstanbul and İzmir since it has been built from a small town to a large capital in only a century. İstanbul and İzmir on the other hand, have been welcoming migrants for centuries. Thus, the migrants come to already formed culture and try to adjust to that culture. Ankara has welcomed migrants from mostly neighbor cities as Çorum, Sivas, and Yozgat etc. Ersoy states migrants affects both cultures once they come to the city. They relate to the both sides and determine their dispositions with these relations.(1985, p.175) In other words, Ankara's culture has been produced by the migrants' effects together with the nation building process of the Turkish Republic in early republican period. Thus, hometown relations effected the formation of Ankara's culture. Cultural and geographic similarities of the cities migrated together with Ankara's culture formation set a unique case.

Kurtoğlu defines hometown (memleket) in two conceptions. Firstly, it refers to “land of the nation” as lands belonging to a country. As a result it is highly related to nationalism and relations composed around the nation-state. However, in the second conception hometown refers to the city the father is born. Hometown is the province written on your birth certificate. (Kurtoğlu, 2005, p.10) However in the metropole, hometown refers to more than your or your father’s place of birth. Hometown also refers to a culture, an identity and certain potential social networks which the individual is entitled by birth. As one of our interviewees mention, migrants come to a whole new city and culture. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum) They require an identity to determine their dispositions and define themselves in the games played in the metropole. Thus they relate to their historically formed identities. This identity relation I try to define is hemşehrilik. Hemşehri defines people who share the same city of birth or the city father is born. Thus hemşehri relation has no meaning back at the hometown. At the hometown, -assuming that the city migrated from is not a city which receives migration which is the most often case- most of the people living in the area is born in that city contrary to the metropole. Thus hemşehri relation does not have any peculiarity at the hometown. It gains meaning with the migration to the metropole. In short, hemşehrilik is a type of relation defined in the cities migrated to. Hemşehri relations help migrants to survive in the city by means of solidarity. For those who decide to migrate to the cities, the previous migrants from the same village or town constituted the main point of entry to the city. Usual pattern is to target a place where the fellow villagers already settled. They help the new comers to find a land plot to invade in the very same neighbourhood. They also give hand to build a squatter by night. As a result of such strategy, the squatter neighbourhoods were divided along the hemşehrilik basis in large metropolitan cities.

Of course they looked for people from Çorum, to get help if someone is from a village nearby. Because you suddenly come from a village of forty people, to then four-five hundred thousand of population. You come to a sea of people. You don't know who could help if something bad happen. Then it is the best to stay with people from your village. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

Migrants in Ankara came to neighborhoods where their relatives or the people from their own village when they migrate to the city. Ersoy's study on migrants from İskilip (1985, p.126) show that eighty percent of the migrants got help from a relative when they came to the city. All the neighborhoods they came to include at least one family from İskilip. (ibid, p.130) Through solidarity the migrants carry their own way of living into the city. They prefer neighborhoods where their hemşehri lives since it was easier to integrate into networks once they were part of before the migration. They create clusters excluding other migrants from other cities.

Hemşehrilik provides certain set of defense mechanisms through a common identity. Hemşehrilik itself is a definition of an identity. Similar to any identity definition, it defines a certain "us" and "others" and attributes certain features to "us". Hemşehri defines an imaginary relation among people who are away from their hometown. The migrant encountering a hemşehri sees a number of these features (accent, appearance, certain choice of words etc.) in the encountered individual and assumes the others are also present or vice versa. Hemşehri networks provide symbols which are features those form their identities to the actors who are already integrated into these networks.

We still call "kuş" like "guş". There are a lot of people who do. And they claim that it is impossible for them to change and become urban all of a sudden. They claim so. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

Furthermore, this identity process is a product of life in metropolises. Because hemşehri is a social concept which gains its meaning when social capital accumulated in these networks affect the dispositions of the actors positively. Individually, identity would be related to hometown rather than hemşehri her/himself. (Kurtoğlu, 2005, pr.15) Hemşehri identity include a certain longing for the hometown, for the traditions those were lost when the family came to city, feeling of comfort, safety and solidarity at the hometown. Especially economic solidarity is crucial for the migrants. Hometown associations and networks provide

advantages in the economic field. Networks help migrants to find jobs and shelter whereas associations provide more structured advantages. For instance one of the associations provided its members private establishment preparing students for various exams and day-care center for lower prices in comparison to market prices. They also gave courses for driving, computers etc. with similar advantages.

These networks are based on the trust rooting in the identity created through the processes we discussed earlier. In terms of trust, these mechanisms lead to exclusive social networks. Thus *hemşehrilik* define a particularized trust relation against non-members. This relation of trust is generalized among *hemşehri* networks. On the other hand, due to its exclusive feature this relation refers to particularized trust in the field of the city against individuals who migrated from other cities. Certain features attributed to hometown are the root of this trust. Heper states it is only normal that these networks are helpful in finding a job or a dwelling. (Heper, 1983)

Finally it is worth interest that characteristics of hometown networks have a number of similarities with networks of party organizations. Firstly both networks depend on an identity which is not given by birth but gained in social life. Political identity also pushes exclusive networks and a certain understanding of “us” and “them”. Secondly both networks are expansive in the sense that members try to add more actors to their networks to have potential of accumulating furthermore social capital. At first glance, two characters may seem to contradict but they go hand in hand. The third similarity explains the situation. Both networks use two concepts of trust with similar perspectives. Both networks, in terms of particularized trust, are exclusive. For political parties “them” or the other political party networks are rivals. The same is also valid for the hometown networks. This situation can be observed in interparty elections. During my field research inter party elections for the province chair of RPP was coming up. There were candidates from different associations such as Sivas, Trabzon, and Kars etc. During the time span I have spent in hometown associations, I have observed that members of the associations only supported “their” candidates. Naturally there were actors who thought or voted differently however I

never heard anyone openly supporting a candidate from any other association. On the other hand, I have numerous times witnessed people say “better our candidate than theirs, no matter who is the candidate.”

3.2. HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS

Hometown associations were discussed especially after 1980 by a number of Turkish and foreign authors. Numerous studies based on importance of social capital in political life have been conducted in Turkey. (Schuler 1999, Kurtoğlu 2004, Topak-Uysal 2010, Hersant-Tourmarkine 2005, Ersoy 1985)

In one of the most recent of these studies, Topak-Uysal focused on how social networks support political leaders on their way to top and importance of social networks in Turkish polity. Similar to this research Topak-Uysal used in depth interviews. They also used surveys. As a result, Topak - Uysal reached in conclusions such as Turkish political networks are exclusive and economic capital is converted into social capital by the leaders. Capital conversion processes is also a matter to be discussed in my study. Their study is based on provincial and lower level leaders. They also stated that political party leaders are educated males and female leaders are mostly “showpieces”. Moreover, workers and farmers are rarely party leaders whereas party leader groups are formed by the self-employed or the capital holders. (Topak-Uysal 2010) In my study I also have found similar results as all the interviewees met are male professionals. Moreover I have also witnessed economic capital converted into social capital as will be seen under the heading “Economics of Hometown Associations”.

On the other hand, Schuler approached the subject in terms of mobility of votes in bulks and what these bulks of votes mean for political parties. His study differs in that he used posted questionnaires and answers posted back. He focuses on ethnic-religious based networks and groups who are related with internal migration to urban areas from under-developed Anatolian cities. Although I used a different

methodology in terms of research, his study is similar to mine in that he also focused on migrated masses. His study shows strong links between urban-poor and SPP. In addition, a conflict between party elites and urban poor continues. (Schuler 1999) His study's results affected this study in that he found out that hometown networks affected voting decisions. Identity –religious or regional- was a main determiner. Another point that my study is affected by Schuler's is that he also emphasizes the urban character of the relations and networks he discusses. In his study migrant character of his sample space is similar to this study since he worked in Kartal, a newly found sub-province welcoming migrants similar to Ankara.

Kurtoğlu, on the other hand, bases her study on municipal councilors. Her study is similar to Topak-Uysal's in terms of social characteristics such as civil society relations, ethnic-religious aspects. It resembles Schuler's in terms of analysis on internal migration. Her study also overlaps with Topak-Uysal's in terms of reaching a conclusion that political parties are male dominated exclusive networks. These three studies has been starting point for this research and thesis. All three show that, politics cannot be apart from social networks and structures. However, Uysal-Topak summarizes their study in one sentence: "...networks of political parties are exclusive..." (2010, p.206) Thus what defines the games in these fields is who is in and who is out. Actors take different dispositions according to the games they partake or are excluded from. These exclusive networks raise the questions: "Who gets in? How does s/he get in?" In light of these studies, my study will focus on hometown associations' social networks. How these networks are integrated into and related to political parties.

Hometown Associations are institutionalized structures based on the concepts I discussed earlier as Hemsehri relations. Up until this part I have discussed hometown associations time to time and between lines among different subjects and concepts as it is my main topic and object of enquiry. Under this heading, I will focus more on the structures that brings together the actors in the field of hometown associations. Firstly, I will discuss a short history of the associations that will link to

the legal structure of the associations which will be discussed in the part that deals with the legal structure of the associations. I will discuss three laws following each other historically. Finally I will discuss the economics of the associations. I will be using numerical data in form of graphs and information gathered in the process of field research through these parts.

