SOCIAL CHANGE IN TURKEY:
AN ANALYSIS THROUGH SELECTED FILMS

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ABSTRACT

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This study aims to contribute to the research literature through the comparative examination of selected field studies and cinema films on social change in Turkey between 1950 and 1980. The study derives from the argument that it is possible to develop an alternative/contribution to the current research methods through the use of visual sources by means of the suggestions of the 'sociological imagination' and 'sociology of affect'. Depending on sociological imagination and sociology of affects, it is claimed that the use of cinema films in sociological research enables fast and effective analysis of the social issues and their fast and effective transfer to the audience. The individual can comprehend social issues effectively and faster through films relevant with the subject since she/he can identify with the story and characters of the film with the effect of visuality. Contents of sociological field studies and cinema films that were chosen for the present study are compared in terms of their examination of social change in Turkey. In order to make this comparison, five field studies and eight cinema films were selected. Afterwards, depending on the issues the sociologists focused on their field studies, six concepts were determined, and the films' approach towards these concepts are analyzed.

Study progresses with the examination of socio-economic developments and developments of empirical studies in sociology discipline in Turkey between 1950 and 1980. Then, it focuses on the classical narrative structure, character structure, representations of social types and development of Turkish cinema. Finally, the study aims both to analyze how field studies and cinema studies focus on the issue of social change; and to indicate that cinema films can be used in social researches through the sociological imagination and sociology of affects.

Key words: Sociological Imagination, Sociology of Affects, Film Studies, Field Studies, Social Change

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE SOSYAL DEĞİŞİM:
SİNEMA FİLMLERİ YOLUYLA BİR ANALİZ

Coşkun, Çiçek

Doktora, Sosyoloji Bölümü

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Bu çalışma Türkiye'de 1950-1980 yılları arasındaki sosyal değişimi, sinema filmleri ve sosyolojik alan araştırmaları üzerinden karşılaştırmalı olarak inceleyerek, inceleme/araştırma literatürüne katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma "sosyolojik tahayyül" ve "duygular sosyolojisi"nin önerdiği şekilde görsel kaynakların kullanılması ile var olan araştırma yöntemlerine bir alternatif/katkı geliştirilebileceği düşüncesinden yola çıkmaktadır. "Sosyolojik tahayyül" ve "duygular sosyolojisi"ne dayanılarak, iddia edilmektedir ki, sosyolojik araştırmalarda sinema filmlerinden yararlanmak, sosyal meselelerin izleyiciye hızlı ve etkili biçimde aktarılabilmesini ve analiz edilebilmesini sağlamaktadır. Sinema filmlerinde kişi, anlatılan hikâye ve karakterle görselliğin etkisi ile hızlı biçimde özdeşlik kurabileceği için, sinema filmlerinde anlatılan sosyal meseleler izleyiciye hızlı ve direkt bir biçimde aktarılabilir. Bu amaçla çalışma için seçilen sosyolojik alan araştırmaları ve sinema filmleri içerikleri ve Türkiye'deki sosyal değişimi inceleyişleri açısından karşılaştırılmıştır. Bu karşılaştırmanın yapılabilmesi için beş tane alan araştırması ve sekiz tane sinema filmi seçilmiştir. Ardından, sosyologların alan araştırmalarında odaklandıkları konulara dayanılarak altı tane kavram belirlenmiş ve filmlerin bu kavramlara yaklaşımları incelenmiştir.

Çalışma Türkiye'de 1950-1980 arasındaki sosyo-ekonomik değişimlerin ve sosyoloji disiplini içinde ampirik araştırmaların gelişiminin incelenmesi ile ilerlemektedir. Ardından, sinemada klasik anlatı yapısına, karakter yapısına, sosyal tiplerin temsillerine ve Türk sinemasının gelişimine odaklanmaktadır. Son olarak, çalışma alan araştırmalarının ve sinema filmlerinin sosyal değişim konusuna nasıl odaklandıklarını incelemeyi ve sosyolojik tahayyül ve duygular sosyolojisi üzerinden sinema filmlerinin sosyal araştırmalarda kullanılabileceğini göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyolojik Tahayyül, Duygular Sosyolojisi, Film Çalışmaları, Alan Araştırmaları, Sosyal Değişim

To my mother and father

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In a scene from Halit Refiğ's famous 1964 film, *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile)[1], Kemal gives money to an old beggar woman while he and Ayla are walking on the road. Ayla says, "You did not do the right thing Kemal". Kemal asks, "Why? Is it because I gave alms to her?" Ayla replies, "Yes it is, she is healthy, she can work. Besides, why did she leave her hometown and come here? You came from your village and then rob İstanbul residents!" Kemal asks, "Are all extraneous people coming to rob Istanbul residents?" Ayla takes a tough line: "Well Kemal, whatever reason they came, they take Istanbul away from being Istanbul. They are everywhere. Besides, what is it to you?" After Kemal answers "Nothing", Ayla asks "Are you also one of them?"

This dialogue between Ayla and Kemal successfully captures the rural-urban conflict, one of the main conflict issues in our cinema and literature. Ayla defines her urban and modern position and emphasizes Kemal's rural and traditional position when she asks, "Are you also one of them?"

Kemal hides from Ayla that his family migrated from Kahramanmaraş to İstanbul and says "No, God forbid! My family is a pure Istanbul native. I know only Kadıköy (Kadıköy is a district in Istanbul and *köy* means village in Turkish) as a village." When they meet Kemal's taxi driver brother Murat, however, everything comes into the open. Ayla gets angry with Kemal because he lied to her, but after a while she forgives him and invites him to her family's house. Ayla has a rich, modern and educated family. Her mother asks Kemal why his family came to Istanbul from Maraş. Kemal answers, "We missed a better life I guess". Later in the scene Kemal takes the newspaper in the room

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[1] The film is an adaptation of Turgut Özakman's play *Ocak*. Halit Refiğ and Orhan Kemal are scriptwriters.

and says that there is an article about immigrants to Istanbul on the first page and immigrants to Germany on the third page. Meanwhile, we read the title on the newspaper: "They pursue a new life."

Ayla's father replies, "These immigrant young people represent our nation's power. Ayla will also go to America (United States of America), near her brother when she graduates. What's it got to do with unemployment?" The father's objection shows the rural-urban conflict once again, although it is exaggerated. Kemal is represented as a character that is rural but informed, educated and knows his own mind; while the father character is rich and educated but unaware of the country's realities.

In another scene we see Ayla and Kemal talking in front of a shantytown view on the backside. Ayla gives up 'us and them' discrimination and states that she will be of the same mind with Kemal. Kemal says, "Each of us had different dreams while we were coming to İstanbul. We were expecting that we would be successful easily." Ayla asks, "Doesn't everybody have the right of living at ease and wanting a better life?" Kemal's answer is about deserving: "Yes, Ayla. But one should work, should be productive to deserve this." Ayla asks, "Who knows where those people living across (means people living in shantytown) came from? Should not they leave their small and poor villages?"

Kemal, the educated member of the family, becomes a doctor. Ayla and Kemal marry and decide to go to rural parts of the country in order to help people. But the rest of Kemal's family falls apart. İstanbul, the big and modern city, defeated them. They go back to their town.

Gurbet Kuşları (Birds of Exile[2]) is the first film in Turkish cinema that focuses on the migration issue caused by social change. The rural-urban conflict in this film would turn into one of the main elements of many films in Turkish cinema in the following years. This conflict was the result of rapid

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[2] Title of the film will be written in Turkish in the following parts of the study.

social changes that started in Turkey around the 1940s and accelerated during the 1950s when changes in government and policy altered both rural and urban areas. People left the land and agricultural life and began migrating from rural to urban areas. Turkey's present day social structure emerged at the end of this process, which lasted for more than thirty years.

This change process is also one of the main issues of Turkish social scientists. One of the main aims of Turkish sociology in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s was to understand rural change, internal and external migration and the role of shantytowns in the urbanization process of cities. Sociologists did various field studies as one of the fertile research methods with this aim.

Sociological field studies and cinema are similar in that they both aim to understand the whole by induction from a micro scale case. One main difference between the two is that cinema uses a fictional story while field studies use samples from society. This situation makes us curious about these two disciplines' points of view regarding the social change process in Turkey.

'Sociological imagination' and 'Sociology of affects' state that cinema films could be used as well as other sources in order to understand social issues. Audience identifies themselves with the characters in films; sees and senses the story of the film. Thus, the audience comprehends the social reality and the subjects that the film represents. At this point, we think that 'sociological imagination' and 'sociology of affects' could be an alternative/contribution to classical empirical studies. Besides, we think that through films relevant with the subject, the individual can comprehend social issues more effectively and faster than classical empirical studies convey. From this point forth, we will make a comparison of the points of views of the sociology discipline and Turkish cinema regarding the social change process in Turkey between 1950 and 1980. With this aim, we will compare the contents of field studies and cinema films that we select in this study.

The study will progress by comparing chosen field studies and films that were made during this time period.

By taking the starting point of the present study into consideration, we selected five field studies that were done between 1950 and 1980. These five studies are: *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası/* Ereğli: A Coastal Town before Heavy Industry (Mübeccel B. Kıray)*;* TurkishVillage (Paul Stirling), *Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri/* Squatter Families in Ankara (İbrahim Yasa)*,* The *Gecekondu:* Rural Migration and Urbanization (Kemal Karpat) and *Türkiye'de Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm ve Köylere Girişi/* Underdeveloped Capitalism in Turkey and Its Access into Villages (Bahattin Akşit). We chose these studies according to their content and period that they were done. All studies use empirical research methods such as statistical data, survey and in-depth interview. We can state that, Turkish Village, *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası* and *Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri* are founding studies of field researches that were done after 1950. Besides, *Türkiye'de Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm ve Köylere Girişi* is a field study that tests 'Capitalist Transformation Problematique'. Finally, The *Gecekondu:* Rural Migration and Urbanization focuses on adaptation to city. The main idea of the study is that village and city are part of a continuum in time and space and they affect each other.

Films that we selected for the present study are: *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile/Director: Halit Refiğ/1964), *Keşanlı Ali Destanı* (Kesanli Ali's Epic/Director: Atıf Yılmaz/1964), *Umut* (Hope/Yılmaz Güney/1970), *Kibar Feyzo* (Feyzo the Gentile/Director: Atıf Yılmaz/1978), *Sultan* (Sultan/Director: Kartal Tibet/1978), *Sürü* (The Herd/Director: Zeki Ökten/1978), *Züğürt Ağa* (The Broken Landlord/Director: Nesli Çölgeçen/1985) and *Düttürü Dünya* (Skimpy World/Director: Zeki Ökten/1988). We chose these films with regard to their scripts and characters. All of the films on the list touch on the social

change process in Turkey that we examined above and represent characters that were affected from this process[3].

To make a brief reading of this material, we will prepare a 'concept sheet' that outlines the main concepts that sociologists focus on during selected field studies. Then, selected films will be examined with regard to these concepts. The theoretical framework for this study will be based on the development of the sociology discipline and field studies, sociological imagination, and sociology of affects.

In terms of sociology, we know that social sciences developed out of improvements in natural sciences and technology in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. We should mention Comte and Marx as influential names in social sciences. "Both Comte and Marx wrote in the shadow of the triumphs of natural science, and both regarded the extension of science to the study of human conduct in society as a direct outcome of the progressive march of human understanding towards humanity itself " (Giddens, 1993: 17). Progress in natural sciences revealed the importance of human social life and led to the belief that it should be rationally understood in the same way as natural sciences. In this period, both Marx and Comte were trying to understand social life. If nature could be considered from a secular and rational point of view, why human social life should be based on enigmas and myths (Giddens, 1993: 18)? Considered as a project by Comte and Marx, social science sought to unveil and remove the prejudices of earlier times regarding human social life and bring a rational understanding to these subject (Giddens, 1993: 20). Auguste Comte asserted in 1830 that social science should be a positive science. The positivism ideal of social science was later developed through the

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[3]We should state that if we would chose different studies and different films, analysis and results of the study could be different. This situation is valid for various studies in social sciences. If a different method of research, analysis and different samples would be chosen, conclusions could be different.

contributions of various philosophers, and it has also criticized by various other philosophers[4].

Sociology is among the social disciplines that use this positivist point of view effectively. In various forms of thought, sociology has been taken as a discipline that provides knowledge about modern social life; and this knowledge can be used for prediction and control (Giddens, 1990: 15).

If we think specifically of classical sociology;

> the focal image of society for the sociologist as scientist is a system of relations. The form of sociological theory, as a set of statements describing facts whose validity can be established both by their analytic interconnections and their logical links to the observation statements constituting the factual, reproduces the structure of society as a relational system. This image of society has a concomitant image of man… (On the other hand, if we think sociology in critique[5]) it seeks to overcome the positivist estrangement from 'real' defined solely in terms of material objects and their relations. It seeks to reconstitute the real in terms of human values and the meaning they give to action (Stern, 1976: 21-23).

While doing this type of science and generating knowledge and predictions about society, methodology constitutes one of the most important parts of sociology as well as theory. Although there are scientists who do not see a relationship between sociological theory and method, we believe that there is a strong relationship between the two. For instance, Merton states that:

> At the outset we should clearly distinguish between sociology theory, which has for its subject matter certain aspects and results of the interaction of men and therefore is substantive, and methodology, or the logic scientific procedure... Methodology is not peculiarly bound up with sociological problems, and though there is a plenitude of methodological discussions in books and journals of sociology, they are not thereby rendered sociological in character...There is, in short, a clear and decisive difference between knowing how to test a battery of

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[4]We will examine the main headings of the development of social sciences and of the critiques of the social sciences as a positive science below.

[5]Statement in parenthesis belongs to me.

hypotheses and knowing the theory from which to derive hypotheses to be tested (Merton, 1967: 140-141).

On the other hand, Denzin gives Blumer as an example of scientists who believe that theory and method have a connection and states, "From Blumer's perspective the study of methodology demands a consistent theoretical perspective; theory and method must go hand in hand" (Denzin, 2009: 4). He states that methods have a strong theoretical connection, and every method has a different connection for theory; and important improvements in theory are possible only if sociologists adopt a convenient framework for the bilateral theory and method analysis (Denzin, 2009: 5).

Herein, the importance of sociological research arises. Research is a human activity that is affected by social influences, and social research is no exception (Leahey, 2008: 34). Social influences and issues affect sociologists' choice of research subject as well as personal interests, experience and the audience during a research. Social change in Turkey, as one of the major issues of the period, has affected many sociologists in Turkey; and they studied social change. But as all we know, a sociologist should be objective during the rest of social research. Realism and skepticism should be added to objectivity, since "addressing the social character and foundations of social research practice requires a realistic and skeptical perspective, but the goal is to improve-not debunk-social research" (Leahey, 2008: 35).

There are various methods of research in sociology. Field study, which we will examine in the present study, is a preferred method in researches as well as case study, life history and/or participant observation methods. As mentioned above, in Turkey, sociologists preferred field studies as one of the fertile methods to analyze social change in different parts of the country.

If we look at the 'social change' issue as a field of study, we find out that periods of social change also transform culture, economy and politics as well as social dynamics in a society. Change can be defined as a "succession of

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events which produce over time a modification or replacement of particular patterns or units by other novel ones" (Sekulic, 2007). Generally,

> Social change, in sociology, the alteration of mechanisms within the social structure, characterized by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behaviour, social organizations, or value systems… Social change can evolve from a number of different sources, including contact with other societies (diffusion), changes in the ecosystem (which can cause the loss of natural resources or widespread disease), technological change (epitomized by the Industrial Revolution, which created a new social group, the urban proletariat), and population growth and other demographic variables. Social change is also spurred by ideological, economic, and political movements (Form, 2014)[6].

The social change process in Turkey is an example of such a shift. Since the 1950s, there have been significant changes in the structure of society and viewpoints of people. While this process changes social, political, cultural and economic structures, these changing structures in turn affect society as a whole. One of the important objectives for social scientists, who study this change, is to examine and explain the connection between social change, economic change and political change. Studying social change requires defining the causal processes continuing over time.

In terms of social change studies in Turkey, we see that at the same time as changes in agriculture and old forms of peasantry started in the1950s, there were simultaneous fundamental social and structural changes due to government policies that spread to the whole of Turkish society. 1950 and 1980 was a period in which modern society throughout the world encountered the idea of democratization and an increase in culture and cinema, the flow of people and commerce across borders, and technological development. This change in Turkey influenced the old rural society, which existed for thousands of years, including during the Ottoman Empire period. With the advent of

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[6]For further reading please see; Moore, Wilbert E. *Social Change*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1964 and Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process, Vol.I. The History of Manners*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1969 and Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process, Vol.II. State Formation and Civilization*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1982.

changes in the 1950s, social stratification, professions, and whole human relations were influenced and changed (Kıray, 1991). A society that was attached to the land began leaving the land. In this process rural structure changed and new forms of production and relations emerged. In addition, industrialization increased and migration from rural to urban areas started in the country. These developments transformed the structure of cities. This big and effective process, of course, intrigued Turkish sociologists; and they wanted to understand and analyze it. Science means finding relationships and analyzing them (Kıray, 1991).

In light of all of this, we can offer four items of sociological enterprise that are essential to the present study: "theory, methodology, research activity and the sociological imagination" (Denzin, 2009: 5). These sociological tools are used in the following order when conducting a research: "theory, methodology and research activity through the sociological imagination" (Denzin, 2009: 5). If we think of theory as the explanation and examination of social phenomenon, then its effect is to organize and provide insight into research studies. Methodology consists of the tools that a sociologist uses to study his/her environment, such as field studies, life histories or surveys; and b) making his/her research public and reproducible by other scientists through methods (Denzin,2009:5). Combination of theory and methodology contribute to the 'research activity' process (Denzin, 2009:5). Sociological imagination in the research process is the idea of having an open mind and insight into the relationship between individual lives and larger social organizations. In this respect, while doing social research, a sociologist should have the knowledge and ability of sociological imagination.

Sociological imagination is, if we look at Mills' own words (1959: 211-212):

> The sociological imagination, I remind you, in considerable part consists of the capacity to shift from one perspective to another, and in the process to build up an adequate view of a total society and of its components. It is this imagination, of course, that sets off the social scientist from the mere technician. Adequate technicians can be trained

in a few years. The sociological imagination can also be cultivated; certainly it seldom occurs without a great deal of often routine work. Yet there is an unexpected quality about it, perhaps because its essence is the combination of ideas that no one expected were combinable say, a mess of ideas from German philosophy and British economics. There is a playfulness of mind back of such combining as well as a truly fierce drive to make sense of the world, which the technician as such usually lacks. Perhaps he is too well trained, too precisely trained. Since one can be trained only in what is already known, training sometimes incapacitates one from learning new ways; it makes one rebel against what is bound to be at first loose and even sloppy. But you must cling to such vague images and notions, if they are yours, and you must work them out. For it is in such forms that original ideas, if any, almost always first appear.

According to Mills, the main idea of sociological imagination is to be able to study the relationship between individual lives and larger social concepts and to changeover from one status to the other without losing perspective of both. In other words,

> the sociological imagination is nothing more than an attempt to make sense of life meaningfully for the individual in mass... It appears at the moment when an individual becomes capable to visualize or 'imagine' the coincidence of his or her biography with the so-called 'public' or 'objective' problems (Baker, 2002:86).

Issues transcend individual lives and their local environments (Mills, 1959: 8). "They have to do with the organization of many such milieu into the institutions of a historical society as a whole, with the ways in which various milieu overlap and interpenetrate to form the larger structure of social and historical life," (Mills, 1959: 8). A sociologist's ability of sociological imagination will ease and lead his/her work while doing induction from micro social events or vice versa.

In his important work "The Sociological Imagination", Mills addresses various issues including grand theory, abstracted empiricism, developing an intellectually rigorous sociology and social research process. In the "Grand Theory" chapter, Mills criticizes tendency of sociology to polarize into theorizing removed from social sciences (Mills, 1959: 25-49). In the

"Abstracted Empiricism" chapter, Mills states that empirical studies are so interested in analyzing the details of personal samples that insight into wider social concepts might be lost. Empiricism turns into an 'abstract' study in that case (Mills, 1959: 50-75). Thus, sociology should avoid the excessiveness of Grand Theory and Abstracted Empiricism and should include studies of historical and comparative materials (Mills, 1959). In the next chapters, Mills continues to criticize various other aspects of sociological research. For instance, he discusses the inevitability of values joining into sociological studies in the "Types of Practicality" chapter; and he criticizes the technical and administrative nature of large-scale researches (Mills, 1959: 76-118). In the "Human Variety" chapter, Mills discusses how the sociological imagination should examine all aspects of individuals by understanding their personal problems in various historical periods, cultures and concepts (Mills, 1959: 132-142). Thus, sociology should have a large imagination and, as with all social sciences, employ comparative study techniques. He writes, "Comparative work, both theoretical and empirical, is the most promising line of development for social science today; and such work can best be done within a unified social science" (Mills, 1959: 138).

In one of the most important chapters of the work, the "Intellectual Craftsmanship", Mills defines the social research process in detail. He (1959: 195) states, "social science is the practice of a craft." According to him sociological research is an intellectual craft in which some skills should be put to use. Mills also criticizes classical empirical research methods, as we will examine in the following parts. He states that good social science research cannot be done through clear-cut empirical research; rather, it needs a composition of many good studies (Mills, 1959: 201-202). His critique of social researches and of field studies, which we will analyze in the present study, gives us the opportunity to compare this type of classical sociological researches with another area in which sociological imagination can be used: cinema. We can compare how differently sociology and film examine the same

reality. This study will compare the art form of cinema, in which sociological imagination can be effectively used, with the academic discipline of sociology.

If we return to the beginning of our review of sociological imagination, sociological imagination is;

> The capacity to shift from one perspective to another - from the political to the psychological; from examination of a single family to comparative assessment of the national budgets of the world; from the theological school to the military establishment; from considerations of an oil industry to studies of contemporary poetry. It is the capacity to range from the most impersonal and remote transformations to the most intimate features of the human self - and to see the relations between the two (Mills, 1959: 7).

Mills gives examples of unemployment, war, marriage, and metropolis in order to show how personal troubles are a part of wider 'public issues of social structure' (Mills, 1959: 9). Sociologists can relate personal troubles with wider public issues by analyzing the outcomes of empirical researches. Similarly, personal stories in films can relate to wider public issues in real life since films can be representations of reality. For this reason, feature films are increasingly used in social sciences education in order to help students make sense of social issues (Prendergast, 1986: 243-248 and Tipton and Tiemann, 1993: 187-191). Although it is a fictional art, "as a powerful means of communication, cinema soon assumed the function of a 'document-in-itself', like photography" (Baker, 2002: 63). Unlike photography, cinematography holds the 'illusion of movement' and traces "character of the cinematic signs" (Baker, 2002: 63). Hence, it enables us to interpret the social events in the film's story and visual representations by using sociological imagination. In a film, we follow the daily lives, inner worlds, points of view, relations and living spaces of characters. Cinema makes social life visible for us in this way. Thus, films are fertile sources for understanding social issues through sociological imagination.

Another theory that criticizes social research methods is 'sociology of affects'. We will examine sociology of affects through Ulus Baker's work.

Baker is one of the important thinkers who studied the concept. But first we will pay attention to Spinoza's, Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's writings.

In his famous work Ethics, Spinoza writes that (1994: 154),

by affect (*affectus*) I understand affections of the body by which the body's power of acting is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at the same time, the ideas of these affections. Therefore, if we can be the adequate cause of any of these affections, I understand by the affect an action, otherwise, a passion... Our mind does certain things (acts) and undergoes other things, namely, insofar as it has adequate ideas, it necessarily does certain things, and insofar as it has inadequate ideas, it necessarily undergoes other things.

In "Definitions of the Emotions/Affects" titled Part III, Spinoza identifies 48 different types of affect, including desire, pleasure, pain or sorrow, love and hatred, hope and fear (Spinoza, 1994). Spinoza talks about the importance of 'knowing the body' and of configuring a body and its affects/affectedness and its continuing relation with the world "the this-ness of a world and a body" (Seigworth and Gregg, 2010:3). In addition, Spinoza expresses that actions are only rational in virtues of the ideas that led us to the action. Thus, a person's self-determination stems from having an adequate mind and ideas, not from being forced to act (Kisner, 2011: 62). Hence, Spinoza's view of rationality proposes that we can only improve autonomy by providing individuals with the knowledge that changes their choices (Kisner, 2011: 62).

For writers who follow Spinoza, affect refers to the precedence of experience and interest in concepts such as identity and person. Thus, affect is an impersonal phenomenon; and it includes both subjectivity and objectivity (Leo, 2011).