Hometown networks help migrants to accumulate bonding social capital in metropolises. Social capital accumulated in these networks has been crucial for survival in metropolises. They have been points of interest for early migrants who wanted to take part or change her/his disposition in the political games. The field of associations is a field of struggle as actors often try to be integrated into field of politics. Their struggle becomes vivid in periods of inter-party elections and candidate determination processes. Through these processes different identities form different dispositions. The actors take different dispositions in different fields for maximization of their social capital. One of the interviewees, for instance, has had presidential position both at Sivas Divriği Association and Alevi Bektaşî Associations Federation. In such a situation hometown relations and religious identity goes hand-in-hand. In another example there is more than one Çorum Hometown Federation in Ankara. Another interviewee, that takes a presidential position in Çorum Associations Federation, claim that although it is not stated openly the organization he is a part of is closer to Alevi's whereas others are closer to the party in power, JDP.

There are federations formed by JDP and NMP. Ours is the formed by Alevi associations. We don't separate it but s/he is Alevi, this is not discrimination. We don't call ourselves the Alevi Federation of Çorum Associations. We call it Çorum Federation of Associations. Alevi is something else. Furthermore I think there shouldn't be anything as Alevi federation. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

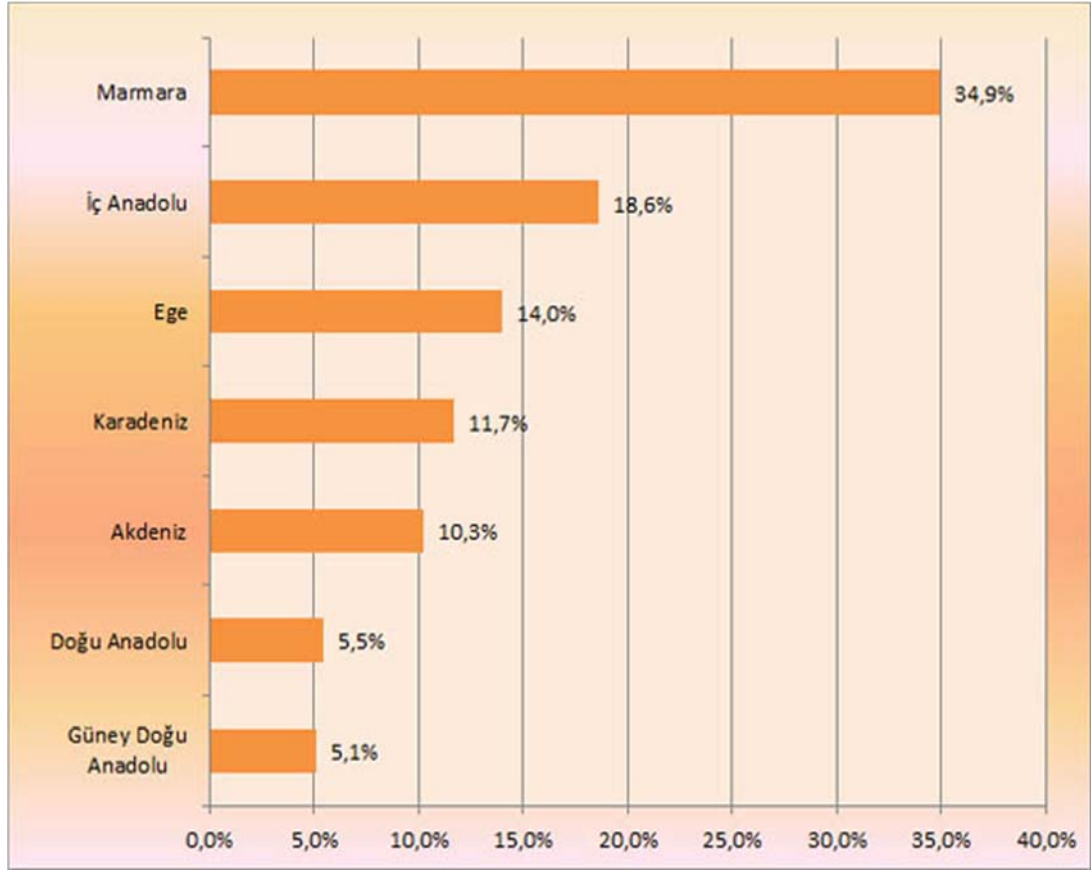
As we can see in the quote above, field of associations contains both struggles on lines of hometowns, religious identities and moreover political identities. This can be explained by heterogeneity in the urban area. This heterogeneity roots in the heterogeneity in the migration to metropolitan area. Metropolitan areas welcomed

actors from various regions of Turkey. The struggle in metropolitan areas roots in these regions and cities actors migrated from.

According to data from Ministry of Internal Affairs in 2006 there were more than eight thousand hometown associations in Turkey. Most of these associations represent hometowns from east, south-east and black seas regions. (Aktaş-Aka-Demir, 2006) Today there are more than fifteen thousand hometown associations.⁶ Since main discussion point is the political struggle in metropolitan areas through hometown identities, the data in Graph 1 will be useful to analyze in the sense that the political struggle is focused in the metropolitan areas. The data shows the ratio of associations according to geographical regions. As can be seen Marmara region is the first with 34.9% concentration. With the help from Istanbul, as the largest city in population in the Marmara Region, the region constitutes the largest ratio of associations. The second largest city in Turkey, Ankara, carries the Interior Anatolian region to the second place with ratio of 18.6% and followed by the Aegean Region, which includes İzmir, with 14%. These are three largest metropolitan areas which are the destinations for migration. These three cities are represented in the parliament by 142 MP's which constitutes twenty five percent of the parliament whereas these cities constitute roughly thirty percent of the Turkey's population.

⁶http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr Last checked January 10th, 2013

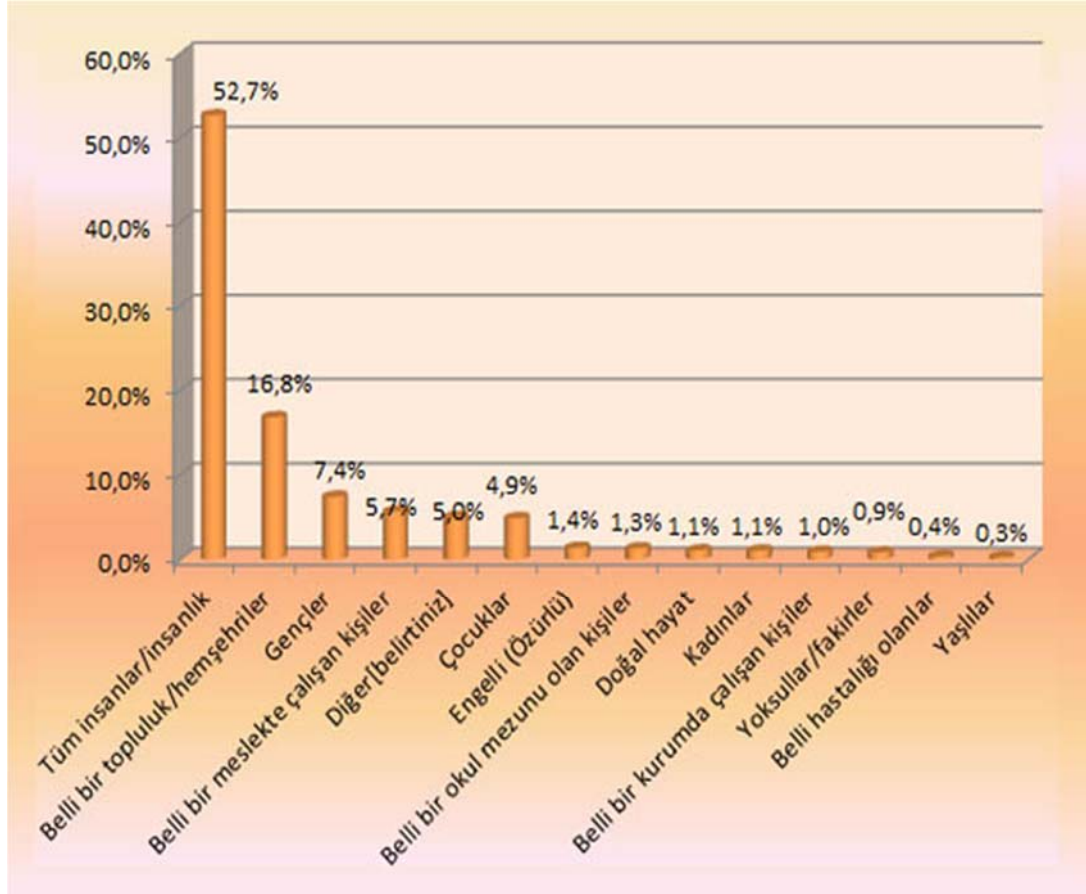
Graph 1. Ratio Of Associations according to Geographical Regions



Source:http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr last visited January 10th, 2013

As seen on the Graph 2, Hometown organizations rank the second after associations related with “humankind” in general with great difference with the third ranking group. Hometown associations constitute 16.8 percent of the associations in Turkey. As the largest group of associations it is sensible to claim hometown associations holds majority of the social capital accumulated in Turkey. As stated earlier hometown associations are an important field in social organization. They have a large part civil society in Turkey.