Deleuze and Guattari (1987:240) state in their work 'A Thousand Plateaus', the second volume of 'Capitalism and Schizophrenia', that, "…affect is not a personal feeling, nor is it a characteristic; it is the effectuation of a power of the pack that throws the self into upheaval and makes it real." Guattari (1996: 159) continues to say;

Affect is a process of existential appropriation through the continual creation of heterogeneous durations of being and, given this, we would

certainly be better advised to cease treating it under the aegis of scientific paradigms and to deliberately turn ourselves toward ethical and aesthetic paradigms.

According to Massumi (1987: xvi in Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), one of the important thinkers on affect theory and the translator of the book, the definition of the term is:

> Affect/Affection: Neither word denotes a personal feeling (sentiment in Deleuze and Guattari). *L 'affect* (Spinoza's *affectus*) is an ability to affect and be affected. It is a prepersonal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body's capacity to act. *L'affection* (Spinoza's *affectus*) is each such state considered as an encounter between the affected body and a second, affecting, body (with body taken in its broadest possible sense to include "mental" or ideal bodies).

Also Deleuze makes an analysis on cinema and affects. According to this, "cinema has the ability to extract affects and qualities from determined people and places in order to show them as purely expressive" (Marrati, 2008: 52). In other words, cinema provides to see the "perceptions, affects and relations of thought that cinema itself able to create" (Marrati, 2008: 41). At that point, it is the realm of possible actions that makes affects, ideas and values important (Marrati, 2008: xi). By using affects, ideas and values, cinema has been 'figurative' and 'narrative' (Marrati, 2008: 33).

After all of these definitions and evaluations, we can state that "there is no single, generalisable theory of affect: not yet, and there never will be... there can only be multiple iterations of affect and theories of affect," (Seigworth and Gregg, 2010: 3-4). Thus, affect theory can spread to a wide variety of sciences and be used for the research of different areas of life[7]. One of the areas that affect theory is in contact with is aesthetics. Aesthetics is

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[7] For further reading please see Seigworth, Gregory, and Melisa Gregg. "An Inventory of Shimmers" in Seigworth, Gregory J., and Melissa Gregg eds. *Affect Theory Reader.* Duke University Press, 2010*: 6-8

the way we communicate through the senses. It is the art of creating reactions without words, through the look and feel of people, places, and things. Hence, aesthetics differs from entertainment that requires cognitive engagement with narrative, word play, or complex, intellectual allusion... Aesthetics may complement storytelling, but is not itself narrative. Aesthetics shows rather than tells, delights rather than instructs. The effects are immediate, perceptual, an emotional (Postrel: 2003, 6).

This definition takes us to cinema film. Aesthetics is related to discovery and invention of new and attractive imaginative areas (Thrift, 2010: 295-296), and cinema film strictly bounds up with imagination as we mentioned above. Imagination can be conducted by various affective devices and can build wider facets of 'you' (Thrift, 2010: 295-296). Cinema film is a part of this, and it is possible to use and show affects by using imagination. This means that affect theory is in strict relation with aesthetics, and aesthetics comprises senses and imagination. In light of this, it is possible to state that first, 'affect' has a relationship with aesthetics; and, second, aesthetics, in return, becomes a point of contact "between the inextricable fields of politics and everyday life" (Leo, 2011). In other words, affects are states of mind and body that are connected with feelings and emotions and are in relation with politics and everyday life through aesthetics (Leo, 2011).

If we come to sociology of affects, we can note Baker's point of view: Sociology of affects are sociology of senses and intuitions (Baker, 2002: 11-16). Since they are connected with feelings and emotions, they cannot be created through external factors. Baker (Baker, 2002: 11-19, 32) states that present day societies are 'opinion societies'. He mentions Spinoza's 'scientific knowledge' and 'opinion' concepts and defines opinion as 'compulsory illusion'; similar with Spinoza's understanding (Baker, 2002: 18). Opinions reflect the conscience, language and points of view of society; and opinions can by transformed by television, film, and other media (Baker, 2002: 48-52).

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Baker argues that opinion is a 'social science problem' at this point. According to him (Baker, 2011: 42), sociology and social sciences in general are inclined to turn into 'sociology of opinions' during their academic evolution. Thus, sociology as a common science risks limiting itself as a research tool that asks people about what they think about their own world, life, aims, desires and needs; rather than becoming a knowledge-based or 'knowing' type science (Baker, 2011: 42). In other words, sociology gathers opinions that already exist in minds of people. Therefore, Baker uses the 'sociology of opinions' term and considers current sociology as an opinion among opinions. Marx also states, 'We do not ask what they think about themselves in order to understand a society, an era or a civilization' (Baker, 2011: 43). But on the contrary, current sociology cannot improve its classical questions: opinion questions towards people (positivism and empiricism), questions for texts (hermeneutics and deconstruction), or research of structure of constant elements and identification of their founding elements (structuralism and functionalism) (Baker, 2011: 43).

> As for research methods,

> in social sciences, we are already acquainted with a series of methodological terms, concerning research techniques and there are no a lesser degree of subtlety and savagery than there are in mass media: the "participant observation" is one of them. Once we adhere to a social group, once we 'participate', the anthropologist or ethnographer will think that his prize will be high in getting information. Mills questions the foundation of such a belief: 'participation' already changes the nature of the thing to be 'observed' (Baker, 2002: 97).

We can add field studies to this critique as well. Baker suggests that sociology gathers opinions that already present in minds of people through research methods such as participant observation, surveys and field studies (Baker, 2002: 97).

Baker's critique on research methods, like Mills, takes us to the starting point of our study once again: By choosing one of the critiqued research methods (we chose field studies) and comparing it to cinema, a different

discipline that also incorporates sociological imagination and sociology of affects, we can analyze how they examine same issue (the social change process of Turkey).

We can compare the sociology of affects to the sociology of opinions. Baker, like Mills, also criticizes research methods. For instance, concepts such as "'empathy', 'identification', 'inter-subjectivity', '*Verstehen*', 'understanding' [are] widely used in social sciences...as 'methodological terms', as if they were a matter of 'method' but not of life itself. But this methodology still rests upon the presuppositions of sociology of opinions" (Baker, 2002: 96). But, for instance, using the word 'empathy' in a methodological way is a problematic situation. This situation stems from the idea that social sciences are based upon both "scientific knowledge" and "empathic" relations (Baker, 2002: 99). Empathy is an affectional situation actually. Thus, a sociologist should 'feel' and be 'affected' by the social types that he/she wants to enter into relations with (Baker, 2002: 96).

There is creation of social types on the basis of sociology of affects according to Baker. Although the practice of creating social types was very effective in the initial stages of sociology, this practice decreased over time (Baker, 2002). Social types can help us to understand the world in point of fact. "A social type is 'affective'. It has something of the 'real', psychological person, whatever the level of abstraction and generalization in its presentation" (Baker, 2002: 58). Mills is the last big inventor of social type creation (Baker states sociological imagination as one of the most important bases of sociology of affects), which started with Herbert Spencer and reached it speak with Simmel (think 'stranger' and 'poor') (Baker, 2002: 2). Simmel's 'Poor' and 'Stranger', Marx's 'Lumpen Proleteriats', Foucault's 'Mads', Mills' 'Power Elite' or 'White Collar' are examples of social types in social sciences; and Moliere's '*L'Avare*', Balzac's '*Pere Grandet*' and Chaplin's 'The Tramp' are examples of social types in literature and cinema (Baker, 2002: 52-71).

It is possible to understand sociology of affects through social types because social types allow us to use our senses and think intuitively, which are the bases of sociology of affects (Baker, 2002). Intuitions and senses cannot be formed differently than opinions. Seeing social types effectively is possible with images. Although televisual images are creators of dominant opinions, it is possible to examine social types through sinevisual images and find sociology of affects (Baker, 2002). Sociological imagination has an important role in sociology of affects. This is because having the ability of sociological imagination allows us to see the relationship between an individual's problems in daily life and larger societal problems. We cannot conceptualize sociology of imagination enough without sociological imagination.

In terms of cinema, "as a powerful means of communication, cinema soon assumed the function of a 'document-in-itself'…" (Baker, 2002: 63). It does this through the representation of social types in society. Baker focuses on documentary films in his work. For instance, in a documentary about 'poverty', the camera can capture images of poverty and portray the environment, space, place and time visually (Baker, 2011: 27). Documentary films can present poverty even better than sociological research; thus, we can state that documentary cinema, through images, can be the basis of sociology of affects (Baker, 2011: 27). We can also argue that fictional films can be a source for sociology of affects because they are able to represent, reflect and persuade. Cinema, like novels, can also create social types through the visualization of affects and emotions (Baker, 2002: 3). That is to say, we can make a reading of the world through the social types, story and period represented in films.

In light of this, when we look at the social change issue in Turkey, we see that it is possible to make a comparative reading of field studies by Turkish sociologists and Turkish cinema films.This comparative reading forms the methodology of this thesis as we mentioned above.

In the second chapter of the study, we will examine important socio-political and economic developments of the 1950-1980 period. We will also

examine the social change dynamics of Turkey under the "Rural Change, Migration and Urbanization" subtitle.

In the third chapter, we will examine the development of sociology and field studies in Turkey within a historical context.

In the fourth chapter of the study we will examine Turkish cinema. But before than that, we will focus on classical narrative structure and its main theories because classical narrative structure is the main element of our chosen films. By using classical narrative structure, we will examine character types. When we look at the main studies on this subject, we see that definite characters and types appear in cinema films. Classical narrative structure is used with these characters and types. These characters and types represent social types in film, which makes it possible to study sociological imagination and sociology of affects. After examination of these concepts, we will analyze the development of Turkish cinema, social change in films and the rural-urban conflict. Finally, we will discuss the films that we chose for the present study.

The fifth chapter of the study will compare field studies and films with the 'concept sheet' that we prepared. 'Concept sheet' includes 'Family and Gender', 'Migration, *Hemşehrilik* and Integration with the City', 'Economic Life', 'Authority', 'Education' and 'World Views' concepts.

In the 'Family and Gender' part, family types, relations among family members, relations among women, patriarchal family structure, marriage, bride price, polygamy, migrated women, women's identity development and women's participation to working sector will be examined. Besides, we will focus on kinship relations among men, prestige, honor and authority relations among men. In the 'Migration, *Hemşehrilik*[8] and Integration with the City' part, we will examine reasons behind the migration, importance of *hemşehrilik* relations in the migrated city and integration process of migrants to city life. In the 'Economic Life' part, we will analyze means of livelihood both in rural and

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[8] Term will be used in Turkish in the following parts of the study.

urban areas. On this part we will also once again focus on rural transformation and migration process once again. In the 'Authority' part, after examining main theories on authority, we will examine government/political, leadership, *muhtar* (headman), landlord and father authority types. In the 'Education' part, we will examine views of rural and migrant people about education, especially about education of their children. In the 'World Views' part, we will examine rural and migrant people's contact with the modern world and their world views.

In the conclusion chapter we will make a review of issues we focused and we will discuss films that we selected from the point of sociological imagination and sociology of affects. We will also discuss representations of social types in films and their references in real life within a context of sociology of affects.

In the appendix part, we will analyze field studies which we selected by taking into consideration the time period in which they were done (1950-1980) and that they were made in different parts of the country. The five studies that we chose are: *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası/* Ereğli: A Coastal Town Before Heavy Industry (Mübeccel B. Kıray)*;* Turkish Village (Paul Stirling), *Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri/* Squatter Families in Ankara (İbrahim Yasa), *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization* (Kemal Karpat), and *Türkiye'de Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm ve Köylere Girişi/* Underdeveloped Capitalism in Turkey and Its Access into Villages (Bahattin Akşit).

CHAPTER 2

**SOCIO-POLITIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PERIOD OF SOCIAL
CHANGE: THE YEARS BETWEEN 1950 AND 1980**

In post-Second World War (WW2) period population of western cities increased continuously. In the rural parts, peasants lost their jobs because of mechanization. Thus, cities which supply job opportunities, education, health facilities and comfort to rural people turned to places of attraction. Besides, people from third world countries were migrating to western cities. This situation was not different in most of the other countries. Urbanization accelerated in the whole world. Urbanization through migration changed physical structures of big cities especially in underdeveloped countries and lots of problems emerged. Besides, peasant and rural concepts changed because of the change of the structure of agriculture through mechanization. Working class also changed because of mechanization and industrialization. A period of salaried employees started. Moreover, there was a big population increase during post-WW2 period. The period was named as 'baby-boom' in the world. Besides, life quality increased (Langlois, Boismenu, Lefebvre, and Regimbald, 2000: 448-457).

Developments in Turkey during post WW2 period are parallel with the world context. Rural structures changed as well as politics. Besides, population increased. Individuals, especially rural individuals, gained importance as voters for governments. Because of rural changes, migration started to big cities like Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana and to other countries such as Germany, France and Holland. Migrants started to live in shantytowns and formed new working class in these cities. Unplanned urbanization changed physical structures of cities. This process continued more or less from 1950 to 1980. During this process, Turkey was in social,

political and economical chaos. Besides, culturally and socially, cinema had a big place in daily lives of people. Cinema industry developed during this period and audience became very effective in scripts of films. In terms of sociology, we see that importance of sociology discipline increased and empirical studies developed.

In the present study, we will read socio-political developments of the 1950-1980 period from this context. First of all we will examine political and economical developments in pre-1945 period which prepared strong changes after 1945. Second, we will examine socio- economical developments and political disputes of the 1950-1980 period. Finally, we will examine rural change, migration and urbanization process during this period.

2.1 Pre-1950 Period: End of the Single Party Rule

With the end of the Second World War (WW2), Turkey went through a big transformation. Turkey, after the passing away of its founding leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, was governed by President İsmet İnönü until 1950. İnönü, whose title was 'national chief', succeeded in keeping Turkey out of WW2 (Aydemir, 2007). When WW2 ended, the İsmet Pasha Government was harshly criticized by the people. People were discontent because of the difficulties of the war economy and the government's general manner toward and effective control of the countryside (Zürcher, 2004). In addition, there was a huge change going on in the world. As we mentioned above, population in the whole world increased. Besides, a big migration from rural parts to urban parts started. Additionally, individuals from underdeveloped nations migrated to Western urban areas. Urbanization increased in the entire world. Urbanization changed the structure of the cities. Moreover, a bipolar world structure was taking shape with the United States of America (USA/US) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' (USSR) competing for power. In this athmosphere, the USA reevaluated Turkey's strategic importance and Turkey

was incorporated into the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. These close relations with the USA increased Turkey's aim to be a modern agriculture country. According to the Truman Doctrine, Turkey would be supported by the USA both politically and economically in an effort to combat the spread of communism. Turkey started to use US funds toward the end of the 1940s and initiated a containment policy against the USSR. However, foreign aid and credits were not given to Turkey without conditions. Turkey had to abandon its economic development plan prepared by more radical intellectuals and accept a new economic development plan that incorporated the overall economic advice of US experts (Yılmaz, 2003: 184). The Turkish government understood the importance of having good relations with the Western world after WW2 and decided to align itself with the USA.

When a political strategy in accord with the USA was wanted in Turkey, plans and laws on agriculture were enacted.The Turkey Development Plan (or Turkish Economic Development Plan/*Türkiye İktisadi Kalkınma Planı*) was prepared as an alternative to the Five Years Development Plan of 1946. Although the plan was never officially promulgated, it shows that etatist-protective industrialization and development politics were out of the agenda in that period (Boratav, 1991: 314 and Tekeli and İlkin, 1981)[9]. In its English version, the 1947 Plan is called "Recovery Program for Turkey". As its name implies, it had been prepared within the larger framework of the Marshall Aid economic recovery program in Europe (Yılmaz, 2003: 184). Besides, *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu* or 'law on giving land to the farmer' was enacted in 1945.

During this period, Turkey was in a process of passing to multi-party system and a more liberal economy.The Republican People's Party

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[9]For the details of Turkey Development Plan (Turkish Economic Development Plan) please see Tekeli, İlhan, and Selim İlkin. *Savaş Sonrası Ortamında 1947 Türkiye İktisadi Kalkınma Planı*. Ankara: ODTÜ Yayınları; 1981.

(*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi/*RPP) government of the time decided to weaken etatism and make a transition to a more liberal economy in light of all these developments both inside and outside the country. Moreover, another attempt at a multi-party system (the first attempt involved the creation of the Progressive Republic Party/ *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*) was thought to soften people's reactions against the government (Boratav, 1991; Zürcher, 2004; Keyder, 1987). İsmet İnönü expressed that an opposition party was necessary for Turkish democracy in his speech on November 1, 1944; and he emphasized the necessity of democratization of the regime on May 19, 1945.

Considering all these developments, we can state that the historical turning point of the Turkish Republic both politically and economically occurred in 1946. It is the year the country changed from a single party system to a multi party system. The National Development Party (*Milli Kalkınma Partisi*) was founded on September 5, 1945 and the Democrat Party (*Democrat Party/*DP) was founded on January 7, 1946. The DP would be the power party with the general elections on May 14, 1950. Economically, 1946 was also the year that Turkey began changing from a closed economy to a more import-substitute, outward-looking and liberal economy (Boratav, 1991; Zürcher, 2004).

During the negotiations of the Land Distribution Law (*Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu*) at the National Assembly in 1945, deputies Adnan Menderes, Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan and Fuat Köprülü objected to the law and presented an article, in which they wanted the complete application of the constitution, to the main group of the RPP. This article was the Memorandum of the Four (*Dörtlü Takrir*). It was rejected by the main group of the party, a sign of opposition within the party. "There were other signs that pointed in this direction. Some newspapers, notably the liberal (and American-orientated) *Vatan* (Fatherland) of Ahmet Emin Yalman and the leftist *Tan* (Dawn) of Zekeriya and Sabiha Sertel, began to support the 'Four'" (Zürcher, 2004: 211). Moreover, Adnan Menderes and Fuat Köprülü wrote critical articles in the *Tan*

and *Vatan* newspapers. Because of all those developments, these deputies (except for Celal Bayar) were kicked out of the RPP on September 21, 1945. (Zürcher, 2004; Keyder, 1987).

The foundation of a new political party started with Celal Bayar's resignation from the RPP. Zürcher states that (2001:307) İsmet İnönü and Celal Bayar worked together to create the DP on January 7, 1946. Thus, it is possible to state that the DP was founded through İnönü's support. İnönü supported Bayar and his friends' efforts to organize an opposition party. In return, Bayar promised İnönü that the new party would support secularism, education and foreign politics (Timur, 2003: 20).

The DP quickly received the support of many people. Actually, "what was hoped for the DP by the RPP was a party of loyal opposition that would work with the bureaucracy in order to evolve a negotiated set of policies to suit the new world situation" (Keyder, 1987:115). But it did not happen as expected. According to Keyder (1987:117), until the foundation of the DP, "politics had been the business of the elite, with power being transferred within the bureaucracy, or shared with a bourgeoisie who were few enough to permit face-to-face negotiation." This political structure ended when the DP won the1950 general elections.

In this context, in 1946, Turkey began to turn away from its closed, protective, outer-balance-based and inner-oriented economy politics that had been followed for sixteen years; import was liberalized, import quantity increased, and external deficits started to become chronic. Consequently, an economic structure based on external loans, credit and foreign investments was established (Boratav, 1991: 311).

All of these events started the big and irrevocable social change that is the focal point of our study. These political and economic changes greatly impacted agriculture areas and the agriculture-based population of the society. A big migration from rural to urban areas started. We will focus on the details

of that subject later on. But, for now, we will continue to examine the main political and economic developments of the period.

The 1947 general assembly of the RPP met in this atmosphere of the country. In the meeting, most of the economic demands of capital groups were accepted; and etatism was interpreted as a principle to help and improve the private entrepreneurship (Boratav, 1991: 314).

We can say that, "in the context of the alliance with liberal forces and as a result of party rivalry İnönü left its old etatist emphasis and approached towards a more liberal discourse in economic policy making" (Yılmaz, 2003: 185).

Boratav (1991: 312) describes the atmosphere in Turkey after WW2 as follows:

> The war years were a period in which the bourgeoisie of commerce and big land owners, who tended to lean toward the market, got extremely powerful; and enrichment happened sharply. Fruits of economic and political concentration of wealth and income would be reaped in the following years after 1945 as a matter of course...İstanbulite, extrovert and non-Muslim part of the riches of war was disturbed with the Wealth Tax and the big farmers' part was disturbed by Soil Products Tax (*Toprak Mahsülleri Vergisi*), Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*) and introduction of a land distribution bill (*Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu* or 'law on giving land to the farmer'[10]).

After WWII, there were two main groups within the ascendant class, who would later shape the multi-party system in Turkey. We will continue with the taking shape of these two groups:

> Interest groups, bourgeoisie cliques and Anatolia based trade capital members, who were on intimate terms with high bureaucracy and political staff, were surely not complainant about the war economy. However, they were revealing that they would support the RPP only if a very substantial structural change happens: They want the reformist wing of the party, which did not have control within the party but

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[10] Translation of the statement was taken from Zürcher, 2004.

frequently caused directionless and unplanned move, to be made ineffective… (Boratav, 1991: 312)

Those two groups followed two different paths. The first group tended to support the DP movement, and the second group adhered to the RPP but started a purge operation that also reflected a society within the party. Village Institutes were refined, academicians in the universities were refined and the reformist wing of the party was crushed. (Boratav, 1991; Zürcher, 2004)

The year 1950 came with all of those developments. The DP came into power with the general elections of May 14, 1950. This change of power brought irreversible political and economic changes.

2.2. 1950-1960 Period: The Democratic Experience in Turkey

The election of May 14, 1950 was the turning point for this climate of change. The DP won 53.4 % and the RPP won 39.8% of the vote (Zürcher, 2004: 217)[11]. That was an election victory for the DP, which used the slogan "Enough! Now People Have Their Say!" (*Yeter! Söz Milletindir!*). Actually both parties' (RPP and DP) election bulletins were almost same. But most of the people voted for the DP since they appealed to the periphery of the Turkish society. The DP took its votes and discourse from the rural. In this manner rural individuals turned to political objects for the first time.

Mardin's (1973) famous article "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?" is on that subject. Mardin states that the center-periphery duality has roots from the Ottoman period. The Ottoman government was representing the center and the civil people were representing the periphery. This duality caused estrangement of the 'periphery' from the 'center' sometimes. Mardin gives the Patrona Halil revolt in 1730 as an example. This

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[11] Percentages of votes are a little different in Ahmad's work (1993: 109). According to him, almost 90 per cent of the registered voters came to the polls and gave the Democrats 53.35 % of the vote and 408 seats, while the RPP won 38.38 % of the vote but only 39 seats in the new assembly.

duality was very apparent in the 19th century. "Thus, Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk), who limited his objectives to redeeming Anatolia for Turkey, did not begin with a clean state" (Mardin, 1973: 177). According to Mardin, this center-periphery duality appeared once again within the Grand National Assembly. "Here, the Kemalists were pitted against a diffuse group which was mainly the party of notables led by alienated members of the official class. This group was known as "the Second Group" (Mardin, 1973: 181). This duality between center and periphery came out once again when the DP was founded. According to Mardin (1973: 184), the DP:

> …was not so much a party of notables as it was a party that speculated with a political ideology which it thought would be strongly supported by the rural masses and by their patron. This was the old Ottoman idea of the state being solicitous of the interests of its subjects: the protective state distributing justice on the one hand, and abundance on the other. But this time it was the periphery who had preempted this stance. To show that the issues that were so central to the opposition had their roots in the alienation from the center, we have only to look the themes that won the Democrat Party 81 percent of the seats in Parliament in the first multiparty elections.

Zürcher (2004: 218) also describes the DP's coming into power as a new phenomenon since it had its roots from the Young Turk coalition and took major support from people. "They saw the RPP as an anachronism whose historic role had been played out; Republicans were expected to sit back and let the Democrats get on with the job of transforming the country" (Ahmad, 1993: 109).

In the course of events, the DP's coming to power was a significant change for the mould of politics. They started a wide appointment and exchange of offices and created policies to control civilian and military bureaucracy (Kırklar, 2009: 52). Moreover, they sent troops to the Korean War. This was a step toward developing closer ties with the US. In return, the US government provided huge financial aid and credits to Turkey in order to apply the Truman Doctrine and facilitate Turkey's membership into NATO. Turkey became a member of NATO in 1952. The more Turkey accepted the US'

military and political control, the more economic aid it received (Kongar, 2003). As we mentioned, Turkey's aim was to be a modern agriculture country with the effect of close relations with the West.

The DP members were supporters of free-market economics and started to apply free-market policies when they came into power[12]. They scrapped the state-controlled economic policies of the RPP in order to stand by their campaign promises to open up Turkish society. They lessened restrictions on foreign investment and trade and devalued the Turkish lira to attract foreign capitals' interest (Döşemeci, 2009: 34).

The DP grew stronger especially after the 1954 elections. This situation increased the oppressive manner of the government. Election laws were changed and radio broadcasting was closed to other political parties, which meant that only the DP could use the radio. Administration of universities was put under the Ministry of National Education, which meant that university autonomy was obliterated. In addition, assurances of public servants were repealed. After a while, journalists who criticized the government were arrested; and some newspapers were closed (Kongar, 2003: 153 and Topuz, 1973: 183-185, Tunçay, 1992 in Akşin, 1992: 184-187).

As a result of all these things, developments that led to a big social change in Turkey started. In the 1940s, the majority of Turkey's population was still rural. But through the DP policies and population increase after WW2, this situation started to change. The DP government prioritized the production of agricultural products since there was a great demand for them in Europe, which was recovering from WW2. They also wanted to create an infrastructure to facilitate exports. (Ahmad, 1993) Furthermore, they thought that modernization attempts should start with the agricultural base.

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[12] For an eceonomic review of Turkey, please see Altuğ, Sumru G., Alpay Filiztekin and Şevket Pamuk. *The Sources of Long-Term Economıc Growth for Turkey,1880-2005.* Centre for Economic Policy Research, Discussion Paper Series, No: 6463, 2007

They made a good debut in agricultural politics with the support of US financial aid and credits. They expanded roads and constructed new ones. Villages of Anatolia became connected with towns and cities. Road construction led to the foundation of transportation companies and the use of private automobiles. Moreover, road construction to coastal towns led to increased tourism. But the main change that would shape the next thirty years of Turkey was in the rural part of the country. The US credits were used to buy machinery. "The total number of tractors for example grew from 1750 to more than 30,000 in the years 1948–52" (Zürcher, 2004: 224). Harvests and farmer incomes increased in the following three years after 1950 also with the help of good weather conditions. "Consequently, new land was brought under cultivation and the area sown increased from 13,900,000 hectares in 1948 to 22,940,000 in 1959" (Ahmad, 1993: 116). "Led by this expansion of the agricultural sector, the economy as a whole grew at a rapid rate of between 11 and 13 per cent" (Zürcher, 2004: 224). According to Okyar (1979: 331), "the state sector provided an important source of employment creation, which could also be used for political patronage purposes." Incomes also increased in towns and cities, but profits were increasing faster than wages. That situation would lead to economic problems in the future.

The first half of the 1950s was economically great for the DP government. Thanks to US aid and credits, Turkey turned into an exporter of food and raw materials. Economic growth accelerated. But, by 1954, the first signs of economic stagnation showed. Actually, the economic growth of previous years was based upon extended cultivated areas. As we stated above, the DP government's policy was to expand investment in the state and private sector, mainly through inflationary financing, until its downfall in 1960 (Okyar, 1979: 332). In 1951 the government passed a law to encourage foreign investment. They also wanted to encourage domestic investment. But at that period, Turkish industrialists still consisted primarily of simple family businesses; and they hesitated to invest on a big scale. Foreign investment also

remained limited (Zürcher: 2004, Pektaş: 2006). Thus, it was the state that had to make most of the investment, despite the liberal economic policy of the government. As a result of all these developments, the "1956-1959 period [was] marked by spiraling inflation with prices rising at 18 per cent per annum" (Ahmad, 1993: 116).

After 1955, problems emerged in the countryside. Although a land reform law had passed in 1947, the political power of landlords prevented effective application of the law. "Thus between 1947 and 1962 only about 1.8 million hectares were distributed to 360,000 families, with only 8,600 hectares being taken from privately owned land" (Ahmad, 1993: 115) During the agricultural growth of the first half of the 1950s, larger farmers were profiting most and profits grew faster than wages and salaries (Zürcher, 2004). When the year 1955 came, increasing inflation hit wage and salary earners (Zürcher, 2004; Ahmad, 1993).

When we look the effect of these developments in rural, we should mention that Turkey was still a rural society in the 1940s (Zürcher, 2004: 210). As we examined above, mechanization in agriculture led to a change in rural structures in the 1950s and the start of capitalization. Besides all the changes in rural areas, a big migration started from villages to towns and cities. The period when migration from villages to cities started and then peaked and slowed down is the 35 years between 1950 and 1985 (Akşit, 1998: 25). Actually, the emergence of shantytowns/squatters (*Gecekondu*[13]) in Turkey goes back to 1945 (Kıray, 1998: 95). When the DP government came into power in 1950, their political focus was on agriculture since they believed that social change should start from the agricultural areas.

As we examined above, mechanization in agriculture led to a change in rural structures in the 1950s and the start of capitalization. Kıray states that there are three basic reasons for rural transformation for three types of

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[13] Term will be used in Turkish in the following parts of the study.

peasants. The first reason is change in modern technology and new products. These things cause agricultural-economical changes and tenant farmers-share croppers to lose their positions (Kıray, 1998: 95). They turn into wage workers or have to migrate to cities after losing their lands (Kıray, 1998: 95). Secondly, there is a switch to producing cash crops for the market. In this situation, small landowners get into debt when there is a need for investment. As a result of this, 20%-25% of them lost their lands within a twenty-year period (Kıray, 1998: 95-96). Thirdly, there is a debt accumulation in transportation and marketing areas for whom working with cash cropping for market production (Kıray, 1998: 95-96). Thus, all of these three processes ended with the detachment of peasants from the land. These processes accelerated with the population increase (Kıray, 1998: 95-96). In other words, the main reason for rural change was the fast change in pre-modern agriculture (Kıray, 1998: 96).

Moreover, Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit (2010: 98) also write that, "The rapid mechanization of agriculture, population increase, an unequal land tenure system, the limitations of land and labor productivity, diminishing returns to labor, and the increased cost of production and reproduction are some of the reasons for migration from urban to rural areas." Another reason for rural to urban migration is better educational opportunities in the cities. According to Tekeli (2008) mechanization in agriculture is one of the most important factors of migration. But it's not enough to explain the whole picture. In addition, there was a population increase in the country following WW2. There was not enough land or work for this increased population in villages. Furthermore, big cities were industrializing and new factories were opening. This meant new job opportunities.In this athmosphere; the DP won the 1957 elections although they lost some of their chairs in the parliament. Karpat (1973: 59-60) states that the near defeat of the DP in these elections was caused by the changing modes of thought of the entrepreneurial groups in the countryside, which had limited political loyalty, to the opposition parties. Just after the election, the economic

situation worsened. Inflation rates were high, and lots of products and goods were in the black market (Kırklar, 2009: 45).

The general political situation worsened following the 1957 elections. The DP's oppressive politics led to student demonstrations and social unrest all over the country. After all of this, "the government founded a commission for investigation on April 28, 1960. Decrees of the commission were certain, and there were no upper office to appeal to against the commission. The commission was given the power to censor the press and prohibit all types of meetings and political events" (T.C Resmi Gazete, 28 Nisan 1960, No. 10491 in Kongar, 1973: 154).

These actions by the DP government led to big social, cultural and political unrest. The military took control of the government with a *coup d'etat* on May 27, 1960.

2.3. 1960-1980 Period: Increase of Public Opposition

The May 27 coup was the start of a new period in Turkey. The next twenty years would take shape with an urbanizing population, economic developments and new political actors. This period also would end with another coup in 1980.

Period between 1960 and 1980 is a period of public opposition in Turkey. Besides, rural change and urbanization continued. Country was in political and economical crisis in this period. In this part, we will examine main social changes first. Second, we will examine main political developments of the period.

On the rural side, one of the important issues of the period was 'Capitalist Transformation Problematique', which tries to explain rural social transformation dynamics. According to this, a rural transformation problematique emerged in Turkey during the 1960s. Instead of using traditional agricultural tools like wooden plows, people began using modern agricultural instruments like tractors starting in the 1960s (Akşit, 1999: 174). Moreover,

because of the rise of capitalism, villages began growing cash crops such as cotton, tobacco and sugar beets (Akşit, 1999: 178). We can briefly state that agricultural production became commercialized and commoditized. As a result of this new structure, the relationship between peasants and merchants increased; and increasing money and credit needs would be met through pawn brokery. Thus, capital would leave agriculture. In sum, the peasantry would differentiate (Akşit, 1999). Kıray turned this 'capitalist transformation problematique into a research program in the 1960s. According to this theory, land and class stratification were the result of commercialization, commodity production, mechanization and credit using processes (Kıray, 1968). Hence, the feudal landlord would turn into an agro-industrial capitalist, and sharecroppers would turn into paid workers. At that point, we come to the same conclusion: The peasantry would differentiate (Kıray, 1968: 87-100).

Studies in the 1970s identified a new problematique on rural transformation. Keyder and Akşit revealed that there were four different types of village transformation. These four transformation types are: 1) subsistence farming villages, where there is an internal and external migration to big cities; 2) commercialized small landed villages that subsist by diversifying economic activities; 3) villages that save by using modern vehicles and family labor in medium sized lands and are faced with aridity; and 4) villages that are owned by capitalist farms (Akşit, 1999: 177 and Akşit and Keyder, 1981: 8-13).

In sum, the peasantry would differentiate and be defaced within the process that started in the1950s. Landownership would change because of mechanization, capitalization and cash crop production. In some villages, lands would be owned by less people and sharecroppers would become paid workers. In other villages, small commodity production would continue. Moreover, migration to cities would increase because of various reasons such as surplus labor, unemployment, a change in the land tenure system, a change of balances in the village and better opportunities in the city.

At this point, if we consider the urban transformation of the period, we see rapid urbanization in Turkey over the last fifty years because of the effect of migration from rural to urban areas. Accordingly, "the urban population is concentrated in large metropolitan cities and currently, 35 percent of the rural population lives in peripheral areas. In 1970, the rural population was nearly 50% of the total population" (Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit (2010: 98).

Migration to cities was named as a social disaster in these years; and it was thought that unless a solution could be found soon, the *gecekondu* issue would become a solutionless situation (Kırklar, 2009: 104). These newcomers to cities built houses called *gecekondu* (means, 'house which was built in one night'), which were built hastily and not much different than village houses. These people were called "*gecekondu* people" and thus, a new social layer was created (Kongar, 2003: 151). *Gecekondu* construction created a lot of problems, including the plundering of lands in the cities and social and economic sovereignty of illegal organizations (land mafias) (Kongar, 2003: 151).

Actually, *gecekondu* structures started during WW2 in the big cities of Turkey. Approximately 25-30 thousand *gecekondu*s were built prior to the enactment of the first *Gecekondu* Law in 1948 (Kırklar, 2009: 105). This number increased greatly after the 1950s, and *gecekondu*s became routine in big cities. Originally, *gecekondu*s were seen as temporary units; but, over time, they remained a permanent and dominant characteristic of big cities (Kıray, 1998: 91). According to Kıray (1970), *gecekondu* construction couldn't be seen as an intended crime; and the *gecekondu* phenomenon was a reflection of the underdeveloped and non-industrial socio-economic system of Turkey. In the 1950s and 1960s, *gecekondu* residents were seen as "peasant-other" and as the main actors of social disaster and unplanned urbanization. This characterization changed in the 1970s, and they started to be seen as "disadvantaged-other". The image of *gecekondu* residents changed, and they were starting to be seen as sufferers of bad life conditions rather than the source of the problem (Erman,

2004). They were no longer seen as peasants who were "all the same". For instance, during the political clashes of the 1970s, *gecekondu* residents showed that they had different political views. Some of them took active roles, and "rebel zones" appeared in *gecekondu* districts during the clashes (Erman, 2004).

In terms of the main problems faced by these residents, inequality is one of the most important. "Inequality plays a large role in shaping modernity because it generates class and group conflicts, which become the basis of the institutional invention and innovation that come to constitute the structures of modernity," (Haferkamp and Smelser, 1992: 18). Thus, the constitution of modernity has always been a problem in Turkey. Moreover, *gecekondu* residents suffer from "relative deprivation", which means comparing one's position to others and feeling better or worse because of that comparison (Kıray, 1970: 24). This attitude among *gecekondu* residents causes them to feel worse when they compare themselves with the urban middle-upper classes. Furthermore, there is a problem of "safety" among *gecekondu* people. Feeling safe is one of the most important feelings to have when orienting to new conditions (Kıray, 1970:25). People need to feel safe in new conditions. Having a house is the most important step to ensure this feeling of safety for rural migrants (Kıray, 1970:25). Because of this, they try to own a house when they migrate to a city. Having a house helps them feel safe in the city and that they belong there. One of the most important reasons for *gecekondu* building is this need for safety.

All in all, "*gecekondu* residents were not peasants anymore" (Kıray, 1998: 98). Since industrialization and organizational development were very slow, however, the *gecekondu* population was unable to find industrial-urban work; and, instead, had to do small non-productive service business (Kıray, 1998: 98). In other words, the population increase in cities was higher than the industrialization level. Thus, rural migrants could not get involved in urban

life. They lived in *gecekondu* districts and encountered various problems (Kıray, 1970: 21).

In this environment, students and workers were two important political groups. Workers who migrated to cities and students whose families migrated to cities were effective in country's politics. 1968 was the start of student demonstrations all over the country. These demonstrations turned into a political style, and demonstrations against US imperialism started. Increasing income inequity within the society and injustice between the classes were also reasons for critique (Kongar, 2003; Zürcher, 2004).

After 1968, some groups from the National Democratic Revolution (NDR/ *Milli Demokratik Devrim*) decided that agitation was not enough and that only armed propaganda and an armed guerrilla struggle could bring about a revolution (Zürcher, 2004: 256).

> The Maoist splinter group TKP–ML (Communist Party of Turkey-Marxist/Leninist/ *Türkiye Komünist Partisi–Marksist/Leninist*) spawned the TİKKO (Turkish Workers and Peasants Liberation Army/*Türkiye İşçi Köylü Kurtuluş Ordusu*), while other groups were the THKO (Turkish People's Liberation Army/*Türkiye Halk KurtuluşOrdusu*) of Deniz Gezmişand the THKP/C (Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front/*Türkiye Halk KurtuluşPartisi/Cephesi*) of Mahir Çayan (Zürcher, 2004: 256).

These groups began armed guerilla warfare. These armed conflicts between student groups became a daily routine in big cities like Ankara and Istanbul at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of 1970s (Kırklar, 2009: 51). Another group, workers, was as active in this period as students. Some unions, who separated from the first big confederation of workers' union of Turkey, *Türk-İş*, founded *Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu* (Confederation of Progressive/Revolutionary Trade Unions/*DİSK*) in 1967. *DİSK* would organize revolutionary protests in union movements (Sülker, 1976: 139-140). A struggle for higher wages and better working conditions started. Because of these developments, the number of workers who participated in strikes increased to 9463 in 1967 and 21.156 in 1970 while the number was 1514 in 1963 (Sülker,

1976: 196). The number of strikes in public and private sectors was 8 in 1963, 100 in 1967 and 72 in 1970 (Sülker, 1976: 196). At this point, it would be relevant to review the main political developments of the 1960-1980 period. The day after the May 27 coup, Cemal Gürsel was appointed as the Prime Minister and the minister of National Defense. He was given much more authority than Atatürk theoretically (Zürcher, 2004: 352 and Kırklar, 2009: 46). The military group was known as the National Unity Committee (NUC/*Milli Birlik Komitesi*). "The military takeover was greeted with explosions of public joy in Ankara and Istanbul, notably among the large student population in both cities and in general among the intelligentsia. The rest of the country showed no such reaction" (Zürcher, 2004: 241).

After trials, 123 people were acquitted, 31 were sentenced to life imprisonment and 15 were sentenced to death (Zürcher, 2004: 248). The NUC commuted sentences of 11 people among these 15 who were sentenced to death. But the four other death sentences for Celal Bayar (the president), Adnan Menderes (the Prime Minister), Fatin Rüştü Zorlu (the Minister of Foreign Affairs) and Hasan Polatkan (the Minister of Finance) were unanimous. Menderes, Zorlu, and Polatkan were executed on September 16th and 17th, 1961. Bayar's sentence was commuted because of his old age and health problems (Zürcher, 2004: 248, Ahmad, 1993: 136). İsmet İnönü's and other people's and institutions' efforts to stop the executions didn't work. The executions revived a horrific image of Turks in the West and created a big and long term effect on domestic politics (Kırklar, 2009: 48).

The NUC started working on a new constitution, and a committee of law professors was created to help draft the new constitution.

> The text that resulted from these deliberations was markedly different from the 1924 constitution. The main aim of the authors of the new constitution was to prevent a power monopoly such as the DP (and the RPP before it) had held, by counterbalancing the national assembly with other institutions. Under the old structure the party that held a majority in the assembly had an almost free hand. A second chamber, called the senate (senato), was created and all legislation would have to pass both chambers (with a mechanism to overrule a senate veto with a

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two-thirds majority in the assembly). The senate was to be elected, apart from a contingent to be appointed by the president. An independent constitutional court was introduced, which could throw out legislation it regarded as unconstitutional and the judiciary, the universities and the mass media were guaranteed full autonomy. (Zürcher, 2004: 245).

Moreover, the military was given a significant role; and the National Security Council (NSC/*Milli Güvenlik Konseyi*) was established. On July 9, 1961 a referendum for the new constitution was held, and 61.7 percent of the population accepted the new constitution (Zürcher, 2004: 246). The 1961 Constitution was a democratic constitution that gave people the opportunity to discuss and spread all political doctrines and ideologies in the country (Tanör, 1969: 222-226).

Following the acceptance of the 1961 Constitution, general elections were held on October 15, 1961. This period also introduced new political parties into the political arena.

The Justice Party (JP/*Adalet Partisi)* was founded as a central rightist party after the closure of the DP. It was founded in February 1961 and headed by Ragıp Gümüşpala, a retired military officer. After his death, Süleyman Demirel was elected as the new president of the party in 1963. That was Demirel's debut in the national political arena. Demirel, who had a rural past, could communicate with rural people and people who migrated to big cities (Kırklar, 2009: 52).

Another political party founded after 1960 was the Workers' Party of Turkey (WPT/*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*). This Party was founded on February 13, 1961 by a group of trade unionists and headed by Mehmet Ali Aybar, a lawyer and a former member of law faculty (Özdemir, 1992: 255). The other important members of the party were Behice Boran and Sadun Aren. WPT took 15 seats at the parliament after the 1965 elections. The importance of WPT is that, for the first time 15 socialist representatives took place at the parliament (Özdemir, 1992: 257).WPT also gained acceptance among educated Kurdish people. Kurdish people, who came to the big cities for university education and by

migrating from rural areas, organized an ethnic opposition in the liberal environment which was created by the 1961 Constitution (Bruinessen, 2006: 57-60).

The Republican Peasants' Nation Party (RPNP, *Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi*), which survived after the 1960 coup, changed its staff. The RPNP's ideology was written in a booklet called Nine Lights (*Dokuz Işı*k) and was written by Alparslan Türkeş. "The basic principles were nationalism, idealism, morality, social responsibility, scientific-mindedness, support for freedom, support for the peasants, developmentalism and industrialization/technology," (Zürcher, 2004: 257). The party changed its name to the Nationalist Action Party (NAP/*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*) in 1969. This rightist party would be one of the main actors in the political fights on Turkey streets in the following ten-year period. The main motivation of the party was anti-leftism; and this motivation would appear as increasing violence in the streets of Turkey, especially at the second half of 1970s (Can, 2009: 665). In this fight between leftist and rightist ideologies in Turkey, the effect of 'lumpen' culture that was created by the impact of migration from rural to urban areas would also be mentioned (İlhan, 2000: 221).

During the end of 1960, smaller businessmen in Anatolia wanted to found a party against big business groups (Özdemir, 1992: 259). The National Order Party (NOP/*Milli Nizam Partisi*) was founded in 1970 and headed by Necmettin Erbakan, a professor at the Istanbul Technical University. "It was possible to conceptualize NOP's views as 'Muslim Turkey'," (Özdemir, 1992: 259).

If we go back to the period just after the 1960 coup, the RPP took 36.7 % of the votes in the general elections of 1961 (Ahmad, 1993). That vote rate was not enough to form a single party government, and a coalition was necessary. İsmet İnönü, as the leader of the RPP, formed the first coalition between the RPP and JP. This coalition survived from November 10, 1961 until May 30, 1962. "It lasted as long as it did because of constant threats and

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prodding from the Armed Forces Union" (Ahmad, 1993: 137). İnönü formed a new cabinet with a second coalition with the Republican Peasants' Nation Party (RPNP/ *Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi*) and the New Turkey Party (NTP/*Yeni Türkiye Partisi*). But this coalition also didn't last long. There were many problems and friction between the cabinet because of reforms demanded by the constitution and land tax (Zürcher, 2004: 249). The local elections of November 17, 1962, especially, were a sign of the JP's increasing popularity. According to this, the JP took 45.87% of the votes and the RPP took 36.97% (Özdemir, 1992: 245). These results exacerbated the problems within the cabinet, and the second coalition ended with İnönü's resignation.

After the failures of the first two coalitions, President Gürsel asked the JP leader Gümüşpala to form the government. The third İnönü coalition was founded between the JP, RPP and independents on December 25, 1963. The Cyprus crisis of 1964 was the main issue of this cabinet. İnönü resigned on February 13, 1965 when his government budget was not approved by the parliament. That marked the end of the third İnönü coalition; and Suat Hayri Ürgüplü, a former diplomat and independent deputy, headed the cabinet until the general elections on October 10, 1965 (Zürcher, 2004: 250, Ahmad, 1993: 138).

The JP took 52.9% of the votes in the elections (Zürcher, 2004). That was a victory for the JP and Demirel. Forming the cabinet was not difficult for him. The second half of the 1960s was starting, and the society was transforming socially, economically, culturally and politically.

There was an increasing clash between leftist and rightist groups. Violence increased all over the country. The military gave an ultimatum on March 12, 1971.

The Demirel government resigned after the reading of the ultimatum on the radio. Nihat Erim was charged with forming a new cabinet, which was created on March 26, 1971 (Özdemir, 1992). Continuing Violence increased after a vote of confidence was held for the government. Erim stated that the

1961 Constitution was a luxury constitution for Turkey in terms of basic rights and freedoms (Kongar, 1992: 177). Some changes were made to the constitution, and TWP was closed. There was a reaction against leftist views in the government. During this process eleven ministers resigned on December 3, 1971.A second cabinet was formed on December 11 1971, and it ended on April 17, 1972 (Kongar, 2003: 177). The third cabinet was formed by Ferit Melen.

In the meantime, Bülent Ecevit, who was the secretary general of the RPP, was elected as the party leader May 14, 1972; and İnönü left his party (Özdemir, 1992: 255). Moreover, a changeover happened with the presidency, and Fahri Korutürk was elected as the new president on April 6, 1973 (Kongar, 2003: 179).

In the general elections of 1973, none of the parties could take the majority. RPP, JP and NSP were the first three parties after the election. A coalition government was required, but it took more than three months to form a government because of the opposing views of the parties. Bülent Ecevit eventually formed a coalition between the RPP and the NSP. Problems with political Islam emerged at this time (Kongar, 2003: 178).

The Cyprus problem in 1974 made disagreement between the coalition members much more visible. At last, a foreign visit program of Ecevit ended the coalition. Ecevit wanted to give the authority of Prime Ministry to a RPP member minister. But NSP leader Erbakan stated their opposition to this foreign visit under these circumstances. At last, Ecevit resigned and wanted renewal of elections (Ahmad, 1993; Özdemir, 1992).

After this cabinet none of the parties could form a new government. The President appointed Sadi Irmak to form a caretaker cabinet. At last, Demirel could form a cabinet among rightist parties including the JP, the NSP, the NAP, the RPP and a number of defectors from the DP; this new cabinet announced itself as the Nationalist Front (*Milliyetçi Cephe*) (Zürcher, 2004: 261).

After the 1975 Senate renewal elections, it became obvious that the JP increased its votes from the rightist voters; but, in general, voters took a more leftist view (Kongar, 2003: 184).

There was no majority after the 1977 general elections. The RPP and the JP didn't want to form a coalition. Eventually, Demirel formed a second Nationalist Front government including the JP, NSP and NAP (Zürcher, 2004: 262).