Graph.2 Types of Associations



Source:

http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr last visited January 10th, 2013

It should be made clear that hometown organizations made their appearance in 1940's and grown larger since then. . However the military coup of 1980 represents a decisive break in the political life and as we will discuss below so called civic organizations were also affected from this change. That is why the number of hometown associations has grown much more rapidly in 1990's.

It would be a mistake to explain this rise with the urbanization (Hersant-Tourmarkine, 2005) Hometown organizations began as places of solidarity and tools

of survival in the urbanization process. However, today they are much more than that. “The hometown association is not so much a meeting place publicizing a pre-existing community solidarity rather it is the point at which political and social networks fuse giving rise to a means of communication with the political-institutional system.” (Hersant-Tourmarkine, 2005, p.3) Although many of the organizations deny relations with political institutions and authorities, due to alignment of aims, “these links are established because they are intrinsic to the functioning of these organizations and necessary to the fulfillment of their objectives” (Hersant-Tourmarkine, 2005, p.7) In other words hometown associations are not mere clusters of hemsehris but networks that serves to social capital accumulation which leads to political capital that affects the actors’ disposition in games played in two telescopic fields namely, hometown associations and state politics.

However after 1980 coup d’état, political activity of hometown organizations broadened. Migrants were active in economic, social and political life. However after 1980 their political activity boomed in hometown associations because of the political pressure on other types of organizations such as labor unions, student associations etc. Nari (1999) points out that the number of hometown associations grew considerably after 1983, and advances the hypothesis that prior to the coup d’état, the migrants by and large were present and somehow represented in political parties and trade unions. After this date, very strong control and restrictions imposed upon political and trade union life would have paved the way for the creation of hometown associations. (Cited in Hersant-Tourmarkine, 2005, pr.18) Actors who were active in field of politics prior to 1980 coup d’état due to change in the structure of the political field lost their disposition and began for search of a new channels of representation.

3.3. MEMBERSHIP TO HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS

Uslaner states “participation in political party activity, like social capital more generally, has been in decline over the past four decades” (2000) The same argument is discussed for last three decades in Turkey, commonly considered as depolitization of society. Putnam states “...almost all forms of social interaction help people get together to take collective action.” Naturally, fall in membership numbers of voluntary organizations rise worries on social character. (2000) However, is this the case in Turkey? The numbers by Ministry of Internal Affairs (Graph 3) state in last 13 years numbers of the associations have risen from sixty thousands to ninety thousands.

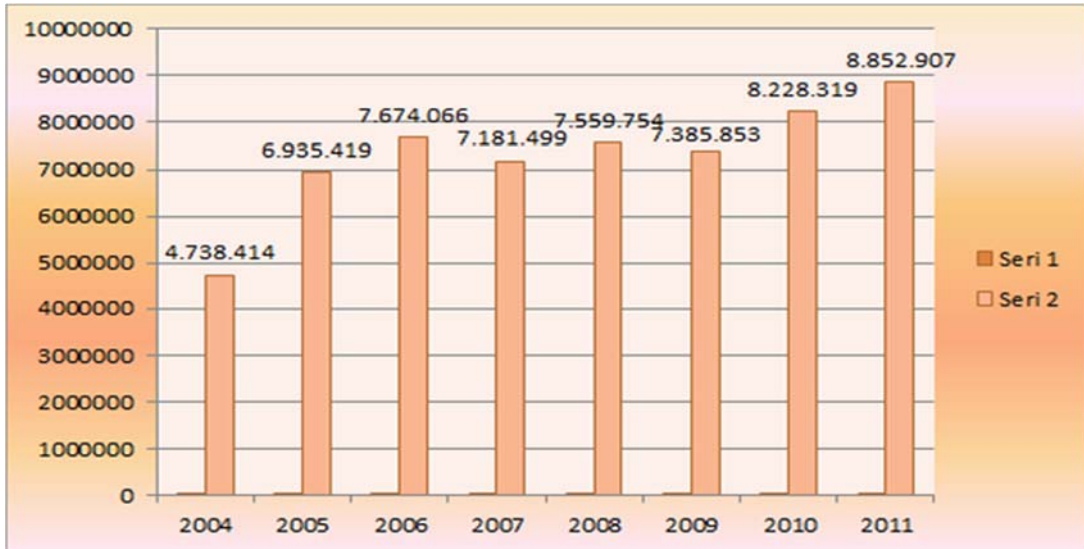
According to the numbers in Graph 3, Turkey realized a fifty percent rise in numbers of associations in a decade. Together with the discussion so far this change in numbers tells us more than just statistics can. First of all, it must be taken into consideration that after the legal change in 2004, a constant rise in the numbers is realized. A similar trend is seen in Graph 4 with membership numbers.

Graph 3. Numbers of Associations in Turkey according to Years 2000-2012



Source:http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr last visited January 10th, 2013

Graph 4. Total association membership numbers in years 2004-2011



Source:http://www.dernekler.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=12&lang=tr last visited January 10th, 2013

Association membership numbers constantly rose almost doubling the number in 2004. Legal changes in association laws and changing political eras in political history of Turkey are synchronized which is not a coincidence at all. Changes in games and fields that they are played in represent a strong relation between politics and social capital.

Newly built social and legal structure following the 1980 coup d'état opened the way for hometown associations to be even more active in the field of politics. The hometown associations were focus points for actors priorly active in other types of social organizations. This structural change was followed by a new law of associations. In the next part we will be discussing the legal structure of the associations and deeply examining the three laws that follow each other historically.

3.4. LEGAL STRUCTURE OF THE HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS

Throughout the study I have approached my enquiries within a historical understanding. In this part I will also follow the history of the laws of associations and between the lines I will look for the social changes of the concerning eras. It is interesting that three of the laws follow the breaking points of the Turkish political history. Legal arrangement of associations had been formed by three consecutive laws prepared in 1972, 1983 and finally in 2004 which is the law in effect today. Analyzed by their times of acceptance these laws also represent approaches of their respective periods to hometown associations in Turkish political history. Although these laws represent a great deal of the law-makers' or the state authorities' viewpoint about associations; discussion based on freedom of association and in general, democracy, would not serve this study's purpose. Thus, main point of discussion will be the articles of these laws arranging relations between political parties and associations on the other hand giving a general view of the time period. In other words these laws reveal the structure of the relations. On the other hand, it would be useful to keep in mind the political scenery of these periods to get a better grasp of the essence of laws. These elements will form the background of this

discussion while the main point will be the relation between fields of association and politics. Here I would like to reference to the concepts mentioned in Layder's research map, as the history comprehended all elements defined in the map. Although we are discussing in detail the elements and articles of the laws one by one, historical reflections will be discussed time to time with reference to the political scenery of era the law was in effect.

All three laws on associations begin with the definitions of associations. In general, all three laws define associations as “non-profit organizations, without any intent to act against laws, formed by at least seven people in aim of realizing formerly stated purpose.” (1972 art.1, 1983 art.1, 2004 art.2a) The definition of associations is slightly different in the law which took effect in 2004. This law uses the terms “real or legal person” instead of “person” but still requires seven elements to form an association. Thus opening a way to found federations. (2004 art.2a) The 2004 law defines federations in the same article in clause g. The clause defines “superior organizations” as: “*Confederations formed by federations and federations formed by associations which have legal personality*” (2004 art.2g)

This change in 2004 allows associations to come together in order to be a part of a larger organization. Furthermore, definitions of associations by the all three laws also contain the phrase “*uniting knowledge and work consistently*”. (1972 art.1, 1983 art.1, 2004 art.2a) The law which took effect in 2004 also defines “platforms” which is “*temporary alignments formed between associations or together with unions, foundations or other civil society organizations to realize a certain aim yet neither having legal personality nor permanency.*” Thus, associations have the ability to form, abandon and reform unities in order to follow their aims.

It also defines superior organizations such as federations and confederations which allows associations to unite and act together legally which allows them to enlarge their networks. However this law also leads to separation rather than unity. For instance there are three different federations formed by Çorum hometowners which

are close to 3 main political parties in the parliament. Associations are differentiated by their political alignments rather than their hometown relations. Migrants from Çorum decide which federation or association to relate with, according to their relations with political parties. Hometown identity remains secondary in this choice. This reaffirms the relation between the fields of politics and hometown associations while showing us that time to time different identities exchange priority according to the situated activity and the surrounding. Plurality of the identity has determinant effect on the dispositions taken by the actors.

All three laws regarding associations require by-laws for the associations to be founded. All three of the laws are similar in terms of the content of the by-laws.⁷ (1972 art.7, 1983 art.8, 2004 art.4) By-laws guarantee that the association would act within the limits of the laws. However in action by-laws are generally similar to each other. Legal structure of the associations is strictly controlled by the Ministry of Interior Affairs. Thus associations are under control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. No association states in its by-law that they will actively take part in politics. Thus aims of the association stated in the by-laws don't necessarily reflect the aim of the association.