Disorder and violence all over the country increased during this coalition period. Increasing murders and robberies created an environment of disorder and danger. The economic situation also worsened day by day. (Kongar, 2003: 185)

Worsening political problems and pressure from the public opinion led representatives to abandon their parties and support Ecevit to form an alternative government (Kongar, 2003: 185). The Second Nationalist Front government fell with a motion of no confidence in 1977. Ecevit formed a coalition with the RPP, DP and independents. But the result was not positive. They couldn't establish stability, and disorder increased all over the country. In the meantime, sectarian tensions increased in the country and Alevi people were murdered and slayed in Kahramanmaraş and Çorum.

Political instability affected domestic and foreign economic relations. Inflation rates increased in the country, and relations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) worsened. Ecevit resigned after the elections of 1979 (Zürcher, 2004: 262). Demirel formed the new government after the elections. He introduced a new economic model and started economic applications. These applications would be named 24 January decrees and were the application of the IMF prescriptions(Kongar, 2003: 185). But the political violence was a very big problem. Leftist and rightist groups were fighting for the control of streets and campuses, and murders were increasing all over the country (Zürcher, 2004: 263). In this environment, economic programs were not

enough to solve Turkey's problems.Main consumption good were in black market because of the economic crisis.

On December 27, 1979, Kenan Evren gave a warning letter as chief of general staff to President Fahri Korutürk. But no one accepted to be the address of the letter (Kongar, 2003). The military took the control of the government with a bloody*coup d'etat*on September 12, 1980.

2.4. Conclusion

In sum developments that formed current social structure of Turkey happened between 1950 and 1980 in this term. Parallel with the world context, this was a period of rural change, migration and urbanization. In rural, mechanization in agriculture started, traditional feudal structures changed and important number or peasants migrated to big cities. Unplanned urbanization through migration changed physical structures of big cities. Rural Migrants started to live in shantytowns and formed new working class in these cities. This was a period of political, economical and social chaos in the country. Besides, social sciences developed in the country although there were strong political pressures and censorship. Cinema was also very important and effective during this period. In the light of these, we will focus on development of sociology in Turkey in the next chapter. In the fourth chapter we will focus on development of cinema.

CHAPTER 3

DEVELOPMENT OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES IN TURKEY

In the post-WW2 period, social sciences rise in the all world. The social sciences are the child of the Enlightenment as we know (Wallerstein, 1999: 120). Actually, the entire World was in a process of change in the post-WW2 period. Issues such as population increase, migration from rural to urban areas, industrialization, and democratization were on the agenda of the all the World. Actually, "if one believes in the certainty of progress, and in its rationality, then the study of social change cannot be thought of as merely one particular domain of social science; thus all of social science is necessarily the study of social change" (Wallerstein, 1999: 120). Hence, we can state that social scientists during the post-WW2 period were examining all those social changes anywise.

Social sciences, which completed its institutionalization between 1850 and 1945, get into a new settlement after 1945 and the number of legitimate names of the fields increased. Besides, "in the period since 1945, the decolonization of Asia and Africa, plus the sharply accentuated political consciousness of the non- European world everywhere, has affected the world of knowledge just as much as it has affected the politics o f the world-system" (Wallerstein, 1999: 168). Social science studies also shaped according to these developments.

As for sociology, it also developed as a discipline during the period 1880 to 1945 (Wallerstein, 1999: 132). 'The culture of sociology' continued its development after 1945 and lived the strongest period between 1945 and 1970. This period contains three concepts; "the reality of social facts, the perennity of social conflict, and the existence of mechanisms of legitimation to contain the conflict" (Wallerstein, 1999: 228-229).

Post-WW2 period was also a period of change in Turkey as we mentioned. We can state that sociology in Turkey completed its

institutionalization during the post-WW2 period. Thus, development of sociology is parallel to social change process in Turkey. Besides, many sociologists studied this change process during this period. Hence, it is relevant to examine development of sociology and field studies in Turkey in this chapter of the study. We will review the development of Turkish sociology until 1960s first. Then, we will review the development of empirical studies in Turkish sociology.

3.1 Development of Sociology in Turkey: Making Sociology in a Confused Country

Sociology is an approach trying to understand the world (Cuff and Payne, 1989: 9). Sociology gained its academic legitimacy as a social science in the nineteenth century, at the time of the rise of positive sciences in European history. The Ottoman Empire was still a theocratic monarchy during this period.

> The dominant philosophy among the Turkish thinkers of the Empire was a system, originally derived from the works of Aristotle through their Arabic translations, but considerably modified under the influence of Moslem theology, Hellenistic and Arabic science, the neo-Platonism (Berkes, 1936: 238).

In other words, "all the thinkers of the Ottoman period followed the same tradition of endless reinterpretations of the Aristotelian philosophy," (Berkes, 1936: 238). During the Ottoman Empire, one school accepted another social science's tradition based on theology; and another school of historians followed Ibn Khaldun's philosophy of history (Berkes, 1936: 239).

Most of the social sciences, including sociology, received academic legitimacy in the 19th century. Non-western societies encountered the economic and scientific developments in Europe in the 19th century and found out that their measures couldn't respond to modern developments (Arlı and Bulut, 2008: 20). The only solution for those societies was Westernization. The Ottoman government executives began to feel that there was a need for

Westernization (Arlı and Bulut, 2008: 20). Berkes (1936) writes that Turks felt a connection with the Western world and with Western thought during the end of eighteenth century. European social thought started to affect Ottoman thought, especially after the promulgation of *Tanzimat Fermanı* (*Gülhane-i Hatt-ı Hümayunu*/Imperial Edict of Gulhane). The Ottoman executives implemented lots of reforms. These reforms, combined with closer ties to Europe, helped create lots of writers and thinkers in the Ottoman Empire. A new bureaucrat and intellectual class emerged, and this new class replaced bureaucrats of the old school (Arlı and Bulut, 2008: 20). This new class of intellectual bureaucrats and writers and thinkers started to transform main ideas and developed new literary genres. "Positivism" began to influence and become synonymous with "science".

European sociology first affected Turkey when Ahmet Riza, one of the ideologists of the *Jön Türkler* (Young Turks) movement, traveled to Paris. As a political fighter against the autocratic Hamidian regime and thinker, he encountered Comte's thoughts in Paris. He incorporated Comte's positivist philosophy into his political writings. According to Berkes (1936: 241) "he was chiefly responsible for bringing Comte's philosophy to Turkey." Comte's philosophy influenced future Turkish sociologists and became an important element in the foundation of modern Turkish sociology.

Berkes (1943;1985:167-168 in Hançer, 2004:5) and Ülken (1956:13 in Hançer, 2004: 5) claim that, similar to France, there were two explicit sociological approaches in Turkish sociological thought at the beginning of the twentieth century: Durkheim's sociology and Le Play's sociology.

The two important people who helped to the foundation of Turkish sociology are Prince Sabahattin and Ziya Gökalp, who were also important in the *Jön Türkler* movement. Prince Sabahattin is widely accepted as the second intellectual founder of sociology according to Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit (2010: 103). He had an individual focus, different from Comte's followers; and he was the first sociologist of the Westernist Turkish thinkers (Kasapoğlu,

Kaya and Ecevit, 2010: 103; Berkes, 1936: 242). He studied in Paris with the followers of the Le Play School. According to İlyasoğlu (1985: 2168 in Hançer, 2004: 7), Prince Sabahattin was the thinker who asserted that the main problem of Turkey was not a question of administration but that of structural problem. He offered individual liberty and independence by following Le Play's thoughts. But he was largely unable to spread his ideas since they predominantly had an individual focus, in contrast to Gökalp's Durkheimian sociology and positivism (Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit, 2010:103).

Ziya Gökalp, who was also one of the prominent thinkers of the constitutional monarchy period, is the founder of Turkish sociology (Akşit, 1998: 7; Berkes, 1936: 242; Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit, 2010:102). Although he founded a sociological system based on Durkheim's works, he was not a mere translator or interpreter of foreign sociology (Berkes, 1936: 242). He accepted Durkheim's methodological views and, according to Berkes (1936: 242), created an original system of thinking by adopting and adding to several points in Durkheim's work. He developed a hybrid system that balanced Islam, nationalism and Westernism (Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit, 2010:102) in a in a period when arguments in favor of modernization were popular.

> In this formulation, he drew a distinction between culture and civilization. He thought that civilization could be achieved through material means, without a cultural base, since culture was, for him, embedded in nation and he was trying to establish an independent Turkish nation and a state based on European civilization, during a period when a strong consciousness about citizenship was absent in Ottoman society. (Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit, 2010:102).

The first sociology department was founded in Istanbul *Darülfünun* (which turned into İstanbul University in 1933) in 1914 by Ziya Gökalp[14]. "In Sezer's opinion (1991), there really was no Western influence on sociology.

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[14]Previously, Emrullah Efendi gave sociology lessons at the same university in 1912 (Hançer, 2004: 7).

Therefore, the honor of establishing the first independent sociology departments belongs to Emile Durkheim of France and Ziya Gökalp of the Ottoman Empire. Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit (2010:102) and Berkes (1936:243) write that all Turkish sociologists are direct or indirect disciples of Gökalp[15]. One of the important characteristics of Ziya Gökalp is that he continuously worked with a group of young people. Therefore, his influence continued after his death through his followers. Halim Sabit, Mustafa Şeref, Tekin Alp (Moiz Kohen), Necmettin Sadak and especially Fuad Köprülü were affected by Ziya Gökalp (Kongar, 2003: 13).

Sociology has always carried a positive status since its foundation because intellectuals in Turkey prioritized the study of societal issues and took society as the unit of analysis (Kasapoğlu 2005 in Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit, 2010: 103). This situation continued after the foundation of Turkish Republic. Sociology was added to all school programs in 1924, and sociology departments were opened at universities. The sociology programs of these schools were modeled after the program of the French ministry of education for the French normal schools in 1920 (Berkes, 1936). The first sociology textbook was also translated from a French textbook written by Hess and Gleyze for the French normal schools (Berkes, 1936: 244).

"Unlike Western societies, Ottoman and later Turkish society, were basically "communitarian" in nature and there was a harmony between sociology as a discipline and traditional Turkish intellectual thought which addressed social problems at a societal instead of individual level" (Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit, 2010: 102-103).

Berkes (1936: 246) summarizes the characteristics of Turkish sociology until 1936 as;

> 1) It has been under the influence of political movements for a long time. This situation resulted in a very short life for each school, caused them to change very rapidly with the changes of politics, and did not

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[15] Gökalp was arrested by the Allies during the WW1 and exiled to Malta and died in 1924.

permit them to produce fruitful researches. 2) The French school of sociology became more influential in shaping the scientific outlook of Turkish sociologists. 3) Its chief concern after the World War became endless methodological discussions; and for that reason it did not contribute anything to scientific research worthy of mention, while more interesting research studies have been made rather in other social sciences, such as anthropology, history, economics, and folk lore, with which we are not here concerned. 4) The lack of financial support is one of the factors which prevent the development of a research program, the carrying-out of a plan of translations of foreign literature, the publication of journals, and the continuation of sociological associations.

On the other hand, Kongar (2003) examines the development of Turkish sociology within the categories of 1923-1938, 1938-1950, 1950-1960, post-1960 and post 1970 periods in his work. According to him, the 1923-1938 period is a period of searching and producing 'a new society' and 'a new social identity' for all people who were writing and discussing whether they were sociologists or thinkers (Kongar, 2003: 15)[16].

With the university reform of 1933 and with the coming of German academicians to Turkish universities after their exile from the German National Socialist State, Turkish sociology gained new changes. (İlyasoğlu, 1985: 2171)[17].

One of the important schools of sociology of the time was founded in the Faculty of Letters of Ankara University in Ankara[18]. The Faculty of Letters was founded in 1936 by the initiatives of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as a research

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[16] On the other hand, another science that was increasing during the building of Turkish Republican identity in 1930s was anthropology. Anthropology was seen as a very functional science for the language and history theories of a secular state which searches the past in the pre-Islamic period Asia and future, in the Western civilization (Toprak, 2012).

[17] Kıray tells the period and German academicians in her memoirs. Please see, Kıray, M. B. *Hayatımda Hiç Arkaya Bakmadım.* İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları; 1998: 59-62

[18] Faculty of Letters worked within the scope of Ministry of Education until 1946 and transferred to Ankara University with the 4936 numbered Law on universities (http://www.dtcf.ankara.edu.tr/fakulte_yon.php).

institution dedicated to the study of Turkish language, history and geography (Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit, 2010:103). The Department of Sociology was founded after Ataturk's death. Sociologists of the department were mostly educated in the USA, and Behice Boran and Niyazi Berkes were two remarkable ones.

Behice Boran made her famous empirical field study, "Research on Social Structure: Comparisons of Two Villages[19]", in 1945 in the villages of Manisa. Besides, she wrote articles to "*Yurt ve Dünya*" (Motherland and World) and "*Adımlar*" (Steps) journals (Kasapoğlu, 1999: 4-5). Niyazi Berkes also conducted a field study in the villages of Ankara entitled "A Research on Some Ankara Villages[20]" in 1942 and studied the development dynamics and possibilities of those villages. Boran's and Berkes' studies are so important because they became a main source and starting point for later studies. Mübeccel Kıray, who followed Boran's studies and conducted her own studies in villages and towns, was also an influential sociologist.

The other important school of sociology was at Istanbul University with Hilmi Ziya Ülken. Istanbul University followed Ziya Gökalp's Comte and Durkheim sociology. Different from the school of sociology at the Faculty of Letters of Ankara University, the school of sociology at Istanbul University dealt with sociology in a more conventional and philosophical way (Hançer, 2004: 9). In other words, the school of sociology at the Istanbul University gave more importance to theoretical knowledge than empirical knowledge. This is one of the most important differences between the Ankara and Istanbul schools. Moreover, there is another difference in the conceptualization of science. "According to Ankara school, science had to be used for the society's

[19] Boran, Behice. *Toplumsal Yapı Araştırmaları, İki Köy Çeşidinin Mukayeseli Tetkiki.* Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1945

[20] Berkes, Niyazi. *Bazı Ankara Köyleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma.* Ankara Üniversitesi Dil, Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1942

interests, while the sociologists in Istanbul University insisted on a more philosophical conceptualization of science" (Hançer, 2004: 10).

Another important characteristic of the 1923-1938 period is that a great number of people in different occupations, from politicians to bureaucrats, had an interest in "thoughts" (Kongar, 2003: 14). Another important part of this period is *Kadro* Journal (Kayalı, 2000: 15-26). The Journal's members consisted of Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tör, İsmail Hüsrev Tökin, Burhan Asaf Belge, Şevki Yazman and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu; and their main aim was to build a theory of the Kemalist revolution (Kayalı, 2000: 15, Kongar, 2003: 14)[21].

This positive mood toward sociology didn't last long. "A few decades after the establishment of the Republic, the state began to consider the sociologists as a threat" (Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit, 2010: 103).During and after WW2, when nationalistic social thought was influential, leftist sociological perspectives were hardly tolerated. Lots of academicians resigned or were forced to resign after the university reform of 1946. In 1947, the department of sociology at the Faculty of Letters of Ankara was purged, some lecturers were fired and some were imprisoned (Kasapoğlu, 1991in Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit, 2010:103-104). With this purge at the Ankara University Faculty of Letters in 1947, the development of Turkish social science took a major blow. The period of 1950-1960 was an infertile period because of the Department's purge in 1947 and because of the effect of the period's political situation (Kongar, 2003). Lots of social scientists had to go abroad.

After this purge, changes were done in Turkish Criminal Code and leftist thoughts were tried to stop (Kaçmazoğlu, 1999: 116).

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[21]According to Kongar, back in 1930s members of *Kadro* Journal laid the foundations of 'center-periphery' theory that was developed by thinkers such as Arghiri Emanuel, Samir Amin and Immanuel Wallerstein (Kongar, 2003: 14).

This period brought stagnation, and there were not as many studies until the 1960s[22]. The sociology that was developed at the Faculty of Letters in Ankara University is the second period in the history of sociology in Turkey. This period primarily focused on field studies and research on social problems.

3.2 Empirical Research in Turkish Sociology

With the advent of 1960s, Turkish sociology entered in a new period. Many social sciences departments in universities and state institutions were established. These include the Middle East Technical University, Hacettepe University, State Planning Organization and State Institute of Statistics; and many young scholars who completed their graduate studies in Europe and the US were employed in these departments (Kasapoğlu, Kaya and Ecevit, 2010: 104). Moreover, the Turkish Social Sciences Association (*Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği*) was founded in Ankara in 1967, an important moment for the development of social sciences. The first president of the Association was Şerif Mardin. The Association's aim was to "Contribute to development of social sciences in Turkey, do studies in that way or support existing studies, encourage an increase of empirical studies in social sciences, and contribute to Turkey's frame of mind through researches and publications[23]." After its foundation, the Turkish Social Sciences Association published various books on social sciences.The 1960s were a period in which lots of social scientists made studies on social change and transformation by using empirical methods. Lots of social scientists made numerous studies comprising data collection and theory analyses (Kongar, 2003: 17). Rural change and development, urban

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[22] Among a few studies that were made in this period, we can state Hilmi Ziya Ülken's attendance to the 1st Congress of International Sociology Association in Zurich and his selection as a member to the congress in 1950 (Hançer, 2004: 11). Besides, the 15th International Sociology Congress was organized in Istanbul University (Ülken, 1956: 28-35 in Hançer, 2004: 11). Moreover, Hilmi Ziya Ülken's work "Sosyolojinin Problemleri/Problems of Sociology" was published in 1955 (Kongar, 2003: 17).

[23]http://www.tsbd.org.tr/tsbdtarihi.html, accessed on 15/11/2013

change and migration were mostly examined. Mübeccel Kıray, İbrahim Yasa and Şerif Mardin were three sociologists who interested in social change and made empirical and field studies (İlyasoğlu (1985: 2173-2174). Sociology in Turkey transitioned from philosophical, speculative and even scholastic inefficiency to a scientific, empirical and searcher phase in the 1940s and then in the 1960s.

At that point, it would be relevant to make a short review of development of empirical sociology in Europe. Since the day Auguste Comte asserted in 1830 that social science should be a positive science, empiricism has an important place in sociology Comte's positivist views became influential both in France and England. Herbert Spencer in England and Ferdinand Tonnies in Germany worked on positivist views[24]. (Kıray, 1999: 12).

At the end of the 19th century, Emile Durkheim used the positivist view again and became very influential in the development of social fact-driven studies based social sciences. Two works of Durkheim, *De La Division Du Travail Social*/The Division of Labor in Society (1893) and *Le Suicide* /Suicide (1897), are among the most important works of the area[25]. Durkheim also wrote *Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique*/The Rules of Sociological Method (1895), which is one of the founding works of sociological method[26]. Durkheim was making the very first analyses of norms, values and cultural terms that are very common in today's world (Kıray, 1999: 12). Thus, we can

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[24] But, Comte and his followers were at the forefront of the evaluation and critique of the 19th century and critique of the 19th century. Necessary data for such an evaluation and critique was not gathered yet (Kıray, 1999: 12).

[25] Please see Durkheim, Emile. *The Division of Labor in Society*.Translated by W.D. Halls. New York: Free Press; 1997, c1984 and Durkheim, E. *Suicide*. Translated by J.A. Spaulding, G. Simpson. New York: Free Press,1979

[26] Please see Durkheim, Emile. *The Rules of Sociological Method.* Translated by A.Sarah, S.A Solovay, J.H Mueller. New York: Free Press, 1964, c1938

state that Durkheim, as well as Comte, is one of the most important positivists. We can also state that it is Durkheim who turned sociology into an academic discipline[27]. During this period, , Max Weber and Werner Sombart noticed the difference between natural sciences and social sciences and asserted the need for '*verstehen*' (understanding) (Kıray, 1999: 14 and Tucker, 1965:157-165). Weber wrote essays on methodology according to his interpretive understanding, and they were published as 'The Methodology of the Social Sciences'[28]. Besides, Georg Simmel introduced interpretive understanding in the period. According to him, the interpretation or understanding (*verstehen*) of history "constitutes the understanding of a single fact by reference to the totality of life in which it is implicated or embedded" (Simmel, 1980: 111)[29].

Empirical sociology has an important place in sociology discipline. Spencer's work, Social Statistics (1851), makes a statistical approach to sociology[30]. In addition, Adolphe Quetelet used statistical methods for the first time and conducted a population census for the government in 1874 (Kıray, 1999: 13). His important work, *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés, ou Essai de physique sociale/*A Treatise on Man and the Development of his Faculties (1835), was a study based on statistical work that he called 'social physics'[31]. He produced the concept of '*l'homme moyen*/average man' and used mean values of measured data. He produced the "average man"

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[27] For a forward reading for Durkheim, please see Lukes, S. *Émile Durkheim, His Life and Work: A Historical and Critical Study*. Standford: Stanford University Press, 1973.

[28] Please see Weber, Max. *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. Translated by E.A. Shills, H.Finch, New York: Free Press, 1949

[29] Please see Simmel, Georg. *Essays on Interpretation in Social Science*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980

[30] Please see Spencer, Herbert. *Social statics; the conditions essential to human happiness specified, and the first of them developed.* New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1970.

[31] Please see Quetelet, Adolphe. *A Treatise on Man and the Development of his Faculties*. California: University of California Libraries, 1842

concept for the values within normal distribution (Desrosières, 1998: 90, 91, 96). In the meantime, Le Play was doing researches about level of living and budgets of workers through surveys in France (Kıray, 1999: 13). Charles Booth wrote 'Life and Labor of the People in London' also in this period[32] (Desrosières, 1998: 114, 115). His book is a founding work and remained the largest scale survey work for many years (Kıray, 1999: 13 and Desrosières, 1998: 114, 115,139).

In this period social sciences made a big progress in the U.S. When we look at empirical methods, we see that they continued to use a positivist-empiricist approach. The first sociology journal was published in 1889 in the U.S., and a "Sociology and Statistics" department was founded at the University of Columbia in 1893 (Kıray, 1999: 15). The American Sociological Association was founded in 1905. The first president of the Association, Lester Ward, is considered one of the founders of sociology in the U.S. (Breslau, 2007: 49). Ward, like his colleagues Comte, Spencer, and Durkheim, was a positivist. The first sociological publication in the U.S. was Ward's "Dynamic Sociology", which shows his justification and position on the fundamentals of natural science (Breslau, 2007: 49). Between 1900 and 1930, the terms of sociology and methodology were developed; studies on problem, hypotheses, techniques, theory, data collection, classification and data analysis were done in the U.S. (Kıray, 1999: 16). The settlement sociologists developed a rich methodology by using multiple research and data collection methods with both qualitative and quantitative techniques (Lengermann, Niebrugge, 2007: 102-103). Furthermore, American sociologists developed survey techniques drawing from the British social survey tradition and the works of Charles Booth and made surveys on poverty (DeVault, 2007: 158). The statistical method of the period was 'descriptive statistics' (Kıray, 1999: 16). Analytical

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[32] Please see "Charles Booth Online Archive: Charles Booth and the survey into life and labor in London (1886-1903)" http://booth.lse.ac.uk/, accessed on January 14, 2014.

statistics gained acceptance within the social sciences between 1948 and 1960; and mathematical statistics, after 1960 (Kıray, 1999: 16 and Calhoun, 2007). Indeed, probably one of the most important changes in social sciences in the 20th century was the introduction of mathematical and other quantitative methods together with the development of computing technologies (Nisbet, 2013). Closely related to mathematical, computer and other quantitative aspects of the social sciences is the vast increase in the empiricism of modern science in the 20th century (Nisbet, 2013). A large quantity of data could be collected and analyzed in a short time through mathematical methods and computer technologies. As a result, empirical studies employed the modern principles of scientific inquiry since they included the formulation of verifiable hypotheses that could be tested (McCormick, 2007)[33].

Ziya Gökalp wrote the first social fact driven article in Turkey. In this study, which was under the Durkheimian effect, Gökalp collected data from the Diyarbakır region and mentioned social facts (Kıray, 1999: 18). We also see research attempts of people like Hüseyin Avni, İsmail Hüsrev and members of *Kadro* Journal in the 1930s and 1940s. Field research techniques, on the other hand, did not develop in Turkey until the 1940s (Kıray, 1999: 18). Niyazi Berkes and Behice Boran made empirical researches in 1940s, as we stated above.One of the most important developments of the 1960s was the

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[33]On the other hand, empirical field researches were criticized since there could be no concrete results if there were human variables in the studies. For instance, Adorno writes in his famous essay, "Sociology and Empirical Research" that theoretical reflections in a society cannot be presented totally through empirical results. He continues by stating that theory is implicitly critical. "But, for this reason, hypotheses derived from it—forecasts of what can be regularly expected—are not completely sufficient for it. What can merely be expected is itself a piece of societal activity, and is incommensurable with the goal of criticism." Consequently, "the empirical and the theoretical cannot be registered on a continuum. Compared with the presumption of insight into the essence of modern society, empirical contributions are like drops in the ocean."Adorno, Theodor. "Sociology and Empirical Research" in *The Adorno Reader*. Ed. Brian O'Connor. Oxford and Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2000 and Adorno, Theodor. "Sociology and Empirical Research" http://www.autodidactproject.org/other/positivismusstreit/adorno-empirical.html, accessed on 10/01/2014.

"Development of Social Researches in Turkey" symposium that was organized together by the Turkish Social Sciences Association and Hacettepe Institute of Population Researches. Papers from the symposium were also published as a book. A manifesto was published at the symposium, in which various important social scientists participated (Kongar, 2003: 18).

Items of the declaration were as follows (Kongar, 2003: 18):

The notice of the seminar stated that;

1) A particular importance should be given to the social sciences studies to reveal the social problems of our country and reasons of these problems.

2) Research conducted should be assessed within the conditions particular to Turkey.

3) Topics about the socio-economic structures of our country should be given priority.

4) Problems arising from the dynamics of the social structures should be approached within the constraints of time dimensions and social change.

5) It is necessary to found an autonomous 'Social Researches Institution' by the State in order to give priority to finding a solution to the social problems of our society and social sciences studies analyses that assist our country's development, and finally to ensure the cooperation of the researchers and support research conducting.

This notice was in fact offering the foundation of a social research institution one more time, which was suggested before by the development plans and thought concurrent to TUBİTAK (*Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu*/The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey). However, the most important point is that it reflects a common approach of the Turkish Social Scientists (Kongar, 2003: 18-19). Through this declaration, numerous social scientists that have a power of representation came together, determined a common opinion and declared it to the public for the first time in Turkey (Kongar, 2003:18-19).

We can state that there is a remarkable increase in field studies after the 1960s. Rapid social change in the country and issues such as rural change, migration and squatting directed sociologists to field studies on the subject in

order to examine the cases in detail. Those studies became very influential in order to determine and analyze the main elements of Turkish social structure.

But in the 1960s, issues such as problem determination, hypothesis testing, and technique and data analysis were not totally developed yet (Kıray, 1999: 19). Studies are a kind of data stack rather. For instance, in a study in 1968[34], a bibliography of sociology literature of the past thirty years was prepared; and it was seen that 85% of studies were in compilation status. 11% of the studies were based on individual observations of researchers. Only 4% of studies were using controlled observation and testing method (Kıray, 1999: 28). Besides, Ergun (1985) criticizes this period and claims that sociology became excessively empirical with positivist research techniques. Ergun (1985) writes that a new and scientific understanding method developed in the 1980s and this excessive empiricism started to change. Kongar (1982) valued it for its intent to conduct field researches enriched by positivist theoretical assumptions. The growth in financial support and increased demand for social science research, as well as the establishment of new sociology departments, were other positive signs of 1960s (Kıray, 1986).

Turkish social sciences took another major blow with the military memorandum of March 12, 1971. This time, however, people understood the importance of social sciences (Hançer, 2004:11); and Turkey did not undergo another stagnant and infertile period such as the one experienced after the 1947 purge. But still, the Memorandum of 1971 had an important impact. Some of the social scientists that were living in Ankara moved abroad or to Istanbul. Hence, Boğaziçi University attracted academicians who left from Middle East Technical University and Ankara University (Kongar, 2003: 20).

Öncü (1997: 268) states that until the 1970s, cultural constructions of academic sociology in Turkey remained tightly based on the rural/urban

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[34] Please see: Tezcan, Mahmut. *Türk Sosyoloji Bibliyografyası 1928-1968*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1970.

opposition. Öncü (1997: 268) continues, stating "Social change was conceived and studied as the flow from one to the other, i.e. migration." The increase of village studies in the 1940s was a part of the Republic's civilizing mission. Large-scale planning-oriented rural surveys followed this in the 1960s. According to these studies and surveys, the homogenous totality of the nation had remained divided between rural and urban parts. Öncü (1997: 268) claims that, this rigid homogenization of the rural studies was broken in the 1970s during the heated debates on agrarian class structures and capitalist transitions.

Ergun (1985: 2163) states that main change in the 1970s was methods that were used in sociological studies. From the 1970s until 1980, several academicians made various empirical researches. When we look at the sociology discipline in Turkey in general, we find a multi-area orientation among sociologists. Akşit (1998: 16) writes that this situation can be taken as a sign of not being sufficiently specialized. Kaçmazoğlu (1994) states that, the institutionalization of sociology in Turkey started after 1980 (Kasapoğlu, Kaya, Ecevit, 2010: 105).

Actually, each country has its own dynamics; and one should look at these dynamics while studying that country. In Turkey, methods of social sciences have a complex structure. From dialectical methods to questionnaire forms, almost all data collection activities were discussed under the 'methodology' problem (Kongar, 2003: 23). The main reason forthis complex structure is a vision-of-world problem. Turkish social scientists that faced political and ideological pressure for a long time could not find the freedom to choose a model and/or theory. Thus, the problem of method on a macro level turned into a taboo (Kongar, 2003: 23)[35]. On the other hand, while statistical sociology methods were being developed in the U.S at the beginning of the

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[35] According to this there is only one scientific method toward knowledge production, and it is the "empirical method" of positivist sciences. Since sociology is a positive science, it also uses an inductive method that as phases of observation, assumption, testing and generalization (Kongar, 2003: 23).

20th century, Americans gave little attention to issues of social change (Kıray, 1999: 16). On the contrary, in Turkey, social change was one of the main topics of researches especially after 1950 since there was a very fast and problematic social change in the country.

Akşit (1998) makes a classification based on this orientation to various areas and lists fifteen sub-areas that sociologists study in Turkey: 1) Sociological theory and method 2) History of sociology 3) Socio-economic structure changes, modernization, development, improvement, underdevelopment 4) Religion, laicism, ideology, culture structures and identities 5) Rural sociology 6) Town and urban sociology 7) Family and woman studies 8) Political sociology, class structure, stratification and mobility 9) Economic structure and industry 10) Sociology of organizations and bureaucracy 11) Social deviation and crime sociology 12) Sociology of mass communication 13) Sociology of education 14) Sociology of demographics and health 15) Sociology of Middle East and other Islam countries. Akşit (1998:16) further states that those sub-areas in sociology are not separate from each other. Most sociologists in Turkey make studies in various areas. As we mentioned, according to Akşit (1998), this situation can be taken as a sign of insufficient specialization. But it is also an indication of the relationship between areas and coherence. Akşit (1998) views this variety as hope-inspiring. According to him, if there is only one paradigm that is effective in a science, it is not a good sign for the future of sociology.

3.3. Conclusion

In sum, post-WW2 period is an important period for sociology not just in Turkey but also in the World. During the period between 1945 and 1970 empirical researches increased all over the world and sociology gained importance as a universal discipline. In Turkey, sociology was accepted as a discipline after 1960s, lots of sociology departments were opened in the

universities and various empirical sociological studies were done following 1960s.

By taking the starting point of the present study into consideration, we chose five field studies that were done between 1950 and 1980. These five studies are: *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası/* Ereğli: A Coastal Town before Heavy Industry (Mübeccel B. Kıray)*;* Turkish Village (Paul Stirling), *Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri/* Squatter Families in Ankara (İbrahim Yasa)*,* The *Gecekondu:* Rural Migration and Urbanization (Kemal Karpat) and *Türkiye'de Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm ve Köylere Girişi/* Underdeveloped Capitalism in Turkey and Its Access into Villages (Bahattin Akşit).

We chose these studies according to their content and period that they were done. All studies use empirical research methods such as statistical data, survey and in-depth interview. We can state that, Turkish Village, *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası* and *Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri* are founding studies of field researches that were done after 1950. Besides, *Türkiye'de Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm ve Köylere Girişi* is a field study that tests 'Capitalist Transformation Problematique'. Finally, The *Gecekondu:* Rural Migration and Urbanization focuses on adaptation to city. The main idea of the study is that village and city are part of a continuum in time and space and they affect each other.

CHAPTER 4

CINEMA AND TURKEY

Cinema, as an invention of the 20th century, is a powerful tool of representing real life and affecting people. Besides, social, political and economic developments of the period has always affected cinema and scripts of films were shaped according to this. This situation is also valid for Turkish cinema.

The period of 1950-1980 is also a unique period for Turkish cinema as well as social, political and economical developments. This period marked a rapid urbanization and conflicts on politics and economic problems. The place of cinema as a social and cultural medium is essential in this setting.

1960s is a period that Turkish cinema accelerated. "Serious films about the reasons of migration, the trauma of displacement, the anxiety concerning the loss of identity and the conflicts between the rural migrants and the urban dwellers began in the 1960s, with *Gurbet Kuşları*/Birds of exile film" (Dönmez-Colin, 2014: 5). In the period between 1950 and 1980[36], various films were shot about social change process in the country and represented rural-urban conflict. Almost all these films had classical narrative structure and most of them were in melodrama, drama or comedy genres. Besides, we can see representations of social types in these films. Narrative structure, genre and characters are main elements of the story that define a film's structure and components. Audience easily identifies with and understands the story of the film in character centered classical narrative structure. It is this identification

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[36] "Following the bloody *coup d'etat* of 12 September 1980, parties and unions were closed...books and films were burned." (Dönmez-Colin, 2014: 7). In this atmosphere, Turkish cinema raised by a younger generation filmmakers including Ömer Kavur, Yavuz Turgul, Zeki Demirkubuz and Nuri Bilge Ceylan.

and emotionally understanding that turns the films to a material of sociology of affects and sociology of emotions.

In this context, we will examine classical narrative style and its elements first. Second, we will examine representations of social types throughout characters in films. Then we will review development of Turkish cinema and reflection of social change to films during 1950 and 1980 period. Finally, we will analyze genres of the films that we selected.

4.1 Language of Cinema: Tell Us a Story, Make Us Believe in

Materials of cinema are five-fold. Two of them are visual (images and graphic marks) and three of them are auditory (dialogues, music and noise) (Olivier, 2009: 20). Those five materials generate 'movement' and 'time' in cinema, and they form a story on the screen. At that point narrative comes into play. It is 'how' a film is narrated, rather than 'what' is narrated, that makes the difference. Turkish films that were shot during 1950 and 1980 period mostly use classical narrative structure. Thus, we will focus on narrative language in cinema herein.

Philosophers have been interested in classical narrative structure from the very beginning. For instance, Aristotle mentions the parts of tragedy in his *Poetika.* According to him, tragedy is divided into separate parts, "namely, Prologue, Episode, Exode, Choric song; this last being divided into Parode and Stasimon" (Aristotle, 1997: 21). These parts are common to all plays, and they generate integrity. If we look at narrative structure from an Aristotelian point of view, we see that "the imitation of actions of the real world is 'praxis', their formation of an argument is 'logos' and the units that formed the plot is 'mythos'" (Chatman, 1978: 19). Roland Barthes, Tzvetan Todorov, Vladimir Propp and Claude Lévi-Strauss among important narrative theorists. We can summarize their theories in order to understand narrative structure.

Barthes states that all narratives have some common structures. Although there are differences between individual narratives, all narratives have a number of common structures that affect our reading and perception of

the texts (Barthes, 1974). Barthes defines five codes. Action Code (An action implies a further narrative action), Cultural/Reference Code (Anything in a narrative is in a strong connection with the cultural features of people), Semantic code (An element in a text has additional meanings by way of connotation), Symbolic Code (An element in a text can symbolize another thing), Enigma Code (There are elements in a text that are not explained, which creates an enigma for the reader/audience) (Barthes, 1974)[37].

Todorov defines the classical narrative structure. According to him, the environment within a story is in a state of calm at first. Secondly, the calm environment is disrupted by an event. Thirdly, recognition of that disruption comes. Fourthly, an attempt to solve the problem and to repair the disruption is made. Finally, peace is restored again and new equilibrium comes (Todorov and Weinstein, 1969: 70-76)[38].

On the other hand, Vladimir Propp stated that characters in stories act as narrative functions and drive the plot forward (Propp, 1969)[39].

Another important narrative theorist is Claude Lévi-Strauss. He writes that stories unconsciously mirror the values and myths of a culture. Those values and myths are stated through binary oppositions, which mean we can understand and measure all phenomenon through their opposites such as right and wrong, light and dark, love and hate (Lévi-Strauss, 1955: 428-444)[40].

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[37] For further reading please see Barthes, Roland. *S/Z*. Trans. R Miller. New York: Hill and Wang, 1974.

[38] For further reading please see Todorov Tzvetan, and Arnold Weinstein. "Structural Analysis of Narrative".*NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction.*3.1(1969): 70-76

[39] For further reading please see: Propp, Vladimir.I.A. *Morphology of the Folk Tale*. Texas: University of Texas Press, 1969.

[40] For further reading please see: Lévi-Strauss, Claude. "The Structural Study of Myth" *The Journal of American Folklore*. Myth: A Symposium.68.270 (1955): 428-444.

In light of all of this, we can state that narrative is the style of storytelling within a system of cause-effect and time-space relation[41]. Narrative can have a linear structure in which the story is told in a chronological order, or a non-linear structure in which the story is not told in a chronological order. We can state that there are different types of narrative structures such as classical narrative with a chronological or linear structure, multi narrative, flashbacks, fragmented narrative and metafictive. We will focus on classical narrative structure since the films selected for the present story are in a classical narrative structure within a linear form.

Classical narrative, as described by Todorov, has three elements: 'exposition, climax and resolution'. The exposition introduces the viewer to the principal characters and their personas and the space or environment that the story's characters inhabit (Butler, 2014). In the climax part a conflict that needs a resolution appears. Finally, in the resolution part, the conflict and enigmas are solved and stability comes (Butler, 2014). We mostly see a linear cause-effect relationship order, sometimes with flashbacks, in a classical narrative structure.

We can find the same elements and a similar structure in classical film narrative[42]. "The main characteristic of the classical film narrative is that the

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[41] At this point we should remember an important detail: In a written text or a speech, the author or speaker uses a threefold method to narrate his/her story. Those are, (In order) meaning/sense, syntax and audio. The reader or audience perceives the meaning in a reverse order: Audio, syntax and finally, the meaning. This means that, the meaning of the text or speech can change according to the reader's or audience's perception (Büker, 1991: 10). There is a similar structure in cinema. The director also uses a threefold method to narrate his/her story: (In order) meaning/sense, *mise-en-scéne* and image. The audience perceives this meaning in a reverse order. He/she sees the image first, perceives the *mise-en-scéne* secondly and finally the meaning. This also means that the meaning of a film can change according to the audience's perception (Büker, 1991: 11). Narrative structure that is to say, can change the perception of the audience. The same situation is valid for film.

[42] Although we will not discuss the difference betweenstory and plot in this study, it would be useful to write it down:"'Story' will refer to the events of the narrative in their presumed spatial, temporal, and causal relations. 'Plot' will refer to the totality of formal and stylistic materials in the film. The plot thus includes all the systems of time, space, and causality actually manifested in the film; everything from a flashback structure and subjective point-of-view to minutiae of lighting, cutting, and camera movement. The plot is, in effect, the film

ambiguity and uncertainty that it creates are subject to qualitative restrictions; the narration is as straightforward as possible" (Tan, 1996: 8). There is a cause-effect and time-space relationship within a moving image; and the same three stages, 'exposition, climax and resolution', are present. Actually, classical films are likely to have the central principle of causal linearity (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson, 1988: 22).

"Narrative film consists of three systems: narrative logic (definition of events, causal relations and parallelisms between events), the representation of time (orders, duration, repetition), and the representation of space (composition, orientation etc)" (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson, 1988: 11). Any given technical method creates meanings and helps the development of story and characterization. Scales of shots, camera movements, camera angles, lighting, music and editing are among the tools of meaning making in cinema. For instance, 'pan' and 'tilt' movements are classical camera movements for recognition of environment and characters. A high camera angle gives us the impression that the character in the shot is not powerful enough or failing while a low camera angle gives the reverse impression. Or, dramatic music can create high tension for the audience; and upbeat music can create excitement or expectation[43]. At this point, we can mention Béla Balázs. According to Balázs, the basic principle of the theatre is the spectator's ability to see the played scene as a whole. The second principle is that the spectator sees the whole stage from a distance where he/she sits. This distance is fixed. The third basic principle of the theatre is that the spectator's angle of seeing the stage is also always the same and fixed (Balázs, 1952: 30). Cinema changes these three

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before us. The story is thus our mental construct, a structure of inferences we make on the basis of selected aspects of the plot." (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson, 1988: 11)

[43] For a further reading on film techniques and meaning creation through film techniques, please see Katz, Steven Douglas. *Film Directing Shot by Shot: Visualizing from Concept to Screen.* Michigan: Michael Wiese Productions; 1991 and for Turkish, Büker, Seçil. *Sinemada Anlam Yaratma.* Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1991.

basic principles of the theatre. With cinema, the distance between the spectator and a scene can vary, even over the course of a single scene. This is because scenes in film can be divided into different shots. Also, because there are changing camera angles in film, the distance between the spectator and the scene and the spectators' angle of vision changes. Finally, with the affect of montage/editing in film, "the whole scene is composed of a mosaic of frames aligned as if it were in chronological sequence" (Balázs, 1952: 31). These elements of cinema compose a moving image as reflections of real life. Thus, film narrative gives us a different structure, which can create a fictional world that represents real world.

All in all, we should state that the most important and powerful part of fictional narratives is their relation with reality. Films, especially the classical films, allow the audience a privileged position in a fictional world (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson, 1988: 23). The camera becomes not only the storyteller but the audience as well, and the narrator is replaced by the 'ideal observer' (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson, 1988: 56). Thus, the audience sees the fictional events in the film as if they were happening around them; as if the fictional events are real (Tan, 1996: 53). Because of this reality illusion, the story that is told and the characters that are created for the story are very important for the audience. The audience gets in touch with the filmic reality and establishes empathy through the story and characters. Thus, reality effect and character creation are two important elements of cinema. We will examine character/type creation and their representation of reality in Turkish cinema.

4.2 Social Types and Characters: Here I am, Like This

The notion of cinema is telling a story by representing real life. Characters have an important position in this process. Characters of a film represent reflections of people from reality. In other words, we find a projection of reality in films. Because of this reality connection, we can state that characters of films can represent social types.

In a classical narrative structure, characters and their relationship with each other are the main elements of the story that construct causality. Actually, "Character-centered —i.e., personal or psychological—causality is the armature of the classical story" (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson, 1988: 12). When we look at character types in main character theories, we can find that they argue that almost all stories represent some particular characteristics. Therefore, stories represent social types.

For instance, Propp determines eight main character types in one hundred tales he examined (Propp, 1969). These are, 'the hero', 'villain' (is against the hero), 'the dispatcher' (is the one who sends the hero on a journey for struggle in order to restore the equilibrium), 'donor' (is a provider who gives a magical object to the hero and prepares him to struggle), 'the magical helper' (helps the hero during the struggle), 'the false hero' (is the one who seems on the same side with hero in the beginning but turns out to be against him in the end), 'the princess/the heroine' (is the one who the hero looks to save during the narrative and marries at the end), and 'the father' (princess' father, who also can be the dispatcher in some stories) (Propp, 1969). We can find a similar classification, based on types, in Goffman's work. According to him, the main characters in a performance are 'the protagonist' (leading character), 'The deuteragonist' (secondary character), 'the bit player' (minor character whose past is in an enigma) and 'the fool' (character that gives the humor to the story) (Goffman, 1956). There are character typologies in digital games too. For instance, Bartle makes a typology of characters in digital games. According to him, there are 'achievers', 'explorers', 'socializers' and 'killers' that are characters in a game (Bartle, 1996). In another theory developed for online communities (Campbell, Fletcher and Greenhill, 2009) types are presented as 'the big man', 'the sorcerer' and 'the trickster'. From this point forth, we can state that similar character classifications could be done for films. Films also represent character typologies and social types.

In light of this, we can state that literature and cinema use some character typologies in their stories. At this point, we can express a connection between fictional stories and social types. As we examined above, sociologists have been interested in social types since Spencer first put forth social types and Mills analyzed them in detail. We can obtain knowledge about a society by observing and comprehending social types and predictions about that society. Actually, a social type represents an individual in a society. As we mentioned in the introduction chapter, "as a powerful means of communication, cinema soon assumed the function of a 'document-in-itself', like photography" (Baker, 2002: 63). Because photography has a motionless layout, it has a distance from real life. Unlike photography, cinematography increases the 'trace' character of the cinematic signs and creates an 'illusion of movement' (Baker, 2002: 63). Hence, we can express that cinema makes social types visible for us.

Let's see this situation in Turkish cinema. Turkish visual arts come from a tradition that is based on Turkish traditional theatre. Turkish shadow play *(Karagöz)*, theatre in the round (*Orta Oyunu*), stand alone shows (*Meddah*), puppetry, improvisational theatre (*tuluat*)[44], village theatre and jugglery branches are among the Turkish traditional theatre plays (Ünver, 2009: 13-14).If we look at *Karagöz*'s characteristics, we can find parallelisms and similarities with Turkish cinema. Among the Turkish traditional theatre plays, *Karagöz* is the closest one to cinema (Ünver, 2009: 127). The origins of *Karagöz* come from Egypt during the 16th century (And, 2010: 17). After its introduction from Egypt, Turks made their own contributions to shadow play and characters of *Karagöz* emerged (And, 2010: 21). Most of the knowledge on *Karagöz* plays dates from the late 19th century, and we learn that *Karagöz* plays consist of political satire (And, 2010: 31-35). In the writings of a foreign observer, we see that "*Karagöz* spared no one in his harangues, whether pasha, ulema, dervish, banker or merchant, but that everyone of every class and every

[44] Terms will be used in their Turkish usings in the following parts of the study.

occupation made their appearance on the curtain, each identified by their distinctive characteristics and were sometimes obliged to very harsh truths," (And, 2010: 37). Therefore, the characters of *Karagöz* are stereotypes of individuals in the society and include the general characteristics of those people (And, 2010: 41). Stereotypes are standardized conceptions of people that are based on an individual's belonging to a category or having some characteristics symbolizing one of these categories (Schweinitz, 2006: 4). The characteristics of *Karagöz* fit this definition. Social types are produced by the society and represent an individual in that society as we discussed above. *Karagöz* characters are types that were formed through generalizations of characteristics of individuals of the period[45].

After the invention of the cinematograph in 1895 by the L'umiere brothers in France, screenings were held in different cities of the world[46]. In Istanbul, the first screening was made in a *Karagöz* screen in *Fevziye Kıraathanesi* in Şehzadebaşı towards the end of 1896 (Şener, 1970:9).Thus, *Karagöz* master Katip Salih Efendi's screen (Şener, 1970: 9) made the first connection between cinema and *Karagöz.* There is more in common between cinema and *Karagöz*, however, than just a screen. Character types existed in both films and in *Karagöz*. Just as *Karagöz* characters represent general types of people in the society, characters in cinema also represent types in society in

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[45]The main characters of *Karagöz* are; 1)*Karagöz* and *Hacivat* 2) Women: known as *Zenne* 3) Speakers of Istanbul Turkish: *Çelebi, Tiryaki, Beberuhi, Matiz* 4) Provincial characters: *Laz, Kastamonulu, Kayserili, Eğinli, Harputlu, Kurd* 5) Characters from outside Anatolis: Muhacir, the Albanian, the Arab, the Persian 6) Non-Muslim characters: the Greek, the Frank, the Armenian, the Jew 7) Characters with physical or mental defects: the Shutterer, the Hunchback, the Hımhım, the Cripple, the Madman, the Cannabis Addict, the Deaf Man, the Idiot 8) Bullies and drunks: *Efe, Zeybek, Matiz, Tuzsuz, Sarhoş, Külhanbeyi* 9) Entertainers: *Köçek* dancer, Çengi dancer, Singer, Magician, Acrobat, Reveller, Illusionist, Musician 10) Supernatural characters: Wizard, Cazular (Witches), Djins, Demons 11) Various occasional secondary characters and children (And, 2010: 47).

[46] The first cinematograph screening of the world took place at the Grand Café on Capucines Boulevard in Paris on December 28, 1895 (Teksoy, 2008: 13).

a sense. This identification with traditional arts caused a fast acceptance of cinema among people.