After preparation of the association's by-law, the by-law is presented to highest local civilian authority or the ministry of internal affairs. The legal personality is gained whence the by-law is presented. (*Associations by-law art.5, Official Journal 31.03.2005 / 25772, 1972 art.3, 1983 art.3*) After the presentation of the by-law the association is lawfully founded.

It is clearly stated in the law that associations should within the terms of their aims stated in their by-laws.(2004, art.30a, 1983 art.37) The clauses related to aims of associations reflects the social and political scenery of the time the laws were enacted. Law enacted in **1972** restricts the aim of associations and associations

⁷Laws enacted in 1972 and 1983 also require information on founding members of the association in addition to claused stated above. (1972 art.7c, 1983 art.8c) (article 1983,8c was amended in 2003)

cannot be destructive against the already set structure of the nation state. Thus associations are limited to the features of the state structure. Consequently, even if the association demanded a change “the already set structure of the nation state” it could not state it in the by-law.

The law also hinders “to establish authority of any class, eliminating or overthrowing any class” or “to provide privilege to any class”. Although these two lines seem to be protecting the democratic rights on the other they are hindering the foundation of associations based on political identities or identities in general. To stop the conflict between two poles of the society was to be averted through this law.

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the law regulating associations enacted in 1972 reflect the social scenery in 1960’s and 1970’s. The law was enacted in November 22nd, 1972, less than two years after 1971 intervention. An in depth analysis of the f and g lines can be interpreted as hindering two camps of society, namely left and the right, from political activity through civil society. Emphasis on “*To establish authority of any class over another or eliminate a class or overthrow any economic or social basis established in the country or abolish states political or legal basis*” can be related to revolutionist leftist movements organized around TİP (Turkish Labour Party). On the other hand “clause g” hindering “abuse or misuse of religion” is closely related with right wing political activities of the era. This law disables political activity, propaganda or alliance through associations or civil society per se. The law enacted in 1972 was in use for 11 years. The law enacted in **1983** regulates the aim of associations in article 5 as follows:

Associations cannot be found with aims of; against Republics main features and clauses protecting revolution laws stated in Constitutions article no. 174, national security and public order, general health and general morality, to create separation and minority based on race, religion, sect and region and to disturb Turkish Republics unitary State structure, to discredit or humiliate Atatürk’s personality, principles, works or memory

With this law, limitations on political activity through hometown associations seem to be loosened. There is no clause specific for certain political groups similar to clauses f and g in the preceding law. However it must be considered that a large number of the politically active associations were terminated in the 1980 coup d'état and political activists were imprisoned during the martial law period between 1980 and 1983 which may be interpreted that there was no need for restriction of political activity since the society as a whole was afraid to take part in politics in general. In the same law's article 4 it is stated that directors and founders were hindered to found a new association for a year. This change in the law can be interpreted as a new social order in the field of associations. The associations were not hindered to be politically active however individuals were punished. With this law field of association were introduced to a new group of actors and former actors of the field was hindered or their dispositions were altered. Furthermore students' associations, which were one of the leading forces of leftist politics before the 1980 coup d'état were limited in firm fashion. Furthermore, in the article 37, the law states that the directors of the associations cannot participate in demonstrations, meetings or make declarations in aims other than stated in their by-laws. The directors cannot hearten members to participate in such activities. Thus proving the law clearly hinders activities binding fields of politics and hometown associations.

In the law enacted in **2004**, the aim of the associations is restricted differently than two former laws. First of all there is not a restricting clause that regulates the aims an association can state in its by-law. However Article 19 states *"In conditions considered required, the associations can be audited by the Minister of Internal Affairs or the civilian authorities on terms whether they act accordingly with their stated aim."* Furthermore Article 30 headlined "Forbidden Activities" state *"Associations; cannot act to any the aim and the activities and laws or subject to criminal activity."* Although the law has no specific restriction regarding the aim of the associations, the Ministry of Internal affairs takes the active position as a referee in the field who decides the dispositions of the other actors and participants of the

field. Consequently, state still plays a large role as the law maker and the “referee” in the field of hometown associations.

In the law enacted in 1983, the state was rule-maker of the field separating two poles of the society where as the state was prohibiting any political activity in the field. The latest law, enacted in 2004, rather puts the Ministry of Internal Affairs as the determinant of the fields’ actors and their dispositions. The ministry plays an active and permanent role rather than just a rule maker. Although the laws go in a less restrictive fashion consecutively, when analyzed line by line and between lines are read, the state takes a more and more active disposition in the field of associations. This shows the field of associations became more and more internal to field of politics by state hand. The relation between associations and political parties was re-regulated twice after 1971 and 1980 without delay by governments of the era. The law enacted under JDP government in 2004, two years after JDP won the majority in the parliament, also reflected a change in the actors and their positions in the field of civil society which was one of the main reasons why topic of the study was chosen.

3.5. ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS

The law enacted in 1972, clearly prohibits any monetary support from political parties in article 50. Originally article 10 in the law enacted in 2004 states that associations can get from or give monetary support to labor unions, political parties and vocational associations. However, the term political parties were removed by the Constitutional Court decision the same year law was enacted. (A similar clause was in the law enacted in 1983 and removed in 1997. art.61) On the other hand articles regulating political activity of the associations directly connects them to the government, namely to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Thus state scrutiny remains on the associations economically.

On the other hand, this study shows that funding of the associations is to be provided by three main tools. Firstly, personal contributions from the board of directors. This way of funding is also seen in periphery branches of political parties (see Uysal, Ayşen – Topak, Oğuz, 2010) This way of funding has its drawbacks in terms of democracy since individuals holding economic power tend to vest administrative power in their hands. Associations' constant costs, such as property rents, are main items in their books. These costs are difficult to be covered with irregular income supported by secondary income sources such as contributions and donations.

It's voluntary. I come and give 10 the other gives 3 another 5 etc. It is voluntary donation. It is hard to be the administrator here. You have to spend half your day here and give the money. (M, 54, Chair, Yozgat)

The second economic source of hometown organizations is contributions from members. After one of the interviews, I have witnessed the president to personally collect contributions from the people present at the foundation's common room. Many of the contributors did not seem very keen although presence of the president seemed to force them to contribute. At that point, what the interviewee meant by "voluntary" was questionable.

The third source of income for hometown organizations is state subsidies but "only those recognized as being of public utility (kamuya yararlı dernekler) can receive state subsidies" (Hersant-Tourmarkine, 2005, pr.23) However very few of hometown organizations have the statute of public utility. Thus we may state the main income of the associations are voluntary contributions and the budget of the associations are provided by the business man where the executive power of the association is vested in which once again makes the associations more and more in line with individual aims.

Politics is voluntary in its nature. Politicians often have different careers aside from politics. Lawyers, doctors, academicians, businessmen are most often seen

occupations in the field of politics. A common point of these individuals from different occupations is that a great percent of them are also involved in organization action whether it is an occupational or social organization. These organizations are what provide these individuals the social capital necessary for a stronger disposition in the field of politics. The more number of networks individuals are involved in the more likely for them to mobilize individuals and masses. Each network represents a certain type and amount of social and symbolic capital. The more active individuals are in these networks, the more amount of capital is at their expense.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

Politics was taken out of struggle among classes and carried to struggles among racial, religious, sectic and ethnic identities by the September 12th. (M, 61, Ordinary Member, Giresun)

Having discussed different characteristics of the associations, we may come to the essence of relation between hometown associations and field of politics. The field research showed that although these associations were present prior to the coup, with changing structure of the field and change of actors they gained importance to fill these gaps of earlier strong organizations such as unions, student associations etc. Prior to the coup these associations were more active in the social field and less active in politics. It would be a mistake to claim that they were not active in politics at all but the reason I studied these organizations was their importance in the field of politics today. However this structure brings about problems of its own.

As Uslaner states below, associations bring individuals together in order for numerous aims using social capital. Associations come to produce formal or informal ends of their own. Naturally these aims are closely related with all of the elements we have discussed above. For instance, hometown associations are not what they were before 1980's. This strictly does not mean that they are less political or more social. This study neither can measure this nor it intends to. This study aims to show that changing structures in field of politics and field of hometown associations took a new turn as it did in 1980's. This new era of associations carry out an interesting character of organic relations with political parties.

Social capital and political parties seem like natural compatriots. Both involve gathering people together for a common purpose. Parties organize people to win elections. Social capital is all about bringing people together for any number of purposes. (Uslaner 2004, p.1)

In this part I will focus on the structure that the field research reveals and try to see if this is a long lasting, sustainable structure because the structure carries its

problems to fields. Furthermore I will try to define the changes in the relations of the two fields. In the second part I will try to position the actors within the field and discuss how the 1980 coup d'état affected their dispositions and focus on the themes those are commonly observed through the field research. I will also try to define the positions of new actors in the field who accrued after the coup and their ways of conducting relations. In the third part I will be discussing the relations among the new and old actors of the field. I will focus on their identity forming processes and how forming of these relations shape the field in overall.

4.1. THE FIELDS

The field research confirms the view that solidarity networks around the hemşehrilik and kinship relations have been central to the survival strategies of the migrants. Almost all representatives of the migrant communities interviewed pointed to the fact the kinship and hemşehrilik networks first formed at the point of origin were quite functional when they arrived at Ankara. Moreover, the atmosphere of the society and the social conditions gains great importance. For instance we can remember a former example that some hometown organizations were hindering themselves from even discussing politics under the roof of the association after 1980. The same interviewee defines a social environment before 1980 coup d'état:

It is very natural that Alevi's choose a left party, a left organization. DEV-YOL was very strong in that area. Kurtuluş was strong in Sokullu, Halkın Kurtuluşu was strong in Öveçler. Regions were so much divided. Other organizations were not heard of, right organizations. Thus Alevi's don't choose to stay at left, they have to. This is the only way for them to express themselves. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

Often, similar to social capital, political capital is not accumulated intentionally. As we see in the part from the interview political capital can be formed in everyday life if social atmosphere is appropriate. Many of our interviewees explain pre-1980 environment as a society where everyone was politically related and active. Thus individual motives for political activity were aiming social ends rather than individual ones.

Although party membership does not prove a more engaging society, numbers in Schuler's study on SPP Istanbul Provincial Chair and its member structure in 1999 may help to test the supposed relation between political activeness and membership counts of political parties. He states, in 1948 almost ten percent of the society was organized under RPP. In addition, DP's (Democrat Party) member numbers were no less than one million (Schuler, 1999, p.43) which is almost five percent of the population. In total, in 1948, no less than fifteen percent of the society were members of a political party. In third regular general congress of DP, membership count was announced more than three million. (ibid, p.53) However, party membership counts were reorganized after 1960 coup d'état. Schuler estimates one and a half million "real" party members before the 1980 intervention with a voter ratio⁸ of eight to ten percent. Today JDP (Justice and Development Party) has 7.5 million members; RPP has nearly a million members, whereas total member number is nearly ten million ⁹ As we see today roughly ten percent of the society is organized under three main political parties representing almost eighty percent of the votes. Eighty five percent of the members belong to two parties namely RPP and JDP. This brings about general trust turning into particularized trust. Civil society is camped under supporting and opposing associations. One of our interviewees state that their hometown have three different associations each of which are related to three main parties. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum) Individuals are taking sides rather than taking part in society. Party networks are becoming more and more exclusive as political parties hold more power. On the other hand politization runs hand in hand with polarization. In these terms, our society becomes less trusting in general but more trusting in particular and as a result more politically vibrant.

The field of politics and the field of civil society have always been related throughout the history thus change in one triggered the other. The field of politics

⁸Ratio of members to votes.

⁹http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/Siyasi_partilerin_uye_sayilari_aciklandi/Blog/?BlogNo=402198 Last visited January 10th, 2013

represents the power to affect decision making processes at the state level. This process also includes resource distribution. Being effective in the resource distribution process is crucial when identities are formed on the basis of “us” and “them”. Competitive character of resource distribution condemns actors to clientelist relations. Following the historical moments, formation and re-formation of two fields went hand in hand. A similar situation was realized following the 1980 coup in Turkey. Although 1980 coup d’état was considered as mainly a political change, it also effected the social formation. As mentioned at the beginning of the study, 1980 coup changed the ways actors acted in the field of politics and field of society in general. It not only changed the relations of the actors but also changed the actors who participate in the field by imprisonment, fear, pressure and other tools. Furthermore, it also changed the tools used in the fields. Prior to the coup most active organizations were student organizations. Labour unions and occupational associations were also active. Beginning with 1980’s rise, of the hometown associations can be observed. Moreover hometown associations also changed their. Hometown associations became the most active type of civil society organization.

One of the active politicians witnessing the pre and post-1980 period clearly shows the reasons behind the rise of non-class based politics after 1980

During the 1970s there was an effective class based organizations in cities. In addition to political parties and trade-unions, there were youth movements claiming a revolutionary position in political life, migrant groups were finding some form of representation in such organizations. The first generation was active in left wing parties mainly in RPP, whereas second generation was mostly leaning to revolutionary movements. There were more specific associations such as squatter beatification associations representing the demands of migrants from the municipalities. But they were mainly, place based associations with little emphasis on ethnic religious or hometown belonging. If there was any such association their activities were limited to social life

The military coup of 1980 directly targeted those political organization and parties and most of them were banned from political activities including the major political parties and trade unions. The same political figure active in RPP summarized the post-1980 period political scene very well.

There was such a repression over the political life after the coup that there was almost a total paralysis. Not only political organizations were banned but also people who were active in politics before the coup were repressed by different means. There was now a huge gap in politics and this gap has not been filled after the normalization by the newly established political parties and unions and other political movements. The hometown organizations along with ethnic and religious based organizations and politics were born into this gap.

This observation was supported by another local politician who is active currently in one of those associations.

This reflected into our activities. Divriği Culture Association carried its own banner on May 1st. This was an attraction for the associations which was reoperating after the coup. More radical organizations were under real pressure. Political parties were under pressure. It was easier to conduct politics on such a platform. It was an easier area. (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği)

While there was a dynamics leading to the revival of identity politics, the political parties which re-emerged after the restoration of democracy were different from the pre- 1980 period.

“The RPP and all other parties in Turkey carry the problems of the ways of politics formed after September 12th or with the organization type brought together with September 12th. They were by no means same compare to their ideology, organizational structure etc. before the coup” (M, 61, Ordinary Member, Giresun)

One of the results of the 1980 was that Identities were crushed and actors came to search for new identities. Struggles around identities such as Kürt, Alevi, and Communist were almost banned or at least frowned upon. The society was rebuilt on a whole new set of identities. Both left and right leaned identities changed.

Leftist parties became more liberal in terms of economy and nationalism became more and more dominant in the field of economics. The 1980 coup still shapes today's Turkish polity. New form of politics carried on some of the older characters of the Turkish politics. Class based politics changed to identity based politics. Hometown associations were the correct tools to support this new structure since they were based on identities. However identities based on particularized trust brought about a competitive environment. Associations were struggling to maximize their share in distribution of resources. Such a political structure boosts clientelist relations. Associations competing for political power and association leaders aiming to maximize their social capital in order to take an advantageous disposition in the political field use clientelist relations.

“After the September 12th, administrators of revolutionist democrat associations, labor unions, and political parties were arrested, interrogated, investigated, and tortured. Scars of September 12th still continue, even today, 32 years later.” (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Sivas)

Politics became a tool to achieve individual ends. Prior to the coup politics was a way to change society as a whole. In other words, politics and hometown associations fields are so integrated that actors who are involved in both fields pursue same ends in both fields and easily use the social capital accumulated in one in other and vice versa. Politics became a career of individual successes. Actors in the field aim to enlarge their networks using clientelist relations. In these relations clients give up their authority in decision making in exchange for favors. These favors may be monetary or social. Being close to the leaders who aim to get into politics is thought to provide advantages to the client. Once the leaders take positions the client plan to demand favors from her/him. Naturally, businessmen were present in the field of politics prior to the coup however, after the coup we can observe a strong dominance of businessmen in the field of politics. As claimed in Topak-Uysal's study (2010) today a large portion of the provincial and lower level party chairs are businessmen. This results in an under-representation of the working class in the field of politics thus restructuring the field and the tools used in the field.

Nothing happens without politics. All the orders are founded on it. All the businessmen do politics. Politics influences the world, politics and economics. You see all influential people in the economy weighing about the state. Vocational organizations and all. Politics is a must for us. (M, 54, Chair, Yozgat)

Businessmen hometown association leaders pursue more project oriented ends. When I interviewed the hometown association leaders, one of the most interesting fact was that when I asked the first question of the interview which is requesting them to tell me their life stories there were two main types of answers. The leaders who have businessmen backgrounds told me more about their successful moments in their business lives, for instance the projects they have completed, the constructions their companies completed etc. On the other hand, the interviewees who had a political history prior to 1980 told me about what kind of a political environment they have experienced while they were growing up. Many of them took place in the student organizations. Student organizations prior to coup gave its shape to the politics. The members of student associations were expected to be political leaders of the forthcoming decades. Unfortunately, due to the incidents transpired in the era many were pushed outside the field of politics. Some were prisoned; those not imprisoned either did not turn back to politics or even if they did, they lost their dispositions for a less advantageous one.

Until September 12th we have showed our reaction in socialist organizations, revolutionist youth organizations. September 12th was of course destructive. It was a destructive, fascist coup for social life, democratic life, business life and all life's. (M, 61, Ordinary Member, Giresun)

As mentioned above in the quote, 1980 was a moment when organization style of the society was restructured. Today we can have clearer sight of what the coup changed in the society and its formation. Before 1980 the civil society was mainly dominated by labor unions and revolutionist organizations. Together with 1982 constitution such type of organizations were restricted or more accurately banned. Today at the right wing labor unions, such as Memur-Sen follows the decisions of

the government whereas on left wing labor unions such as DİSK, KESK have very disconnected relations with political parties who claim themselves at the left wing.

After September 12th organization type changed too. Instead of organizations coming together for social rights, economic rights, academic rights, more local organizations village associations, sub-province associations came on to the scene. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Sivas)

The gap I have mentioned earlier in the field of civil society was filled with hometown associations. However these networks not only gained importance and power in the field but also changed their own form thus resulting in an important change in the formation of the field. Identities based on urban defense mechanisms were the tools to fill these gaps. Here I need to broaden our discussion to what hometown associations were prior to the 1980 coup and what role they play today.