Fairytales, *Meddah, Orta Oyunu, tuluat,* puppetry and other traditional arts are among the other sources of inspiration of Turkish cinema. For instance, scriptwriter Bülent Oran finds Turkish cinema's roots in *Karagöz* and the famous Turkish fairytale *Keloğlan.* According to him, the audience likes some film characters as they like *Karagöz* characters. When this character appears on the screen, they react according to character. If a character is a comic, the audience starts laughing, even if there is a dramatic scene (Türk, 2004: 224,225). If a character is dramatic, they do not laugh, even if the scene is comedic. On the other hand, *Keloğlan* is a poor character who lives with his mother in the fairytale. He falls in love with the Sultan's daughter, and he has to fight monsters and travel far away (*Kafdağı* in the fairytale) in order to marry her (Türk, 2004:199). We can find a similar storyline in many Turkish films of the 1960-1970 period[47] (*Yeşilcam Filmleri*[48] in Turkish usage). A poor character in the film falls in love with a rich character. They have to fight against the rich character's father and encounter other difficulties in order to marry each other.

At this point, what must be emphasized is rural-urban conflict. There is a 'rural-urban' conflict or relationship in films that were produced during the 1950-1980 period. This conflict is, indeed, the major background in almost all Turkish films until today. We see this situation in all the films that we selected for the present study. Actually, we see that there is a rural-urban conflict in all areas of life; and social inequalities were an agenda topic in this period (Abisel, 2005: 203). Social problems of the country have surely affected cinema, and we watch this conflict in films. In a period in which traditional life started to

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[47] This oncept will be used in Turkish, as "*Yeşilçam* period", in the following parts of the study.

[48] *Yeşilçam* is the name of a street in İstanbul where film companies had offices. *Yeşilçam* turned to name of the industry and a period in Turkish cinema then.

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evolve into a modern one, characters in films encountered social, economic, and identity problems. We watch this story line in a classical narrative structure along with main characters of a classical narrative: The hero, heroine and villain appear together with secondary characters and narrate a story that involves the rural-urban conflict.

As we mentioned above, sociological imagination is "an attempt to make sense of life meaningfully for the individual in mass" (Baker, 2002:86). Through sociological imagination, an individual can visualize or 'imagine' the coincidence of her/his problems with the so-called 'public' or 'objective' problems (Baker, 2002: 86). Although the cinema films that we chose for the present story are fictional products, they represent the Turkish society of the period since they have a realistic manner. Therefore, we can use the story lines and characters of cinema films in order to understand Turkish society[49].

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[49]The 1950-1980 period was an important period inTurkey. Serious political problems and clashes happened, as we mentioned above. Although those political clashes may haveresulted from social change, we do not seethis connection in cinema. Also, when we look at this period, we cannot see many films referring topolitical issues such as censorship orthe political atmosphere in the country at that time. But still there are some important films touching this subject, such as *Bir Gün Mutlaka* (1975/Director: Bilge Olgaç), *Demiryol* (1979/Director: Yavuz Özkan) and *Maden* (1978/Director: Yavuz Özkan), which were all produced before 1980. After 1980, the year of military *coup d'état*, we can state films such as *Sen Türkülerini Söyle* (1986/Director: Şerif Gören), *Ses* (1986/Director: Zeki Ökten), *Kimlik* (1988/Director: Melih Gülgen), *Sis* (1988/Director: Zülfü Livaneli), *Uçurtmayı Vurmasınlar* (1989/Director: Tunç Başaran), *Darbe* (1990/Director: Ümit Efekan) and *Bekle Dedim Gölgeye* (1990/Director: Atıf Yılmaz). The 1980 military coup d'état is an important breaking point in Turkish cinema. In political films of pre-1980 period, we watch more political and hopeful characters. But post-1980, after the *coup d'etat* period, characters in films are more hopeless, depressedand defeated. Moreover, because of the political atmosphere and censorship of the post-1980 period, political issues are represented indirectly and metaphorically. (For a further reading please see Doğruöz, Hakan Şükrü."Sinemada 12 Eylül: Bellek Yitimine Direnmek ve Temsil Stratejileri."*Birikim.* Ekim 2007: 68- 80)

Another important movement of the post-1980 period is feminism in Turkey. In the pre-1980 period, women characters of films were mostly interdependent and honor was represented on women characters. After 1980 feminist discourse, which argues that personal areasarealso political, strengthened (Ulusoy, 2009: 2779). We see reflections of women's new role in private and public spheres and the pursuit of identity and resurgence of feminism in Turkish Cinema (Ulusoy, 2009: 2788). Variousfilms that represent individual and independent women characters were shot such as: *Mine* (1985/Director: Atıf Yılmaz), *Dul Bir Kadın* (1985/Director: Atıf Yılmaz), *Teyzem* (1986/Director: Halit Refiğ), *Kadının Adı Yok* (1988/Director: Atıf Yılmaz), *Ahh Belinda* (1986/Director: Atıf Yılmaz) and *İki Kadın* (1992/Director: Yavuz Özkan).

4.3. Social Change in Turkish Cinema: Nothing will be the Same Anymore

The origins of Turkish cinema go back until 1896. Soon after the first cinematograph screenings in Istanbul, Eugéne Priomio, a technician with the L'umiere brothers, made the first shots of the Bosphorus and Golden Horn in 1896 (*Panorama des Rivers du Bosphore and Panorama de la Corne d'Or*) (Teksoy, 2008: 13). The first public screening was made on a *Karagöz* screen as we mentioned above. Screenings were organized by Sigmund Weinberg who was the representative of Pathé Productions, a French Company (Teksoy, 2008: 14). Shortly after, Weinberg opened the first cinema hall, Pathé, in Tepebaşı district. Openings of other cinema halls in other Ottoman cities followed this event (Teksoy, 2008: 15). The first Turkish film is *Ayos Stefanos'taki Rus Abidesinin Yıkılışı* (The Demolition of the Russian Monument in St. Stephan). Fuat Uzkınay, an army officer at that time, shot this 150 meter documentary on November 14, 1914[50]. This film and date are accepted as the beginning of Turkish cinema. A year later, in 1915, *Merkez Ordu Sinema Dairesi* [51](Army Film Center) was founded with the orders of Enver Pasha, Minister of War, and Weinberg and Uzkınay were appointed as the heads of the office[52]. Films that were shot during these years were documentaries and reflected reality itself in a sense. The first Turkish feature film is *Pençe* (The Claw), directed by Sedat Simavi in 1917. This film is based on a play with the same name by

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[50] Please see "A Chronological History of the Turkish Cinema, 1914-1988". *Ministry of Culture and Tourism*. Accessed on 10/03/2014.
http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,39363/1910---1930-period.html.

[51]Statement will be used in Turkish in the following parts of the study.

[52]Please see "A Chronological History of the Turkish Cinema, 1914-1988". *Ministry of Culture and Tourism*. Accessed on 10/03/2014.
http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,39363/1910---1930-period.html.

Mehmet Rauf (Teksoy, 2008: 17)[53]. We can date this film as the beginning of the fiction-reality relationship in Turkish cinema.

As we mentioned above, the most popular film genre of the *Yeşilçam* period is melodrama[54]. Besides melodrama, there were dramas, adventure, comedy, historical, fantastic, detective, cowboy, erotic, children's, fairytale adaptation, religious, political and social-realistic (films under the effect of national cinema movements) films among other genres (Özön, 2000 and Önk, 2011: 3866-3877). Films that are about the social change in Turkey vary among those different genres. From watching these films, we see a reflection of social change and gain information about the socio-politic elements of the period[55].

Activities of the *Merkez Ordu Sinema Dairesi* and *Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti* were stopped after the signing of the Treaty of Mondros on October 30, 1918. But all the cinema equipment there was been given to *Malûlîn-i Guzat-i Askerîye Muavenet Cemiyeti* (The War Veterans Association). This association, which aims to help war veterans, produced its first feature film *Mürebbiye* (The Governess) in 1919 under the direction of Ahmet Fehim (Karahanoğlu, 2007: 3). Ahmet Fehim shot another film, *Binnaz*, in 1919,

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[53] The film was produced by *Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti* (The Association for National Defence), another military office that involved in film production under the head of Fuat Uzkınay (Please see "A Chronological History of the Turkish Cinema, 1914-1988". *Ministry of Culture and Tourism*.Accessed on 10/03/2014. http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,39363/1910---1930-period.html). *Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti*/The Association for National Defence statement will be used in Turkish in the following parts of the study.

[54] In order to have an idea about the majority of this genre, we can note that 643 drama and melodrama films were shot between 1970 and 1980 in Turkey (Önk, 2011: 3870).

[55] Since the aim of the present study is not to make an analysis of history and genres of Turkish cinema, for further readings on those titles please see Teksoy, Rekin. *Turkish Cinema*. Trans. Thomben M.K. İstanbul: Oğlak Yayıncılık ve Reklamcılık Ltd.; 2008 and Arslan, Savaş. *Cinema in Turkey : A New Critical History*. New York: Oxford University Press; 2011. For a Turkish reading please see; Özgüç, Agah. *Ansiklopedik Türk Filmleri Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Horizon International; 2012, Abisel, Nilgün. *Popüler Sinema ve Türler*. İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık; 1995 and Scognamillo, Giovanni. *Türk Sinema Tarihi, 1896-1986*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 1990.

which was considered the first historical film of Turkey (Dönmez-Colin, 2008: 22). In 1922 Muhsin Ertuğrul, who had a theatre background, entered the film sector. The period that started with Ertuğrul is accepted as the beginning of a new era, 'The Period of Theatre Men' (1923-1940) (Dönmez-Colin, 2008: 22). The first film production company of Turkey was "Kemal Film", which produced Ertuğrul's *Leblebici Horhor* (Horhor, the Chickpea Seller) (1923), *Sözde Kızlar* (So-Called Girls) (1923) and *Kız Kulesinde Bir Facia* (A Disaster in the Maiden's Tower) (1924). "Kemal Film" retreated from filmmaking in 1924 (Karahanoğlu, 2007: 3). The next film production company "İpek Film" entered the film sector in 1928. After his collaboration with "İpek Film", Ertuğrul became the only filmmaker of the period. He also introduced sound films to Turkish audiences with the film, *Istanbul Sokaklarında* (In the Streets of Istanbul), in 1931 and participated in the Venice Film Festival with *Leblebici Horhor Aga* (Horhor Aga, the Chickpea Seller) in 1934, where he received an honorary mention (Dönmez-Colin, 2008: 25). In 1939, Faruk Kenç directed *Taş Parçası* (Spall) with "Ha-Ka Film"'s production. This date is regarded as the end of the Ertuğrul period in Turkish cinema and referred to as "The spall that dropped on Muhsin Ertuğrul's head" (Şekeroğlu in Karahanoğlu, 2007: 6).

In 1948, the government made a tax reduction for films. This period coincides with a period of political transition in the country, as we mentioned above. This reduction gave a boost to the film sector. New film companies were established, and the first film festival was organized in this period. That was the start of a new period. The government change in 1950, which we examined above, was also an important change in cultural policies as well as in socio-economic policies. Populism of the government policies affected the entertainment industry, which is reflected in the *Yeşilçam* cinema of that period (Dönmez-Colin, 2008: 28). Until the *Yeşilçam* period, cinema was a social activity adopted from the West. Because of changing social structures, scripts began to be written for the taste of the masses rather than elite audiences

(Dönmez-Colin, 2008: 28). Increasing social change and migration introduced cinema to Anatolia, and the industry found a big market in Anatolia. A boom of Turkish films started in this period. Family companies started to lose their places to production companies in this period. There was a huge increase in national film production. For instance, while the average number of films produced per year in the 1960s was about 80, this number increased to 300 per year in the 1970s (Kalemci, 2009: 39). Country branches of film companies were opened also in this period, and a distribution system through percentage officers (Officers of film companies who work in country branches) was established. In time, this structure evolved into a more independent one; and a new distribution system emerged. This structure is called the "Region Management System" in literature on Turkish cinema (Kalemci, 2009: 37)[56]. Region managers were informing producers about which types of films were mostly liked by the audience in their regions and were making an advance payment to producers in order to produce films that appealed to the liking of the audience (Erkılıç, 2003 in Kalemci, 2009: 37-38). In other words, audience's likings were shaping the stories of films. This audience-oriented period was named as the 'golden age' of Turkish cinema by a lot of writers (Kalemci, 2009: 38). The 1960s is also termed as a 'Generation of filmmakers'. In the 1960s important directors such as Lütfi Ö. Akad, Atıf Yılmaz, Metin Erksan, Halit Refiğ and Memduh Ün made lots of films as members of this generation.

1950s is a period when a transformation started in the country as we stated. We can read this transformation also in Turkish cinema from various village, migration and *gecekondu* films. There are a large number of village films in Turkish cinema. Changing relations of production, capitalization,

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[56] For a further reading on the Turkish cinema industry please see Kalemci, Rabia Arzu. "Küreselleşmenin Örgütsel Alanlara Etkisi: Türk Sineması Örneği." PhD thesis. Başkent University, 2009.

population increase, property relations and migration to urban areas are subjects of various films. Village films reflected peasants' lives and beliefs in a realistic manner. We watch based-on reality elements in the films of some directors and scriptwriters (Pösteki, 2012: 142). We can note some important films, such as: *Yılanların Öcü* (Revenge of the Snakes/1962/Director: Metin Erksan), *Susuz Yaz* (Dry Summer/1964/Director: Metin Erksan), *Kuma* (Second Wife/1975/Director: Atıf Yılmaz), *Sultan Gelin* (Sultan, the daughter-in-law/1973/Director: Halit Refiğ), *Ağrı Dağı Efsanesi* (The Legend of Ararat Mountain/1975/Director: Memduh Ün), *Kızılırmak Karakoyun* (Red River, Black Sheep/1967/Director: Lütfi Akad). We can attribute this high number of village films to the social realism trend of the period (Pösteki, 2012: 142).

In terms of migration and *gecekondu* issue, we should note that *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile/1964) by Halit Refiğ is considered as the first film focusing on the migration issue (Dönmez-Colin, 2008: 58). One of the other films to firstly focus on migration is *Bitmeyen Yol* (The Unending Road/1965) by Duygu Sağıroğlu. Furthermore, Lütfi Ö.Akad's famous trilogy *Gelin* (The Bride/1973), *Düğün* (The Wedding/1974) and *Diyet* (The Blood Money/1975) is one of the most important works on migration and *Gecekondu* life[57]. In all these films we see an apparent rural-urban conflict. Almost all characters are faced with this conflict and in search of identity. Coming from a traditional rural society and trying to adapt to modern life in a big city, characters of those films face with an identity crisis. Films with themes of migration (both internal and external) and search of identity are still being produced today. Since the 1960s, there have been many Turkish films that approach the subject of migration, *Gecekondus* and the rural-urban conflict. Some of these films are; *At* (The Horse/1981/Director: Ali Özgentürk), *Bir Avuç Cennet* (A Handful of

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[57] This triology is not selected for the present study since it is accepted among the main films of Turkish cinema focusing on social change and migration. Thus, the triology will be used as one of the main resources during the analysis of selected studies and films for the present study.

Paradise/1985/Director: Muammer Özer), *Otobüs* (The Bus/1974/Tunç Okan), *40m² Almanya* (40m² Deutschland/40m² Germany/1986/Director: Tevfik Başer)*, Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir* (The City Paved with Gold/1978/Director: Orhan Aksoy), *Sultan* (*Sultan*/1978/Director: Kartal Tibet), *Çiçek Abbas* (Abbas, the Flower/1982/Director: Sinan Çetin), *Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde* (On Fertile Lands/1980/Director: Erden Kıral), *Endişe* (Anxiety/1974/Directors: Şerif Gören, Yılmaz Güney), *Umut* (Hope/1970/Director: Yılmaz Güney), *Sürü* (The Herd/1979/Director: Zeki Ökten), *Düttürü Dünya* (Skimpy World/1988/Director: Zeki Ökten)*, Endişe* (Anxiety/1974/Directors: Yılmaz Güney, Şerif Gören), *Züğürt Ağa* (The Broken Landlord/1985/Director: Nesli Çölgeçen) and *Kibar Feyzo* (Feyzo, the gentle/1978/Director: Atıf Yılmaz)[58].

Before ending this part, we should mention a breaking point in Turkish cinema. Yılmaz Güney, an actor, director and scriptwriter, changed the codes of the classical *Yeşilçam* period's films in the 1970s. Güney (born as Yılmaz Pütün in 1937 in Adana) is considered the first Turkish director to introduce Turkish cinema to international audiences (Teksoy, 2008: 66)[59]. He started working in the film industry as an assistant director, screenwriter and actor in Atıf Yılmaz's films (Teksoy, 2008: 66). He was soon named the 'ugly king' of Turkish cinema and acted in sixty odd unremarkable action films (Teksoy, 2008: 67). In this period, as an actor, Yılmaz Güney created film characters who reflect the problems, passions, needs, wannabes and subconscious of the society (Scognamillo, 1998:365 and Kayalı, 1994).

But his real success is his creation of a character on the screen who is an oppressed provincial, concerned with earning enough to eat (Dönmez-Colin,

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[58] For a further reading on migration in Turkish cinema please see Dönmez-Colin, Gönül. *Turkish Cinema: Identity, Distance and Belonging*. London: Reaktion Boks, 2008: 57-88 and Scognamillo, Giovanni. *Türk Sinema Tarihi, 1896-1986*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1990

[59] We should mention that Metin Erksan won a Golden Bear in Berlin International Film Festival with his 1964 dated film *Susuz Yaz* (Dry Summer).

2008: 116). *Umut* (Hope/1970)[60], which has details from Güney's own life, is a landmark in the history of Turkish cinema (Dönmez-Colin, 2008: 119). The film tells the story of Cabbar (performed by Yılmaz Güney), a horse-carriage driver. Cabbar lives with his wife, his mother and five children and lives in debt. One day he becomes involved in a car accident, and one of his horses dies. When he goes to the police in search of justice, he does not find help. He loses his job, as well as his dreams about winning a lottery. Finally, his friend offers to help him search for a buried treasure. Cabbar puts all of his hopes into that treasure. As the days pass in search of treasure, Cabbar loses his mind (Teksoy, 2008: 67-68). Cabbar is one of the most successful examples of the oppressed provincial film character that Güney created on the screen. In *Umut*, Güney helped change the classical codes of *Yeşilçam.* He continued the same sentiments in his following films and created a realistic approach to Turkish cinema with his socialist worldview and artistry (Teksoy, 2008: 70, Kayalı, 1994). In his other films thathe directed or wrote, we see a similar approach. His films, such as *Acı* (Pain/1971), *Umutsuzlar* (The Hopeless Ones/1971), *Arkadaş* (Friend/1974), *Endişe* (Anxiety/1974/Şerif Gören completed the film as the director), *Sürü* (The Herd/1978/Screenplay: Yılmaz Güney, Director: Zeki Ökten), *Düşman* (Enemy/1979/ Screenplay: Yılmaz Güney, Director: Zeki Ökten), and *Yol* (The Road/1982/ Screenplay: Yılmaz Güney/Director: Şerif Gören), show us the social and identity problems of oppressed individuals. Güney was sentenced to prison various times because of his political views. After being sentenced to prison for allegedly killing a prosecutor, he fled the country. He went to France and won the *Palme D'or* at the Cannes Film Festival in 1982, with his film *Yol*. Güney wrote his maturity-period scripts in prison; and other directors such as Zeki Ökten and Şerif Gören shot his films under Güney's control (Scognamillo, 1998: 374). The success of

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[60] Film's title will be used in Turkish in the following parts of the study.

these directors is due to their ability to show the cinematic language of Güney (Scognamillo, 1998: 375). Güney, as the first political director of Turkish cinema (Teksoy, 2008: 70), directed his last film *Duvar* (The Wall) in 1973 in France and died from stomach cancer in 1984.

Social change, search of identity, the tradition-modern conflict and migration issues continued to affect cinema during Yılmaz Güney's period and after him. We can state that the following directors, Zeki Ökten, Şerif Ören, Ali Özgentürk, Erden Kıral, Ömer Kavur and Yavuz Özkan, were influenced by Güney but also created their own cinematic language in the 1980s.

In sum, it should be stated that in Turkish cinema, which officially started in 1914, films were produced parallel with the change process of the country during the 1950 and 1980 period. Most of these films were in classical narrative structure and characters of the films were representing social types of the society. In the light of these, we can determine the films that we will analyze and focus on their genres.

4.4. Selected Films: "I Will Defeat You Istanbul![61]"

We will analyze the following films in the present study: *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile/Director: Halit Refiğ/1964), *Keşanlı Ali Destanı* (Kesanli Ali's Epic/Director: Atıf Yılmaz/1964), *Umut* (Hope/Yılmaz Güney/1970), *Kibar Feyzo* (Feyzo the Gentile/Director: Atıf Yılmaz/1978), *Sultan* (Sultan/Director: Kartal Tibet/1978), *Sürü* (The Herd/Director: Zeki Ökten/1978), *Züğürt Ağa* (The Broken Landlord/Director: Nesli Çölgeçen/1985) and *Düttürü Dünya* (Skimpy World/Director: Zeki Ökten/1988). We chose these films with regard to their scripts and characters. All of the films on the list touch on the social change process in Turkey that we examined above and represent characters that were affected from this process.

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[61] "I will defeat you Istanbul!" (*Yeneceğim seni İstanbul!*) is a symbolic cue of lots of characters in Turkish films who migrated to İstanbul and dream to be successful and rich.

Besides, although Istanbul is the location to most of the Turkish films and although we refer to this situation (I will defeat you Istanbul!) at the title of this part of the study; three films that we selected are located in different cities in order to examine representations of change in other cities as well. Ankara is the location of *Düttürü Dünya* and a part of *Sürü*; Adana is the location of *Umut*. When we look at the genres of these films, we see that they are in melodrama, drama (the drama films that we chose are under the effect of the social realism movement) and comedy genres.

There are various genres and movements in Turkish cinema. If we make a general review, we see that melodrama is a very popular genre. "As a concept genre allows a film to be identified as belonging to a larger body of work with shared themes, styles, attitudes and values" (Mercer and Shingler, 2004: 5). Furthermore, genre emphasizes the role of the audience in the creation of the series in film history (Mercer and Shingler, 2004: 5).

The origins of melodrama go back to medieval morality plays and the oral tradition. The etymology of the word comes from the combination of Greek words "melos" and "drama", and the term was first used by Jean Jacques Rousseau (Gledhill, 1987: 19). But melodrama became effective during the rise of modernism (Hayward, 2006: 236), in a period when consumer culture was born. In the nineteenth century, the effect of capitalism created the need for protection of the family. In addition, rapid social change during the period affected art and literature. During the period, "middle class women withdrew from the labor market and working class women and children entered the factories and thus lead to increased urbanization of the proletariat" (Gledhill, 1987: 20-21 in Hayward, 2006: 236). The early melodramas reflect these characteristics. When modernism, social change, class concerns and consumerism of the period came together, melodrama found a big audience. During the first period of the nineteenth century, melodrama focused essentially on family and moral values; which mean melodrama pitted bourgeoisie against feudalism (Hayward, 2006: 236). Actually, there is a strong

relationship between melodrama and social change. "Melodrama does two things in relation to the social changes and advent of modernization. It attempts to make sense of modernism and the family in this modern world" (Gledhill, 1987: 38 in Hayward: 238).In other words, "melodrama reflects the bourgeois desire for social order to be expressed through the personal" (Gledhill, 1987: 38 in Hayward: 238). Melodrama addresses women audiences. But when we look at the genre in general, we see the effect of modernism and social change in the narrative structure of melodrama. Hero, heroine and villain are the main characters of the story. Hero and heroine, who generally come from different social classes, try to come together against obstacles in the background of the urban landscape in order to start a family.

When we look at *Yeşilçam* melodramas, they also revolve around "heterosexual romance between characters from different social and economic classes" (Mutlu, 2010:417). They try to come together against obstacles in order to start a family. These events in films happen in a city, and characters come to a happy ending in a modern life. Actually, *Yeşilçam* melodramas construct modernity as a desired position; but at the same time, they criticize modernization as a product of westernization and approve of traditional social and cultural characteristics (Mutlu, 2010: 418). During the golden years of *Yeşilçam,* there was a big social change in Turkey as we examined above. Like international examples of melodramas, *Yeşilçam* melodramas reflect the social changes and advent of modernization. During a period of increased urbanization due to immigration from rural to urban areas, most of the melodramas were located in cities. When we look at the structure of melodramas a detail draws our attention. Although there is a heterosexual romantic relationship between same class characters (mostly poor and rural) in melodramas of 1950s, which were located in the countryside, this heterosexual romantic relationship evolves in later films into a relationship between people

of different classes and backgrounds (rich-poor, rural-urban) (Mutlu, 2010: 419)[62]. The fact of the matter is, *Yeşilçam* melodramas try to reduce class conflict and come to a convention between tradition and modernity (Mutlu, 2010: 419). Because of this situation, audiences identify with *Yeşilçam* films and characters.