During migration to cities in the 20th century, urban identities have realized a deep change. Due to this change in identities the character of the social capital accumulated in the field was also changed. Prior to the coup, hometown identities were survival strategies providing necessary resources for the actors to hold on to the urban life. For a certain time, the hometowners found each other in the metropole and cling on to each other culturally to protect their culture from deformation and more importantly for economic survival in the city. 1980 was an economic turn point as well as a political one. Change in the economic structure resulted in the change of the games played in the fields. Actors who were able to survive were now actors of the new fields or at least their dispositions were more advantageous compared to their preceding dispositions. Since they were members of the field, now they could claim right for the authority and they intended to do so. The field had the tools to be reformed and restructured. Hometown associations were the tools to fill the gaps in the field of politics and to transform the social capital the hometowners have accumulated for years. On the other hand, some actors were pushed out of the field of politics with tools of the coup. The field of associations and civil organization had a new formation now.

Together with September 12th coup, 1961 Constitution providing partial freedoms was abandoned. Instead a repressive, antidemocratic constitution was prepared. Labor rights, union rights, organization rights were marginalized. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Sivas)

This change in the field of associations affected the field of politics with its instruments and structures of organization. Because field of associations provide the appropriate background which is an organized society, it directly affects ways political parties set and follow their own ends. Since the ground and the ways are strongly related with the field of associations, aims set in the field of politics become results of this structure. Clientelist relations were normalized. Competitive nature of the field of politics necessitate patron-client relations and the benefits it offered for both sides. Because class based struggle was put aside actor needed new ties to form networks and hometown identities became the foundation of clientelist relations. Leaders of the hometown associations carries the social capital the association provides for her/him. The members support the leaders for the resources to be allocated to the network they are part of once the leader is in politics.

This is a result of September 12th coup and the way in which it structured the political field... September 12th tells us to conduct politics this way. (M, 61, Ordinary Member, Giresun)

One of the concepts that took my attention which has been a great effect on the ways of political behavior is the fear that 1980 coup has created in this field. I have witnessed actors who had been in jail, who had participated in street shootouts and many more. The actors of the political field have suffered a great deal from the coup process which resulted them to change their stance against the trust they have for society. In other words, 1980 coup has determined a level of trust in society which combined with rise of hometown identities took a turn for particularized trust. Thus roots of the trust became hometown relations.

During this process I was arrested, stood trial only because I as the president of a lawfully found association. I was convicted by 5th line of

Art. 141. These were legal associations founded by giving our identity card copies and legal documents to the police and governorships. These legal associations were made illegal overnight. Thus we became administrators of illegal organizations. I was sentenced to 5 years. I payed my sentence in 12 different prisons. I was no more licensed to be teacher or an officer of any kind. I was unemployed. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Sivas)

Actors once pushed out of the field with imprisonment, exile or any other pressure tool loses his trust to the actors in the field. S/he either cannot find the motivation to return to the field after the end of her/his sentence or s/he abandons her/his relation with the field at all. This situation creates a gap of actors to be filled with the new incoming actors. Integration of the actors into the field naturally changes its formation and gives it a new form. Formation of the two fields don't transpire in the sudden moment of September 12th, on the contrary it begins from the 1960 coup even maybe earlier and today still continues. Thus the period does not only represent change in this two fields but also overall change of the society and maybe global structures.

There, for the first time at 1987 we founded a student's association. That was founded under AWOL. We gathered at my home, 10 people, during a period when even the right to live was suspended. Later, we learned one of us was a police, the other day police was searching me. They said you gathered at your house, it is forbidden. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

Analysis of the 3 years of army rule over Turkey is not enough for grasping the essence of the change realized in these two fields. As we can see in the quotation above even in 1987 student associations were restricted and highly controlled. As we can see effects of the coup are long lasting. The coup don't represent a sudden shock, on the contrary it represents a long lasting change of the field and its rules. We can see in the field of associations preceding dominant actors such as labor unions and student associations today did not only lose power and their early disposition in the field but also they lost their relations which connected them to the field and provided them opportunity to accumulate social capital in order to gain their earlier position in

the field. In short, structures in the field are changed from the roots in such a way that preceding actors were not allowed to gain their prior disposition.

This reflected into our activities. Divriği Culture Association carried its own banner on May 1st. This was an attraction for the associations which was reoperating after the coup. More radical organizations were under real pressure. Political parties were under pressure. It was easier to conduct politics on such a platform. It was an easier area. (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği)

As a result to these changes organizational structure of the society has loosened. We can see in Graph 3 and 4(p. 51-52), both numbers of the associations and member numbers rose in the last decade. Normally such numbers would reflect a more healthy and more democratic society. However after our analysis of the field we can see that the field has a looser organization with actors in larger numbers but less power to affect society since they are weak in general trust. Fear has taken the place of trust in social organization. “Polarized Society” expression was commonly used to describe the social formation prior to the 1980 coup. Today, identities have created abstract poles namely; hometowners and others, exchanging general trust with particularized trust. The need for trust in human nature is still present but 1980 coup has created a society which is afraid to trust individuals who are not “like them”.

And then number of associations increased, I think this was so because of the fear. Maybe, especially people who were deunionized or because they were hindered from taking place in political organizations; they chose a softer way of organization. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

4.2. ACTORS AND DISPOSITIONS

Following our discussion on the structures of the two fields internal to our study, it would be useful to make a pass further into the fields to see how actors act and determinant factors affecting their habitus. Trust was not only shaken between the actors who belong to different groups or poles but also trust was broken within the

poles. To put it in a more concrete way, trust within political parties was weakened and political actors began to follow more individual ends rather than the socially common concern of the pre-coup period. Politics became a tool to achieve personal ends. Furthermore since the political field was not the same, actors who turned back to politics after the coup encountered a field that they had less social and political capital in.

When we came back to Turkey we saw that politics was fragmented. You try to do politics with the people you live with. There is fragmentation there also. He criticizes the other although they are from the same party. The other said something else. For example if we are social democrats he said you're rightist. We understood that politics is no more tasteful. (M, 54, Chair, Yozgat)

Identities which belong to the pre-coup period were no more valid. Actors who could adapt -more or less- to the new structure survived in the field while other stood excluded or not fit. Pre-coup identities such as Marxist, socialist, revolutionist were shallowed and reduced to leftist. Political identities lost their importance against new structures in which the political capital is accumulated. Hometown associations became followers of political parties. Clientelist relationships became more important. Hometown associations are the clients while the political parties are the patrons. Political parties shared their capital, both economic and social, with hometown associations in exchange for their support in election periods. However this relation is not as simple as collecting bulk votes for political parties. Although associations are closely related to the field of politics, only the high level executives are allowed in the field of politics. The resources shared with the political parties are still in control of an elite group and they determine its distribution. Thus, regular members of the associations had a client-patron relation with high level executives of the associations which led to an undemocratic, politics-like structure in the associations. Rather than a civil society organization, hometown associations take a form of small political entities where the individual ends of the leaders are followed and resources are distributed by one hand depending on the support for the current administration and the level of their

relation to the political elites. Hometown association leaders are both patron and clients in the sense that they act as clients against political party administration whereas the members are client to her/him. These clientelist relations are only valid as long as the client has something to offer to the patron. Through election periods clientelist relations peak.

So, they don't define their attitude according to political stances. They only follow their leader. Here, Today president of Yozgat Association, president of Kars Association, president of Of Association, President of Divriği Association, all are candidates for the Ankara Province Chair. If you count associations determine the chairmen. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

Furthermore, this structure is so exclusive that it dictates the actors to choose a side which further strengthens the structure. In such a network of relations, actors who reject to participate in identity driven politics are left out of the field. Since the resources are vested in the hands of hometown association leaders, the actors out of the field don't get a share of the resources. The field reflects characteristics of a competitive market where you are either a winner or a loser.

I thought at that time, that we cannot conduct politics in these organizations with our own principles, our own view point and voiced my thoughts loud and clear. (M, 61, Ordinary Member, Giresun)

As a consequence, actors' disposition in the field reflects at whose side they are. One who does not side with any poles is left out and does not get her/his share of the resources which leads to dispositions becoming groups which follow this or that leader. The structure that shapes the field is so strong that it effects the dispositions of the actors collecting them in groups and dispersing them accordingly with their hometown identities. This leads to a network of clientelist relations where the members of associations are bound to the leaders in order for them to gain their share of the capital accumulated in these networks.

The dispositions of the actors are determined by the change in members and the networks they took part in. On the other hand, the dispositions taken in the field have also affected the structures and networks. I will try to shine a light on the individual dispositions and try to analyze the ways the actors determining the field. The actors who are not in clientelist relations are considered not fit for the field, thus remain excluded. Clientelist relations are so dominant in the field that these relations give its character to the field. Associations encourage their members to get into field of politics in order to carry their social capital in the political field.

All our lives should be in the parties. Every party. Let them work for a law there. When I look at other associations, they have men at the parliament, they have strong businessmen, and they have strong establishments. You need the recognition from the state, you must work together with the state. (M, 54, Chair, Yozgat)

One of the main motivations to take part in politics is that it gives certain amount of power to effect the state decision making process. Thus a higher level position represents a larger portion taken from the distribution of resources. Controlling resources and masses, hometown associations' main motivation is to get a larger portion from the distribution of resources. We can observe this motivation both in higher and lower levels. Candidacy for the hometown association leaders is a step forward in the field. It represents conversion of long lasting social and political capital into symbolic capital by gaining an advantageous disposition in the field of politics. One the positions are taken the clients expect to be rewarded for the contribution they have given through the election. I have witnessed, individuals working for the candidates through the elections and expecting no salary or anything from the candidate. Naturally this relation changes once the elections are over.

As a result, I wanted weigh about in political life of the country. You have to work here gain recognition for this. Let's be honest. There is no such thing as carrying the right wood to the dergah for 40 years. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

Similar to the clientelist approach in politics and politics being used as a tool for reaching individual ends, the associations can be tools too. Hometown associations are an efficient field to prove one's worth to the political field actors and gain disposition in the field of politics. Thus each activity to accumulate social capital is planned in order to convert into political capital in an appropriate moment in the future. This relation brings two fields closer in term of characteristics. Hometown association leaders form their behavioral patterns in order to make their way into the politics. Thus serving to a more democratic society or gaining a more equal representation for his hometowner remain secondary position in her/his list of aims.

People from Sivas and Tunceli are strong in Ankara. There is a historical structure. They feed each other. They don't want anyone else. They see the one's who want to enter as blockage. They want to step on them to rise. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

Due to competitive nature of the hometown associations field, there is more than one actor who aims to claim the positions in the field of politics. On a related scene, the relation between the political parties and hometown associations is not as simple as "take the chair-give the vote". The associations use their resources and the social capital at their expense, in exchange for dispositions in the politics field however they have to compete with their equivalents, namely other hometown associations. In this process the relation even goes far as blackmailing. The conversion of the social capital into political capital, shows the motivation behind this entire scene. In other words, it is a battle both among similar hometown associations and the negotiation between political parties and the hometown associations.

You know it too. There are disgusting negotiations in politics. "We will do this and that if you don't put our man's name on the list" or "If you don't make me an MP, I have this and that power" etc. This is a disgusting attitude. The real way to serve is serving through pressure groups. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

The field of hometown associations is considered as a step stone to jump into field of politics. However it is important to remind that in the field of politics there are positions those are advantageous and not that advantageous. The main negotiating point is to gain the most advantageous disposition while integrating into the field of politics. Because representation at a higher level in party organizations allows one to reach more resources and use it for reaching their ends. The larger the resources in expense of the patron are the more the clients in numbers are. The larger the client group gets the more powerful the patron becomes.

Alevi population finds place at the bottom of the party as ordinary and excluded members. Administratively they don't get the places they deserve. It looks like they do but they don't. (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Karaşar)

In order to have a strong hand in the negotiation process the hometown association leaders need masses that support them. However a mass which have no political effect is no more than just bulk votes. Thus associations also carry a political identity. These political identities are helpful in the conversion from social capital to political which gives the leaders an advantage in the negotiations. As a consequence it is important for a hometown leader to affect masses and have the ability to put them into action.

In Divriği association, as being a local organization regional identity goes hand in hand with political identity. In every kind of opposing protest Divriği Association takes its place under its banner with a large mass behind. (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği)

At the end of our discussion on dispositions of the actors in the fields it is important to try to guess how this structure will develop. As I have been discussing through the study this structure is based on the immigrant group who came to the metropole since the 1950's. However this flow of masses seems to be decreasing. The identities carried to the metropole are no longer valid unless they are supported by this new system of politics. Will this relation between political parties and hometown associations last? Will dispositions be carried to next generations? Next

generations will be involved in these networks as long as they get benefits from these networks. Clientelist relations will keep their importance since there will be a patron to allocate resources to these organizations. Thus, clients in need of these resources will have to offer their capital to the patron. Hometown associations will never cease to exist as long as clientelism remains.

However this won't go for long in local associations type. After two three generations there won't be migration to Ankara as much as it did. Sivas and Kırşehir came here made this a large city. There is no more to come from Çorum. Two people live in my village. They are the mukhtar and his wife. They would also come if they did not earn my from mukhtarship. There is no one, who will come? (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

4.3. RELATIONS

After defining the fields and analyzing the dispositions of the actors, there is one more determinant I will discuss, which is the relations of the actors. Throughout the thesis I have tried to apply a relation based analysis which gave importance of this part. Importance of the relations amongst actors comes from the relations with dispositions and fields. The relations amongst the actors shape the fields and the dispositions the actors take. Dispositions are set by the relations of the leaders' ability to connect and gain share from the power distribution by the political parties. Political parties are real power holders of the political field since only parliament members are allowed to vote in legislation process or in a lower level, only administrative committees are allowed to take decisions in the provincial level. Thus only using pressure and negotiation tools is not enough to affect the decision making process. Since the decision making process is where the distribution of resources is planned, members who cannot personally take role in these processes choose the way of following others who can.

The man says 'we don't have the chance to do politics in this party as long as this man is the Party Chair.' This brings about forming of wings in the party. Wings pressure each other into political struggle. (M, 61, Ordinary Member, Giresun)

This type of relations brings about groups that are formed in organizations. Thus wings, groups etc. are observed in political parties who struggle for power with one another. In this process of power struggle and resource distribution, there becomes a relation of “us” and “them” in political parties. This way of organization in political parties triggers a particularized trust based structure. Followers become clients to the leaders.

Before September 12th, TÖB-DER ¹⁰, DISK ¹¹ and vocational organization like them was behind the 42%’s. Now there is an organizational structure brought by the September 12th. People and property organizations. Associations are people organizations whereas foundations are property organizations. However leftist and social democrats base on solidarity organizations. These are vocational organizations, unions and cooperatives. (M, 61, Ordinary Member, Giresun)

This web of relations is highly affected by the way society organizes since the political parties make use of the social capital accumulated. Since civil society is dominated by hometown associations and relations produced within these organizations, the political field is accordingly shaped. The field of associations lack solidarity based organizations, so does the field of politics. In other words lack of generalized trust in political field is triggered by the formation based on particularized trust in the field social capital is accumulated. This lack of organization, forms a field with an excluding character. If the identities in field of politics and the field of civil society don’t match, the actors are excluded. In other words, hometown associations shape the field so strongly that does not allow any other form of organization to be effective in the field of politics. This relation also works in opposite direction. Political actors who don’t relate with hometown associations and their networks are also excluded from the field. In other words, hometown association networks are so active in the field of politics that actors in

¹⁰ TÖB-DER: Teachers association of unity and solidarity

¹¹ DISK: Turkish Revolutionist Labour Unions Confederation

the field of politics have to connect with them one way or the other provided that s/he wants to defend her/his disposition in the field of politics.

Left, Let me call it socialist left, belittled them. They said this is hometown based, this is region based, and it has nothing to do with politics. These organizations should be rejected. They said we need bring people together under left parties. When they contributed to the meeting they criticized them. Then they excluded them. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

However, this relation also works both-ways. The associations' leaders are determined by their potential to achieve links to resources. In a simpler explanation, hometown association leaders are selected by their potential to be integrated into the field of politics in order for the network to get the highest share from the distribution of resources. Selection of the leaders is highly shaped by the economic or social resources s/he can provide for the association. The leaders are selected by her/his success in clientelist relations. Favors done for the clients are considered as "service to society" by the patrons. In return the patrons expect support and consider this relation as "society bringing him to this place".

Even if you want or not, our people bring you somewhere. Standing strong in front of the people is enough, just be useful. They brought us to the Cem Foundation, it wasn't us that came. They wanted us to come, they thought we would be useful. (M, 54, Chair, Yozgat)

In comparison to type of organization prior to the 1980 coup, clientelist relations of post-coup period are much stricter in the sense of identities and trust relations. Pre-coup relations were based on principles of class relations which lead to a looser organization. However motivation in pre-coup period made organizations stronger. Since field of civil society was formed around political identities, coming together and supporting each other was easier for pre-coup organizations. Exactly this character gave them the power to change society while hometown identity based organization and hometown identities gave way to a more fragmented civil society

field which hindered their chance to come together against common problems. In short, while associations one by one gained strength in the field, total social capital accumulated decreased.

The base was found on a upper understanding in the organizations. Not like post September 12th hometown or regionist organizations... Whoever is harmed by this order was organized against the powers they were harmed by. Before September 12th youth was organized for social and economic rights. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Sivas)

This decrease in the social capital accumulation results in the change of struggles. Because the hometown associations are struggling with each other, they waste their limited resources to these struggles. Thus the members choose to participate in simpler activities which lead to a field of restricted memberships. The members don't choose their associations according to their interests or problems. They are bound to choose according to their hometowns. Furthermore they cannot support other associations since their identity is based on particularized trust which disables them to follow "other" causes. In other words, clients are not free to follow causes other than her/his patron's. Following other causes harms the patron-client relation as it harms the trust relation.