At this point, we should also discuss the 'comedy' genre. *Sultan* and *Kibar Feyzo* are in the comedy genre. The origins of comedy go back to ancient times. For instance, Aristotle notes that comedy is put forward by the Megarians of Sicily (Aristotle, Poetics III: 3 in Rozik, 2011:4).He also adds, however, that "comedy had no history, because it was not at first treated seriously...Comedy had already taken definite shape when comic poets, distinctively so called, are heard of" (Aristotle, Poetics V: 2-3 in Rozik, 2011:5). Comedy soon turned into a popular genre in poetry and theatre and preserved and continued its effect since that time. Comedy is also one of the oldest genres in cinema. Actually, the first actors on the screen were mostly vaudeville and music hall comedians (Hayward, 2013: 89). The very first comedy is accepted as Louis Lumiére's *Arroseur Arrosé* in 1895 (Hayward, 2013: 89). Cinema was a tool for addressing the popular taste and humor of people (Hayward, 2013: 89). Comic heroes such as Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton and Fatty Arbuckle soon emerged on the screen. For instance, Chaplin uses comedy in order to capture the "gradual widening of the contradiction inherent in the capitalist society" (Ingrao, 1981: 23). Treating a story in a comedy genre rather than a serious genre, increase its effect. Comedy films use this situation effectively. They have a different kind of reality and they tell it to the audience in the beginning of the film (Tezcan, 2014). Besides, one can show the possibility of the change of the World in comedy (Tezcan, 2014).

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[62]Contrary to the reality of urban landscapes, the narrative styles of melodramas are "more" than the reality. Characters' feelings, pains, sufferings and events they experience are exaggerated. This exaggeration is reflected in the acting of actors, decors, costumes and shooting techniques (Suner, 2006: 185 and Baş, 2011: 108)

Thus, by using the satirical effect of comedy, it is possible to criticize social, political and economical problems. For instance, Chaplin uses comedy as an instrument to express the continuing conflict between the logic of social mechanisms and essential human needs (Ingrao, 1981: 23).

Actually, comedy goes against the demands of realism as a genre. "It is a genre that is perceived as serving a useful social and psychological function in that it is an arena, where repressed tensions can be released in a safe manner" (Hayward, 2013: 89). Comedy is a convenient genre in order to reflect and criticize social problems, antagonisms, contradictions and conflicts for that very reason. We see that this characteristic of comedy is also effective in Turkish cinema.

The comedy genre has an important place in Turkish cinema[63]. The box office success of comedy films led producers to produce more films in this genre. For instance, most of the films produced in 1964 were comedies (Kırel, 2005:265). In most Turkish comedies, we watch the classical narrative structure: Exposition, Climax and Resolution. The hero, heroine, and villain are the main characters. Those characters in Turkish films represent social types of Turkish society in a satirical and exaggerated way. We see the ability of comedy films to reflect and criticize social problems, antagonisms, contradictions and conflicts. Social change in the country has frequently been the main theme of various comedy films. The films we selected for the present study are successful examples of films that reflect and critique social problems. Some important comedy films on social change include: *Kibar Feyzo* (Feyzo, the gentle/1978/Director: Atıf Yılmaz), *Sultan* (Sultan/1978/Director: Kartal Tibet), *Züğürt Ağa* (The Broken Landlord/1985/Nesli Çölgeçen), *Düttürü Dünya* (Skimpy World/1988/Director: Zeki Ökten), *Kapıcılar Kralı* (King of the Doormen/1976/Director: Zeki Ökten), *Çöpçüler Kralı* (The King of the

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[63] For further reading on Turkish comedy films please see Kırel, Serpil. "Bir Sinemasal Tür Olarak Güldürü ve 1980-1990 Yılları Arasında Türk Sinemasında Güldürünün İncelenmesi". PhD thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1999.

Street Cleaners/1977/Director: Zeki Ökten) and *Keşanlı Ali Destanı* (Kesanli Ali's Epic/1964/Director: Atıf Yılmaz).

In terms of dramas, it would be suitable to focus on the 'Social Realism' movement. Social realism is an effective movement of 1960s Turkish cinema. Actually, "Social realism in film refers, as it does in literature, to a depiction of social and economic circumstances within particular echelons of society (usually the working and middle classes)" (Hayward, 2013: 334). There are three basic principles of social realism. First, film takes place in real life locations. Secondly, ordinary everyday people act in real surroundings. Thirdly, actors act spontaneously and in a natural way (Hayward, 2013: 334). The first realist movement in cinema was in Soviet cinema of the 1920s. Issues of realism were "a central concern to establish a new aesthetic that can reflect the changed consciousness of post-revolutionary Russia" for Soviet filmmakers (Hallam and Marshment, 2000: 25). We can identify Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Dovzhenko, Vertov and Kuleshov as being among the important names of realism[64]. We can state that Italian neo-realism, Free Cinema Britain and British New Wave are among the other representatives of social realism. The earliest examples of this movement in British cinema go back to 1930s. Especially after WW2, a period that had a big impact on several film movements, examples of social realism increased (Hayward, 2013:334)[65]. Italian neo-realism also goes back to 1930s. Italian filmmakers created important examples of neo-realism in the 1940s and early 1950s. In this period's films, realities of society became a major focal point. Important issues such as war, occupation and economic problems and the struggle to survive were reflected through the film camera; and scenes were filmed outside and on

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[64] For a further reading on Soviet cinema and social realism, please see Hallam, Julia, and Margaret Marshment. *Realism and Popular Cinema.* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000 and Rollberg, Peter. *Historical Dictionary of Russian and Soviet Cinema.* Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2009.

[65] For a further reading on British cinema, please see Armes, Roy A. *Critical History of the British Cinema*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1978

the streets, rather than in established film studio sets. Lucia Visconti, Vittorio De Sica and Roberto Rosselini are among the most important directors of Italian neo-realism[66].

In Turkey, social realism emerged in the 1960s, a period in which social change was effective and rapid. Developments such as migration, urbanization, industrialization, *gecekondu*s, the working class, and the right to strike were creating an environment of change. The 1960 Constitution's emancipatory approaches were also effective on the emergence of social realism. These changes in the social structure were influential in various areas such as novels, cinema, journals and newspapers (Çebi, 2006: 61). From the point of cinema, various cinema journals were published such as *Yeni Sinema* (New Cinema), *Sine Film*, *Si-Sa*, and *Sinema 65* (Cinema 65) (Çebi, 2006: 61) and lots of films were shot. Some important social realist films of the period include director Metin Erksan's *Gecelerin Ötesi* (Beyond the Nights/1960/Director: Metin Erksan), *Acı Hayat* (The Bitter Life/1963), *Susuz Yaz* (Dry Summer/1964) and *Yılanların Öcü* (Revenge of the Snakes/1962); director Halit Refiğ's *Yasak Aşk* (Forbidden Love/1961), *Şehirdeki Yabancı* (Stranger in the City/1962), *Gurbet Kuşları* (Birds of Exile/1964) and *Haremde Dört Kadın* (Four Women in the Harem/1965); director Duygu Sağıroğlu's *Bitmeyen Yol* (The Unending Road/1965); and director Ertem Göreç's *Karanlıkta Uyananlar* (Those Awakening in the Dark/1964). Those films came out of the classical melodrama codes of *Yeşilçam* to a certain degree. They had a point of view that was conscious of social change and the problems of the country.

Halit Refiğ, one of the important directors of Turkish cinema and a representative of social realism, was also one of the theoreticians of Turkish cinema. He developed National Cinema Movement' (*Ulusal Sinema Hareketi*).

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[66] For a further reading on Italian cinema, please see Brunetta, Gian Piero. *The History of Italian Cinema: A Guide to Italian Film from Its Origins to the Twenty-First Century.* New Jersey and Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press, 2003

After the military coup of 1960, the direction of Turkish cinema changed toward a more inward-looking national cinema (Hayward, 2013: 494). Turkish cinema sought to reflect Turkish national identity and traditions. Refiğ, as one of the most important representatives of this movement, wrote a book on it, *Ulusal Sinema Kavgası* (National Cinema Struggle/1971)[67], in which he theorizes about national Turkish cinema. He states that this concept emerged as a reaction to admiration of Western cinema. He examines Westernization process of Turkey and discusses the importance of a national cinema (Refiğ, 1971)[68].

4.5. Conclusion

In sum, classical narrative structure, characters and genres are main elements of Turkish films when someone wants to focus on representations of social change in those films. In order to understand these elements, we examined narrative structure, character types in classical narrative structure, development of Turkish cinema and it's focusing on social change parallel with the social realities of the period and genres of the films that we selected. As we stated above, audience easily understands and identifies with the story of the film in a classical narrative structure. Characters, representing social types in the society, make this understanding and identification more effective.From this point forth, we will analyze studies and films that we selected for the present study throughout the concepts which we determine according to their usage in selected studies.

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[67]Please see Refiğ, Halit. *Ulusal Sinema Kavgası*. İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınevi, 1971.

[68]Another cinema movement of the period is 'National Cinema' (*Milli Sinema*). The movement was based on Islamic ideology; and directors such as Yücel Çakmaklı shot films with this point of view in the 1970s. He wrote an article in 1964 in which he argues for the need for religious national cinema. For further reading please see, Çakmaklı, Yücel. "Milli Sinema İhtiyacı" *Tohum Dergisi*. No. 11, Ağustos, 1964

CHAPTER 5

FIELD STUDIES VS. CINEMA FILMS

When we look at the field studies that we selected for the present study, we see that it is possible to define some concepts that sociologists focus on. Two of the studies that we selected focus on rural change (Turkish Village and *Türkiye'de Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm ve Köylere Girişi/* Underdeveloped Capitalism in Turkey and Its Access into Villages), two of them focus on migration and urbanization with *gecekondu*s issue (*Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri*/Squatter Families in Ankara and The *Gecekondu*: Rural Migration and Urbanization) and one of them focuses on social change in a town (*Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası*/ Ereğli: A Coastal Town Before Heavy Industry). Sample selection, survey and interview methods are used in all of the studies. In all the studies, questions were asked to family heads; and headmen and teachers helped researchers contact people. All of the studies were made between 1962 and 1976.

Although there are various differences between those studies in detail, we can still determine some general concepts that all of them focus on and examine questions that all of studies asked their participants. When we look at studies on rural change we see that some concepts stand out from the researches' questions and participants' answers such as: number of family members, family members' sexes, education levels, free time activities/entertainment, family structure and relations, means of livelihood and contact with modern economic systems, towns and cities. Furthermore, family heads' world views, life expectations, views on migration to urban areas, use of communication tools (reading newspaper, listening radio), contact with modern time perception and contact with modern measurement tools are among the concepts.

When we look at studies on migration and urbanization and the *gecekondu* issue we see that some concepts stand out, based on the questions of

researchers and answers of participants. These concepts include: number of family members, family members' sexes, education levels, free time activities/entertainment, family structure and relations, and means of livelihood. Other common issues include: *hemşehrilik*, the reasons behind the migration to a big city (such as economic reasons, educational opportunities for children, access to health facilities and possibility of finding better jobs), integration with the city and its residents, family heads' world views, life expectations and views on migration.

In light of all of this, we can determine some general concepts and analyze them with these titles: 'Family and gender', 'Economic life', 'Migration, *Hemşehrilik* and Integration with the city', 'Authority', 'Education' and 'World Views'.

In 'Family and Gender' part, family types, relations among family members, relations among women, patriarchal family structure, marriage, bride price, polygamy, migrated women, women's identity development and women's participation to working sector will be examined. Besides, we will focus on kinship relations among men, prestige, honorand authority relations among men. In 'Migration, *Hemşehrilik* and Integration with the City' part, we will examine reasons behind the migration, importance of *hemşehrilik* relations in the migrated city and integration process of migrants to city life. In 'Economic Life' part, we will analyze means of livelihood both in rural and urban areas. On this part we will also once again focus on rural transformation and migration process once again. In 'Authority' part, after examining main theories on authority, we will examine government/political, leadership, *muhtar*, landlord and father authority types. In 'Education' part, we will examine views of rural and migrant people about education, especially about

education of their children. In 'World Views' part, we will examine rural and migrant people's contact with the modern world and their world views[69].

At that point it is suitable to remind studies and films that we selected: Field studies that we choose on the axis of rural change and migrations are; Turkish Village, *Türkiye'de Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm ve Köylere Girişi*/ Underdeveloped Capitalism in Turkey and Its Access into Villages ve *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası*/ Ereğli: A Coastal Town Before Heavy Industry. Films on the same axis are *Kibar Feyzo*, *Züğürt Ağa* and *Sürü*.

Field studies that we choose on the axis of migration, urbanization and *gecekondu* are; *Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri*/ Squatter Families in Ankara and The *Gecekondu*: Rural Migration and Urbanization. Films on the same axis are *Gurbet Kuşları, Keşanlı Ali Destanı, Umut, Sultan* and *Düttürü Dünya*. At this point, we should state that if we would chose different studies and different films, analysis and results of the study could be different. This situation is valid for various studies in social sciences. If a different method of research, analysis and different samples would be chosen, conclusions and result could be different.

5.1. Family and Gender

As we examined in the beginning, Turkey has been the area of vast population movements for a thirty years period. "Generally, migration between the regions in Turkey depends on the relations of household, land distribution and agricultural production types in rural areas (Ilcan, 1994: 559). The most important indicator of the change in Turkish family structure is migration from rural to urban which accelerated with the increase of industrial agriculture (Dedeoğlu, 2000: 154). Family has a buffer mission between individual and society. "Family raises individuals with different characteristics for the labor

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[69] Concepts that we chose are not written according to an importance order. We wrote them by taking their writing order in the field studies into consideration.

industry and changes its own structure according to changing needs of individual and their actions in labor industry" (Dedeoğlu, 2000: 143). Relations of family members, daily lives and their occupation give us a very important social data. When we look at Turkish society in general by taking these items into consideration, we can state that "Turkish society is a patriarchal Muslim society in which the family preserves its significance." (Kandiyoti, 1988 and Duben 1982 in Erman, Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2002: 396). Definitions of family types are important at this point. 'Extended Family' is defined as members with mother, father, married sons and brothers-sisters, 'Nuclear Family' is defined as members with husband-wife and unmarried children and "Transition Family" is defined as families apart from the first two models. Nuclear Family percentage increases in towns and cities (Akşit, 1967: 110-111). Both in rural and *gecekondu*s in urban, family has been at the center of social life (Akşit, 1967: 111; Karpat, 1976: 96)

We will analyze selected studies and films by taking the concepts above into consideration[70]. Stirling searches life in two villages in 1950s' Turkey. Kıray analyzes social change in a town with the advent of heavy industry in 1960s. Akşit analyzes capitalist transformation in two villages at the end of 1960s. He makes a re-visit study to the same region 13 years later. Yasa searches structure and living conditions of *gecekondu* families in Ankara in 1960s and Karpat analyzes adaptation of *gecekondu* residents to urban life in three districts of Istanbul.

Stirling (1965: 292) states that; after seeing the outside world, village social relations started to change and this contact with the outside world has decreased solidarity of the village. Because, changing economic conditions,

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[70] In these studies, methods such as survey, deep-interview, open-interview, participatory observation are used. Surveys are applied to family heads and most of the family heads are men in these studies. Thus, results of surveys in questions about women's conditions cannot be trustful since they are not applied to women. But, we can consider other techniques sociologists' applied, such as deep interviews, open-interviews and participatory observation. They are conducted with the people who can give information about the gender, occupation, socio-economic status, political party and similar groups they belong (Kıray, 1964: 10).

increasing law and order and public transportation facilities increased contact with urban areas. In such a society, we should mention first that female and male members of families live in different social worlds. General research on development or lack of development shows that its impact differs on men and women (Hoşgör and Smits, 2006: 7).

According to Stirling (1965: 109), there are different types of relations among women. First one is mother-daughter relationship. Girls grow up with the women of the household and learn life from their mothers. But more effective relationship is among mother-in-laws and daughter-in-laws. A bride and a daughter-in-law are both called '*gelin*', which means 'the one who comes'. "She is expected to do all the more menial tasks in the household, and to wait on her mother-in-law," (Stirling, 1965: 109). Another relationship between women is co-wives (*Kuma* in Turkish), who have to live under the same roof if there is polygamy.

There is a patriarchal family structure and "marriage is at the centre of village society," (Stirling, 1965: 178). Household members are shaped according to marriage. When woman gets older, her place in the household gets stronger. If he has a son, this son is guarantee of her place in the house and during her older times. Moreover, there is a bride price tradition*, başlık* in Turkish, and the groom's family has to make a wealth exchange or cash payment with the bride family (Stirling, 1965: 185 and Vergin, 1985: 573).

In films that we chose for the present study, we see various representations of relations among women members and marriage. In '*Kibar Feyzo*/Feyzo, the Gentle[71]', we can watch representations of almost all these concepts. First of all, one of the main subjects of films is marriage and bride price (*başlık*). Feyzo, the main character of the film wants to marry Gülo, the most beautiful girl of the village. But, he has to pay bride price to her father. Since Bilo, another character of the film, also wants to marry Gülo, Gülo's

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[71] Film's title will be written in Turkish in the following parts of the study.

father wants a very high amount of bride price. Feyzo deals with father as half of the money cash, and rest of as five bills. Landlord Maho Ağa becomes guarantor to him. Women's taking as commodities that can be bought and sell are criticized the film. But, this situation overlaps with the real life as we see in Stirling's study. For instance, in one of the scenes of the study, Gülo tells her mother "I would rather die than marry that irritating Bilo, you should know!" Her mother says, "You damned, since when girls choose their husbands, you'll marry the one that your father approves!" Gülo answers "My father approves the money, he sells me to auction." Mother feels sad and says "Oh those customs, let your mother die my daughter. If this order continues, can someone marry the one she wants?"

In the following parts of the film, the landlord fires Feyzo from the village. He goes to Istanbul in order to work and collect bride price. There he learns that he has a son. When he comes back to home, Gülo says "I wish he was born as a girl." Feyzo asks "Why?" Gülo answers, "How we can find bride price for him when he grows up? He will not be able to marry like Zülfo. If he would be a girl, we would sell her." Feyzo says "May be next time (our child) it becomes a girl." Feyzo tries to pay the bride price in the rest of the film. Women are seen as a commodity and no one ask their idea about the marriage.

Feyzo goes to Istanbul when the landlord fires him once again. He learns in the city that there is not bride price in the city and it is illegal to take bride price. He sees a just married couple and asks the groom about the bride price. Groom answers that there is not a bride price. This time he asks to father of the bride about the price of his daughter. Father answers that his daughter was not a commodity and she got married since she loves the groom. Feyzo gets surprise. When he goes back to village, he tells these to all youngsters of the village. They started to protest the rules about bride price and say that women are not commodity and everyone has the right to marry with the ones that they want. This is the start of the change and reaction against the authority in the film.

We also see different types of relations among women in films we chose. These relations are represented as if there are always conflicts between women members of families. For instance, in *Kibar Feyzo*, Feyzo's mother does not want Gülo as her son's wife and states that she does not like her during the film. But is has not to be like this in reality. Thus, at the end of the film, mother and Gülo get along with each other.

Although polygamy is not represented in selected films, it is a reality in Turkish society not only in rural but also in urban among migrants. Polygamy is represented in various other films. For instance, in *Boynu Bükük Küheylan*/Destitute Küheylan (1990/Director: Erdoğan Tokatlı), Küheylan is a doorman in an apartment and he has two wives. There is not any conflict between two wives in the film. Younger wife Gülbahar works in a woman's house as a servant. Both apartment members and this woman tell her about the modern concepts and illegality of polygamy. Older wife Asiye helps to apartment resident women. With the affect of their connection with the modern life/women, both of them realize their identity as individuals and as women. In the end of the film, both of them leave Küheylan. Almost in all films shot in this period, social change issues represented.

In selected studies, we see the change of traditional point of view against women. Kıray analyzes Ereğli's change with the opening of a big iron-steel factory in the town in her famous work Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası/*Ereğli: A Coastal Town before Heavy Industry*[72].In the work, Kıray (1964: 87) makes one of the most important propositions by pointing that Ereğli is departing from a feudal socio- economic order and turning its side to urbanization, organization, and disengagement with locality. She indicates that people in Ereğli does not have a negative attitude towards the working women and that they are open minded about the jobs women can deal with. According to this, the number of people who said that women can also take role such as a

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[72]Title of the work will be written as "Ereğli" in the following parts of the study.

teacher, midwife, nurse, doctor, judge, and engineer are 95% (Kıray, 1964: 86). Then she analyzes different kinds of relations between family members such as father- son relationships, daughter- father- mother relationships, husband- wife relationships. Relationships in such as birth, circumcision, marriage, and death situations are also analyzed. According to this, there is a loosening in the father and son relationships in the society. The saying "Daughters are more favorable" (Kıray, 1964: 119) is an indicator to this. The traditional father-son relationships have changed and there occurred a conflict between them. This is a kind of disengagement from the traditional structure. However, the mother-son relationship continues in its traditional level also in Ereğli. A women's status in the house is guaranteed when she gives birth to a boy (Kıray, 1964: 119-120). Besides, girls are brought up in a more traditional way.

We will review Karpat's study in terms of migrated women. According to this, the literacy rate among the unmarried (94% of them know to read and write) and married men (84% of them know to read and write) is very high, but it's very low among married women (Just 31% of them know to read and write). "Women gave reasons for illiteracy as: the tradition that girls should be kept at home to remain wholesome, parents' ignorance and conservatism, the need for someone to take care of orphan brothers and sisters, poverty of the family and the need to earn a living and migration to city," (Karpat, 1976: 99-100). Besides, there is an inferior position of women in *gecekondu* as much as it has been in the village as a result of division of labor and hierarchy of values unfortunately (1976: 130). Thus, women's participation and power in *gecekondu* affairs is nearly nonexistent (Karpat, 1976: 132).

In *Gurbet Kuşları*, we can easily read the codes of patriarchal structure and authority and power struggle among the male members of the family. In the film, a migrant family's story is told. Family, who migrated from Kahramanmaraş to Istanbul, has a traditional structure. Father and brothers think that women should live in the house and not get out frequently. In one scene, the mother sends her daughter Fatma to market. Her son Murat asks for

the dinner. Mother tells him "Wait a little for Fatma." Murat asks "Where is Fatma?" Anne says that she send her to market for shopping. Murat shows his younger brother and says "While you send her instead of that lanky? I always say that girls should not be allowed to go to market or other places, but who listens?" Fatma's faith is written by her father and her brothers as working in the house. In another scene, father says that "My daughter Fatma will help her mother in housework." Besides, in another scene, their neighbor Mualla asks her that she has not seen her since a long time. Fatma answers, "I couldn't look around because of houseworks... Cooking, cleaning. Then washing clothes…" Even talking about the family matters is forbidden for her. When she wants to say her idea about a family subject, father says to mother "Put a bridle on this girl, she shouldn't interrupt all conversations."

At this point, we will focus on women's setting their own existence and identity in this patriarchal structure. Although this issue is not mentioned in selected studies, it has an important place in various studies and films. Kandiyoti claims that patriarchal family structure captures women's work and makes their work and contribution invisible (Kandiyoti, 1988: 279). In such a structure, women settle their own relations system and position their existence and daily lives according to this system. Women have personal intercourse with their husbands, their mother in-laws, sons and daughters rather than impersonal intercourse with government and bureaucracy (Kandiyoti, 1989: 141). This situation determines women's bargain and objection structure inside the house (Kandiyoti, 1989: 141). Women develop their style of objection to the unequal relations within the house. "This objection style reveals the nature of patriarchal system which developed in the historical, cultural and social format in the meantime" (Kandiyoti, 1988: 281). Woman secures her place inside the house and makes a type of 'patriarchal bargaining' by using their husband's and sons need and love to them (Kandiyoti, 1988: 280). For instance, they can go out for daily shopping with their sons and this provides them an opportunity to go out of home and use of money. This situation is a

mixture of behavioral and financial control of women by men and women's strategies developed against this situation (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2002: 401). All those concepts determine women's relationships among themselves. This type of relationship is not mentioned in studies we selected. But in films we selected, we can see examples. For instance, in *Kibar Feyzo,* mother uses her authority and son's love in order to convince him. She tries to secure her position by oppressing Gülo. In various Turkish films, mother characters use the "Do this (or 'not do this'), otherwise I will not give my milk's blessing to you".

Moreover, we should state women's participation to working sector both in rural and urban areas. There are different approaches to development and gender issues. Social scientists focus on "economic, social and cultural transformations" (Hoşgör and Smits, 2006: 8). One of them is Women in Development (WID) approach which states that development can bring female liberation since it involves women more in social and economic life (Hoşgör and Smits, 2006: 7). The other approaches are Marxist 'Woman and Development' (WAD) and 'Gender and Development' (GAD) approaches. According to both of them, economic and social marginality of women increase during the early stages of development since they "reproduce the labor force and consequently are less involved in earning wages themselves" (Hoşgör and Smits, 2006:9). In the following stages, they attend to economic process as cheap laborers (Hoşgör and Smits, 2006:9)[73]. Under the light of all these, we should consider the conditions that change and transform household structure and labor systems in Turkey which we discussed above.

Şenyapılı (1981:209) states that, "since number of family members decrease in time and girls marry in young ages, women living in *gecekondu* do

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[73] For a further reading, please see Hoşgör, A.,Smits J. "The Status of Rural Women in Turkey: What is the Role of Regional Differences". *NİCE Working Paper 06-101.* Nijmegen Center for Economics (NiCE) Institute for Management Research Radboud University Nijmegen. March 2006: 7-10.

not work full time. When economical problems emerge, they start to work." Family institution has a very important position in order to determine woman's labor supply and determine conditions of participation to working sector (Dedeoğlu, 2000: 143). This situation is in accordance with the patriarchal structure.

Moreover,

> …if we want to under-stand the empowerment of women in a particular society, we should look at both the structural con-ditions under which women live their lives and the ideological/cultural constructions of women in society, as well as how women perceive themselves in their relations with other people, particularly with men in their families (husbands, fathers, fathers-in-law) (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2002: 395-396).

When we look at Karpat's study, we see that only 30% of women are employed and 83% of them worked as servants (Karpat, 1976: 100)[74]. A similar situation is represented in *Sultan* and *Düttürü Dünya* films .In *Sultan*, main character of the film Sultan works as a servant/charwoman. Also in *Düttürü Dünya,* we see that women characters work as servants. In one of the scenes, Gülsüm's friend knocks their door early in the morning in order to go to houses that they are working a servants/charwomen. Gülsüm tells that she cannot go because she feels ill. Her friend asks about her husband. Gülsüm says that he came but is sleeping. Her friend tells that it's same for her. She says; "It's our fate. We do not have husbands to sleep with in the night (since they work during night), you are not at home during the day. Now, you have to go till Çankaya from here for 6000 Turkish Liras, wash dirty clothes, tidy up the lady's bras and panties…" Gülsüm says, "I told to lady timidly on the other day. I told that please do it 7000 at least, 1000 liras of it goes to travel

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[74] For a further reading on servant women and their participation to labor sector in Turkey please see, Kalaycıoğlu, S.,Rittersberger-Tılıç, H. *Evlerimizdeki Gündelikçi Kadınlar: Cömert Ablaların Sadık Hanımları.* İstanbul: Su Yayınları, 2001, and Özyeğin, G. *Başkalalarının Kiri: Kapıcılar, Gündelikçiler ve Kadınlık Halleri.*
İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005

expenses." Her friend replies, "If you feign reluctance, she says goodbye to you. Are not there lots of women in Ankara to work for that money?" In sum, we can say that social change does not have a very fertile affect on rural and migrant women's participation to work sector positively. But still, in Karpat's studywomen stated their satisfaction with living in the city as easier living conditions, and finding of security and some freedom from interference by relatives and elders (Karpat, 1976: 141). The unmarried stated their satisfaction as educational facilities and social activities. But on the other hand, the majority of interviewees (64% of men, 565 women and 67% of unmarried) responded that they did not yet consider themselves as city dwellers. They said that they didn't call themselves as city dwellers since they didn't live like the established residents (Karpat, 1976. 142). Besides other factors, one of the most important factors of women's satisfaction with living in the city is having opportunity to getting rid of burden of working inside the home and entering the urban life and earning money (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2002: 397).

At this point, we will examine men's positions and relations between each other within social change. Kinship relations are the most common type of social relations in rural (Stirling, 1965: 27).When it comes to land holdings, we see that members of a household, who own a land, work commonly on the land under the direction of the household head (Stirling, 1965: 51). "Most land belongs to household heads, but women may own in their own right; and sometimes stepsons or a brother's child living in a household may own part of the household land," (Stirling, 1965: 51). Men are the main core of household. There is a strong patriarchal system. Thus, having a son is very important for the household. As for relations of brothers, brothers are raised together in the same social system but there is an authority relationship between the elder and younger brothers. Besides, agnates have a basic and based on duty relationship in this system. They must stand together in problems, fighting and disputes (Stirling, 1965: 155). If a man is attached, agnates should defend him, if a man is killed, agnates should avenge him (Stirling, 1965: 155). Moreover, agnates

also have duties for domestic relations. For instance, if a boy's father dies, they are expected to support and take care of him. If a man wants to marry and if his father is not alive, agnates support him (Stirling, 1965: 156). Moreover, prestige is a main issue of lineages and is dependent on honor, *namus*[75] in Turkish, and unfortunately this was directly related to the women members of lineages (Stirling, 1965: 168). *Namus* is the reason of most killings in the area (Stirling, 1965: 168).

We see similar representations of this structure in films. In '*Sürü*/The Herd[76]' there is a vendetta between Veysikan and Halilan families. In Yılmaz Güney's famous script, we watch the story of a migrant settler family, Veysikan family. Kinship relations are very important. There is a strong patriarchal system and father is the most important member of the family. All children should respect him. Since father of Veysikan family, has a strong hate of Halilan family members, all family members obey the fathers hate and cannot argue with him. Halilan family, whose members want to end the vendetta, married their sister with one of the members of Veysikan family. But this is not enough for the father; he continues his hate and vendetta against the Halilan family. He even hits his son who married with Halilan family's sister, but since he should respect to his father, son never reacts him. We see the representation of patriarchal system, kinship relations and agnates throughout the characters of the film. We can state that, characters of the film are good representations of social types who are traditional and fit to definitions of social scientists chosen for the present study. These kinship relations, vendetta and *namus* issues are used in many Turkish films. For instance, in another film written by Yılmaz Güney and directed by Şerif Gören, '*Yol*/The Road', prisoner character of the film acted by Tarık Akan, takes permission during a religious fest and goes back to his home for one week in order to kill his wife

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[75] Concept will be used in Turkish in the following parts of the study.

[76] Film's title will be written in Turkish in the following parts of the study.

because of *namus*. There are gossips about the unfaithfulness of his wife and the only way is the kill her according to family members. The duty of killing her belongs to her husband. Character hesitates about killing her during all film. In one of the scenes, she is about to frozen to death because of cold weather and character prays and wishes that she die by herself; so he wouldn't have to kill her. From this point view, masculinity is also a difficult situation in this culture. Men also should obey various traditional roles, even killing their wives, sisters and killed by vendettas. All those concepts have an important place in the rural culture and lots of studies and films as we mentioned, focus on those concepts.

In migrant families, these types of relations continue. Kinship relations, *hemşehrilik*, authority struggle, prestige and *namus* have a very important place in men's world. For instance, migrant women's work outside the home is not approved and it turns to a *namus* issue quickly. Women's working outside the house easily understood as a threat to namus of their families and husband's authority status (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2002: 399). Because of these reasons this line is very famous for male film characters of Turkish cinema: "I will not let people talk behind me as he makes his wife work!"

We see examples of these concepts in films selected for the present study. For instance, being from Maraş city is told various times. Besides, we see father's struggle to continue his authority against his sons within the family. Sons should show respect to him. In one scene, when Murat gets angry with Fatma, father raises his voice against his son and says, "When I am here in my home, nobody can talk. I send my son to university, or I don't send; I send my daughter to market, or I don't send; it's my business!" In another scene, brothers talk about the*namus* of Fatma and warn her. Father again raises his voice and says "I'm still alive. It's my business to protect my family's *namus.* You don't feed Fatma, I do. Look at yourself rather than talking with me like this!" But, change is indispensable. They live in big city and sons would probably earn better than their father. They still have to show respect their

father, but they want to have more rights to speak about the family matters (Vergin, 1985: 574). On the other side, as we see in *Gurbet Kuşları*, prestige and *namus* concepts are discussed over women once again. In the following parts of the film, Fatma runs away from home after she gets 'dirty' after the rape of Orhan. Her brothers start to look for her in order to kill her and 'clean' their *namus*. When they find her, Fatma falls down from the roof of an apartment and dies. In some manner, brothers 'clean' their *namus*.

In sum, we can state that, "The findings on Turkey allow us to consider that, in spite of secularization policies, socioeconomic development, and change in attitude towards political and economic life, the Turkish family, far from disintegrating, is surviving as a unit which is particularly resistant to external pressures" (Vergin, 1985: 574).

5.2 Migration, Hemşehrilik and Integration with the City

Gecekondu term was started to be used after 1940 in Turkey (Keleş 1972:181). *Gecekondu*s took an important place in Turkish social sciences literature in 1950s and 1980s period. We should consider Kıray's "Rural Change Patterns" determination, when we want to examine reasons behind the migration. According to her, there are three basic reasons of rural transformation for three types of peasants. First one is the changes in modern technology and new products. According to this, with the advent of modern technology and new product types, agricultural-economical changes happen and tenant farmers-share croppers loose their positions. They turn to wageworkers or have to migrate to cities (Kıray, 1998: 95). Secondly, there is a pass to cash cropping with the production for market. In this situation, small land owners get into debt when there is a need of investment. As a result of these, 20%-25% of them lost their lands within a twenty years period cities (Kıray, 1998 Kıray, M. Kentleşme Yazıları, İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1998: 95-96). They turn to wageworkers or have to migrate to cities following after that. Thirdly, there is a debt accumulation in transportation and marketing areas

for whom tend towards cash cropping for market production. Peasants in that part also lost most of their lands. Thus, all these three processes ended with detachment of peasants from the land. These processes accelerated with the population increase. In other words, main reason of rural change is fast change in pre-modern agriculture. As it is seen obviously, one of the main results of rural change is migration to urban areas (Kıray, 1998: 95-96).

"There are numerous theories that explain migration. Because motives to migrate are complex, these different theories should be viewed as complementary rather than contradictory," (Karpestam and Andersson, 2013: 13). Classical theories on migration might be referred to Ravenstein's 1885 paper on the laws of migration[77]. Besides, we should mention Sjaastad's model which suggests that characteristics of individuals are also effective on migration along with market conditions and unemployment rates (Filiztekin and Gökhan, 2008:4)[78]. Moreover, Harris and Todaro developed a model based on expected wage differentials and unemployment rates between the rural and urban areas[79].

We should also mention two other important approaches. The first one views migrants as individuals who adapt to changing conditions in different ways (Ilcan, 1994: 556). 'Push' and 'pull' factors of rural and urban areas affect individuals' decisions for migration. Main 'push' factors of migration from rural to urban areas are, increasing population, poverty, unemployment, low income, vendetta (*Kan davası*), lack of educational and health facilities for families (Karpat, 1976; Akşit, 1967, Kıray, 1998). Main 'pull' factors of urban

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[77]For further reading please see Ravenstein. "The Laws of Migration" "*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*" LII, June, 1889: 241-301 and Lee, E.S. "A Theory of Migration" *Demography*. Vol. 3, No.1. 1966: 47-57.

[78] For further reading please see Sjaastad, L. A. "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration" *Journal of Political Economy* 70, 1962: 80-93

[79]For further reading please see Harris, J. R.; Todaro, R. D. "Migration, Unemployment And Development: A Two-Sector Analysis" *American Economic Review*, 60, 1970: 126-42

areas are, job opportunities, higher income, better life conditions, availability of educational and health facilities for families (Karpat, 1976; Akşit, 1967, Kıray, 1998). The second analysis mode has a Marxist framework. According to this perspective, population movements are "correlate with pressures and counter pressures in the social relations of production" (Ilcan, 1994: 557). Different social, economic and political forces affect the demand for labor and forms of working. Besides, penetration of capital system into rural agricultural system changes rural factors and causes rural change and peasants start to look for permanent or temporal work in urban areas (Long, 1984: 4; Ilcan, 1994: 557). When levels of permanent and temporal migration to urban areas are high, this situation signs a process of change and decomposition in agriculture (Ayata, 1986: 82; Hann, 1985: 109; Ilcan 1994:557). Moreover, migration is not a static phenomenon; it is rather a process that should be understood with causes and effects. Elements such as time and space, causes and effects, its being a process rather than a static phenomenon make the definition, evaluation and analysis of migration more complex (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999: 249-250). Generally, "economic factors such as income differentials and job seeking, and the presence of social networks are significant determinants of inter provincial migration" (Filiztekin and Gökhan, 2008:2).

As we analyzed above, migration has changed the distribution of population in Turkey starting from 1950s. In the first period of migration, it was from rural to urban areas. In the later periods, scope of migration changed and urban to urban migration increased rather than rural to urban (Filiztekin and Gökhan, 2008: 8). In this study, we focus on rural to urban migration[80].

Within this framework, we will analyze and compare reasons of migration mentioned in selected studies and films. In Stirling's study, both villages export labor to outside of village (Stirling, 1965: 64), but permanent migration to town is rare in both villages in the year 1950 (Stirling, 1965:

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[80] In this study forced migration because of political and economic will not be analyzed.

68).Stirling analyzed this as the importance of social factors gor keeping people rooted in the village (Stirling, 1965: 68). Although permanent migration to town is rare in Stirling's study, land shortage over the generations because of population increase and other economical reasons creates a problem. In 1950, fathers still profit from large families of their sons; but the as the sons' holdings are smaller they become more hopeless about the future (Stirling, 1965: 146). This situation creates migration, even if it's not permanent for these two sample villages of the study. To fulfill the needs of a family, many men go away from the village for work. Going to urban areas for work is expected to increase importance and achievement of those men in the village (Stirling, 1965: 146). But, leaving the village for long time makes such an increase of importance more difficult. Besides, after seeing outside world and other social relations, one becomes less enthusiastic to achieve an economic and social success in the village (Stirling, 1965: 146, 147).

We see in *Kibar Feyzo* that Feyzo goes to Istanbul in order to work, but he return backs when the landlord forgives him and he collects the bride price. But when the social conditions become unbearable, he and his family decides to migrate from the city permanently. We see examples of this situation in various other films in Turkish cinema.

According to Akşit's study, coming of new economical relations, new technology and new products into villages increase productivity, but peasants loose their lands and sharecropper status. As a result of these, peasants' income decreases and they couldn't benefit from health, education and welfare services of social development and have to migrate to *Gecekondus* in cities (Akşit, 1967). Moreover, although they don't believe that they can find jobs and conditions will change there, most of the unemployed consider migrating to towns and cities (Akşit, 1967: 127). In most of the families there are some members who migrated to cities (Akşit, 1967: 74). Also in Kıray's sample 61.3% of the head of the families born in Ereğli has relatives who are residents outside Ereğli (Kıray, 1964: 40).

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If we compare these findings with films we selected, *Gurbet Kuşları* tells the story of a family migrated to Istanbul from a small city. In one scene, Ayla's mother asks Kemal why they migrated from Maraş to Istanbul. Kemal answers as "We missed a better life I guess." When their work in Maraş goes economically bad, Kemal's family had to migrate to Istanbul. Education is also one of the important reasons of migration in the film. Kemal wants to go to university and father says in one scene; "My younger yon Kemal finished high school. He has wanted to go to university". Families want to migrate to city in order to make their children better educated. But, differently from Akşit's findings, characters of *Gurbet Kuşları* believe that they will have good jobs and a better life. In the end of the film, characters could be neither successful nor happy and they decide to go back to their hometown. But, their younger son Kemal, could take a good education and becomes a doctor. Thus, access to better education facilities for their children, desire for better health and life conditions are among the main reasons of migration.

Karpat summarizes causes of recent migration in his work. According to this, there was a rural population increase from 1923 to 1946 and this increase was much more than the increase of agricultural production (Karpat, 1976: 56). Besides, the slow but steady mechanization of agriculture, starting from 1950 and especially after 1960, resulted in cost accounting, efficiency and increase in production (Karpat, 1976: 56). "This development eliminated the marginal farms and left no justification for surplus manpower to stay in the village…" (Karpat, 1976: 56). Moreover, problems with landlords, tribal chiefs and problems of vendetta (Karpat, 1976: 56) are other causes behind migration. Industrialization emerged after 1963 created structural changes and gave a new direction to rural migration (Karpat, 1976: 58). Since the industrial production increased, male population engaged in industry and services also increased and thus let to rural migration (Karpat, 1976). As a result, population of urban areas increased. The *gecekondu*s are found around all major Turkish cities and they were built mostly after 1950 (Karpat, 1976: 59). People who

came from different parts of the country live in the *gecekondu*s. In Karpat's study, the population of three squatter settlements (Nafibaba, Baltalimanı and Celalettin Paşa) came from 36 provinces of Turkey (most of the interviewees [597 of 950] came from northeastern Anatolia and Black Sea) (Karpat, 1976: 65). Yasa also examines and summarizes main and sub-causes of migration question in Turkey as main economic reasons, land problems, agriculture problems and family problems. Then, he examines social causes such as population increase, heritage problems, blood feuds and security problems (Yasa, 1966). In terms of to urban reaction to rural migration, Karpat (1976: 62) writes that "the old city inhabitants regarded the migration as a peasant invasion."

In *Keşanlı Ali Destanı*, all of the residents of the *Gecekondu* district migrated from different rural areas to Istanbul. For instance, Zilha is from Sivas and Ali is from Keşan (*Keşanlı* means 'The one was born in/comes from Keşan' in Turkish). In *Sürü*, we watch a changing order. Tribes who earn their life from animal husbandry and agriculture, will soon loose their livelihood because of new economical and technological conditions. In the film we can understand that they will have to migrate to city in the end. In *Züğürt Ağa* and in *Kibar Feyzo*, characters of the film migrate to city because of problems with landlord and economical reasons. Although those situations are narrated in a satirical way, they are good representations of reasons behind the migration. There are lots of different examples of films in Turkish cinema that notices reasons behind the migration. For instance, Lütfi Akad tells the stories of three rural families who migrated to Istanbul because of economic reasons in his famous triology, *Gelin, Düğün, Diyet*/the Bride, the Wedding, the Blood Money. Characters of *Endişe/*Anxietyfilm are seasonal workers in Çukurova region. Yılmaz Güney uses codes of semiology very successfully in his script. In one of the scenes, two main characters of the film discuss about their problems and life in the city. We see a factory on the backside and one of the characters looks at that factory. It is the part that we, as audience, understand

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that life in rural areas is not the same and characters think immigrate to the city because of economical, educational, health facilities. Moreover, in *Sürü* and *Endişe* we see that there are ongoing vendettas and characters are also thinking to leave their communities in order to escape from vendetta.

Under the light of these, we can state that reasons behind the migration that were stated in the studies that we selected are coherent with the models and literature about reasons behind the migration. Moreover, when we compare selected studies and films for the present study, we can state reasons behind the migration which were represented in films are consisted with the selected studies.

Hemşehrilik (Fellowship/fellow townsman) is an important issue in Turkish culture. As is known, kinship relations are very important in both rural and urban areas of Turkey (Stirling, 1965). *Hemşehrilik* is added to this type of relations in urban areas. *Hemşehri* generally means people who are from the same town, region or county (Güneş-Ayata 1990-1991:97). As Dubetsky (1976 in Kurtoğlu, 2005: 4) stated, people define their relations such as relative, friend, and neighbor at first. If they define a neighbor as *hemşehri,* this type of relation can be developed after migration (Kurtoğlu, 2005: 4). Thus, we can state that *hemşehrilik* relations emerged as a result of migration and these types of relations had big importance especially for the first generation migrants (Dedeoğlu, 2000: 156).

During migration and adaptation to the life in urban areas, *hemşehrilik* becomes prominent as an institution. *Hemşehri*s help each other in order to find a job, to find/construct a *gecekondu* and during the adaptation to city. Thus, coming from the same town turns to an economic solidarity and a network for migrants to cope up with the difficulties of urban life (Hersant and Toumarkine, 2005: 4). In other words, *hemşehrilik* turned to a type of kinship in the city and migrant families chose their living spaces and jobs according to *hemşehrilik* relations (Dedeoğlu, 2000: 156). In time, "the *hemşehrilik* numbered amongst various other solidarity networks, which over the course of

three decades enabled, with varying degrees of success, the economic integration of a growing urban population" (Hersant and Toumarkine, 2005: 5). Moreover, continuous migration could be possible with the settlement of *gecekondu*s as districts throughout *hemşehrilik* relations. *Gecekondu* districts formed according to *hemşehrilik* relations in big cities indeed. While migrants from Adana were living in a district, migrants from Kayseri were living in another district for instance. Besides, first generation of migrants were finding a job and building their *gecekondu*s with the help of their *hemşehri*s (Mutlu, 2007: 28)[81]. Moreover, *hemşehrilik* "is seen as an identity that helps migrated population to differentiate themselves from city residents and village, a tool necessary for adaptation to city, and as an assurance" (Güneş-Ayata, 1990-1991: 99). Thus, *hemşehrilik,* as a 'buffer institution', helps rural migrants during defining a new identity and adaptation to urban life.

According to Kıray (1995: 64), landlord system in village turns to family and *hemşehri* solidarity during the migration process; and this protection system turns to political patronage system in time. Kıray (1995) states that these types of political patronage systems are Turkey's non-modernized part. As an example of political patronage/support systems, *Hemşehri* associations/organizations are legally/politically organized institutions in order to ensure support to *hemşehri* people in the city. Although they turned into political patronage systems especially after 1980s, first *hemşehri* associations which were founded in 1950s were very important for the first generation migrants. According to a research study about *hemşehri* associations in Istanbul, main aim of the foundation of *hemşehri* associations is to help and support their members in the city; second aim is to ensure help and support in their hometowns (Aktaş and friends, 2012: 111). Actually, *hemşehri*

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[81]*Gecekondu* construction turned to a way of gaining unearned income in time and *gecekondu* mafias emerged soon. As we mentined, *Keşanlı Ali Destanı* starts with a scene of mafia members pulling down a *gecekondu* since the familyhead does not have enough Money to give them. *Gecekondu* mafia problem continued until present day Turkey.

associations help during the socialization process of the migrants, migrants'
development of city values and behavior patterns and comparison of these
values and patterns with local values (Bal, 1997: 439). Furthermore, these
relationship networks' power and organization have an important role during
the protection of social, economic and political interests (Şenyapılı, 1978: 140).

According to the same research we mentioned (Aktaş and friends, 2012:
110-112) around 90% of *hemşehri* associations were founded after 1980. This
situation shows that, those associations turned into groups with political aims
as well as their help and support aim to migrants. In the research, *hemşehri*
associations stated that they are in contact with the public officers and political
party representatives of their hometown regions. According to 2007 data, there
are around 8135 *hemşehri* associations in Turkey with around 2.2 million
members. This situation shows us that, migrant people solve their problems
throughout the help of those associations when they could not solve them
throughout government mechanisms (Aktaş and friends, 2012: 110-112). This
situation also corrects Kıray's (1995) claims on political patronage systems.

In the light of this information, we can examine selected studies and
films. Both Yasa and Karpat state the importance of *hemşehrilik* relations
during the migration and adaptation to city. Yasa (1966: 121) writes that most
of the newcomers find a job through a relative or a *hemşehri*. According to
Karpat (1976: 86), kinship and *hemşehrilik* play an important role during
migration and the subsequent settlement process in the city. "Migrating to
Istanbul, building a house and finding a job in the city revolved around
akrabalık (blood relationship/kinship) and *hemşehrilik*" (Karpat, 1976: 85).
But, *hemşehri* associations, residents' relations with their *hemşehri*s and
importance of this concept are not examined in detail in both studies.

In films that we selected and in various other films in Turkish cinema,
hemşehrilik issue is represented in detail. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, being from
Kahramanmaraş frequently mentioned by characters since it is an important
situation for them. In one scene, when Murat understands that Seval is also

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from Kahramanmaraş, her real name is 'Naciye' and they are neighbours in the same district in Kahramanmaraş, he gets surprise. He finds one of his *hemşehri*s to live a relationship. Supporting each other is very important for *hemşehri*s. In one scene of *Keşanlı Ali Destanı*, there would be *muhtarlık* elections. One of the characters says that "All people come from will support Çakal Kazım." Ali asks "Will Zilha also support him?" The man answers "Of course, she is from Sivas too". In *Züğürt Ağa*, we see good representations of *hemşehri*s living together in same districts. In one scene, Züğürt Ağa tries to find peasants who stole and sold all wheat of him and escaped to city. He finds them in a coffeehouse where all migrants from Haraptar village (the