On the other hand the client-patron relation is also problematic in the patrons side because the clients follow the leader parallel to the favors s/he gets. This brings about a problem of legitimacy. The patrons position is legitimate as long as the client need favors from her/him. Some of the members of these associations can look like in alliance with the leader but they can also search for new patrons aside from him. Patron-client relation by its very nature allows such activities. However in a field trust is a must, these relations pose serious threat to future of these fields. This structure hinders the actors from becoming allies.

Labour union is an organization found for defending social and economic rights of the laborers no matter which faith he follows no matter which ethnicity he is of. Laborers go to the union to find out who defends their social and economic rights the best not because the

president is from his town or city. But this is not the case in local organizations. Only being born in that town is enough. (...) As a person who lived these situations since I was a child, I don't find this segregation right. This is a hostile attitude against the society. I mean, This is an attitude dividing the people, creating hostility, hindering the right to live in brotherhood and together. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Sivas)

Antagonistic identity building process leads to generalized trust to decrease while particularized trust gains importance in the actors' disposition determining process. Such a structure leads to hostile behaviour against the "others" or "them". It separates the civil society organizations and promotes an individualistic society. In this type of an organization, pursuing individual ends becomes inevitable since common social ends are impossible to determine due to clash of antagonistic identities, namely in this case hometown identities. In such a field character, actors have difficulty in building trust for one another which leads to relation being based on client-patron relations. Gaining access to resources or resource distributing networks becomes the only motivation.

In a society where capitalism individualizes people saying 'come on brother, keep on, don't have mercy for anyone, I mean attack, be rich, live to the best' saying 'no brother give hand to him, go there and share his pain' is one of three fundamental laws of social democracy that we talk about. This is solidarity itself. (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum)

In such an environment it is difficult for organizations to be built on solidarity or trust. As a consequence, organizations based on hometown identities become excluding organizations, similar to political parties. Although identities represent a certain amount of particularized trust, it breaks the general trust in society. In the quotation below you may witness a membership process of a hometown association. The process starts with the question "Would s/he harm our organization" while in an including and trusting society it should have begun with "What can do for her/him". You can see the interviewee refers to his organization as a family to be protected from foreigners with evil intentions.

I mean in every society someone sponsors for another. We do solidarity with Cem¹². The person you take to the Cem may have evil intentions. He could have entered the Cem with different intentions. He could try to disturb us. Thus, we try to know him from his sponsor. After all we are a family, one must have a sponsor. (M, 54, Chair, Yozgat)

Such an attitude leads to a historical analysis of the urban culture in which outsiders; migrants in this case, came to a whole new metropole and survived in a search for a new identity. Here we can see the hometown identities became so strong that today still they have the power to push strangers out. These networks are quite old and naturally gained power during this period. However the importance of these networks in social structure makes the scenery a rather dark one. Lack of trust in society and building antagonistic identities leads to a society, where no development is possible in the sense of social relations. In other words social capital is accumulated inside the networks while they crush the social capital accumulation possibilities and networks aside from themselves. This leads to a decrease in trust and total level of social capital accumulation.

It is clear that, If we are going to rebuild the feudal values with local organizations, If we are going to turn them to ghetto organizations, instead of uniting with the city; decomposing, living in one's own little forms, thinking in these little forms; these organizations will give harm instead of being useful. (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği)

Furthermore such a social organization type leads to a vicious cycle where political parties and hometown associations drive each other into a clientelist relation whereas social capital accumulation decreases. After a point it is inevitable to witness end of these organizations since there will be no social capital they can use in negotiations with political parties and are cut from the capital distribution networks. They will be focus point of clientelist relations as long as they can provide masses for the political parties. On the other hand political parties will have to find new social bases to reach the masses

¹² *An Alevi ritual*

These associations struggle with themselves in shallowing, rebuilding feudal forms. I don't think they have any more to offer for national politics. They turned into focuses supporting identity politics which is unhealthy. (M, 49, Ordinary Member, Divriği)

Such sentiments are also strong among some ordinary members especially after a failed attempt. One such ordinary member who feels alienated from his hometown association tells his disappointment in the following way:

We came together to form a hometown association, the reason partly to keep our roots alive and also keep in touch, partly due to the fact that there were too many of such association from other provinces and towns. We felt lag behind. Then we agreed that we should also have our own hometown association. Within time some of the founding members, start using our power to negotiate with political politicians. There were dinners organized on the name of our association with the participation of invited politicians especially in the election periods. Then we know that some of our leading members were using our members as their followers telling the political figures that they have such a strong social base and they are ready to use this power for this politician etc. Like many I feel used by our own leading members as a stepping stone. I did not resign but I do not attend the meetings as well. I feel disappointed (M, 52, Ordinary Member, Çorum).

Another ordinary member provides a more pragmatic and performative evaluation of the very same situation.

Hometown associations are functioning as an entry point to the politics. This is the reality of politics. Look at around, almost all provinces and towns have their own associations. They at times have other functions such as helping each other in difficult circumstances, providing some financial support to successful student of their provinces, but they are also quite effective instrument of political activity. You have to show the politicians that you have a strong network. Then you get counted and some of your members are offered some seat in the party branches in municipal councils etc. Otherwise the people from the other associations gain access to these seats rather than your fellows. Yet there are also abuses of such solidarity by the members. Some of the members as soon as they get some position, they literally turn their back to their people. They betray their people. This in turn creates some form of trust among the people who support the hometown associations.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Modern society and their cities are full of networks and it would not be wrong to argue that if you remain outside such networks that means you live at the margin of the society as an excluded member. For this reason it is not surprising that low income groups are quite keen at building some form of social capital by building networks with their close environment. They know that their power comes from their numbers. Otherwise they are destined to remain at the margin of society with limited resources and recognition.

This thesis dealt with one of such network of migrant population of large cities, namely hometown associations. Hometown organizations have been founded by migrant population to use their numbers as a point of strength and get some share from the resources and also obtain some form of recognition. Along with some material benefits such associations have been used as a key mechanism to make an entry to the political field.

In this thesis city of Ankara is taken as a research setting and various hometown associations which were active around the RPP were analyzed by carrying indept interviews with the leading members as well as the ordinary ones.

One of the main finding of the research is that clientelistic relations have been a dominant and persistent feature of hometown associations. It is not only between the leading members and ordinary ones but also between political parties and hometown associations. Leading members make bargaining with the Party and its political figures by using the power of the hometown organization and in return for a position in the political field. The ordinary members' expectation in return is some form of benefit from the broker after getting a seat in politics. As long as such a reasoning works there looks like no problem. However there are also short circuits in the system. When the brokers fail to secure a political seat or position, this creates some

form of disappointment among the ordinary member. Likewise there are examples that when the broker succeeds getting a political position, he ignores the hometown network that once supported him. This is even perhaps bigger source of disappointment among the ordinary member.

Despite all criticisms and shortcomings it looks like such a form of clientelistic politics is an influential future of local politics in large cities and this effectiveness encourage the people to form further associations not to be excluded from the field. The interviews also showed that the rise of such a political form based on a hometown originated social capital has been a direct result of class based politics after the military intervention in 1980.

Although both leaders and ordinary members of hometown associations confirm the effectiveness of such a way of conducting, they all point to the fact that decline of class based politics has been detrimental for migrant population. However in the lack of such large scale structure they feel inevitable to get engaged in such a narrow form of identity politics. They know that otherwise they will remain totally outside the political field.

Political field and civil society is strongly related so change in one will trigger the other. This has been the same for every change in the political history. The change of associations laws just a few years following the coups show us that change in one trigger the other. However before this change happens, we must find a new way of organization to offer once the structure disrupts. The organizational type our research shows is a more democratic and more inclusive networks. Civil society based on identities which have no chance to change, since one cannot change the city s/he was born, leads us to a dead end situation. Thus identities civil society takes roots from should be more flexible. Such an identity formation would also trigger solidarity among the actors in the field. We would see scenery where associations try to help one another rather than trying to stop them from reaching their ends.

Only by inclusive structures the society can reach common goals. If the associations carry on to this structure there will never be a common sense among them and the civil society field will always be in need of resources provided by the actors in the political field. As a result the two fields being in such a close relation is dangerous for both fields and the actors in them. A healthy relation between political parties and civil society is always necessary moreover it is inevitable. However when actors playing in both fields are the same individuals it creates a vicious circle where elites control the resources in expense of the society and these resources never reach lower levels. To break such a circle I would suggest the political parties to change their nature of relations with hometown associations in a way that their relation is close enough to make use of the social capital accumulated in their networks. However civil society networks should not be limited to hometown associations, it should be diversified. On the civil society side our study suggests that a healthy organization would be a flexible, democratic form of a civil organization where the actors get their share of the resources no matter whom they support. The civil society field requires more democracy and a more flexible organization where as political parties need to provide the appropriate environment for such an organization in order to flourish from the civil society for longer years.

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APPENDIX

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : ŞENALP

Adı : EREN

Bölümü : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Anabilim Dalı

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : SOCIAL CAPITAL FORMATION AND
DISPOSITION OF THE HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS IN TURKISH
POLITICS:
THE ANKARA CASE

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınmaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: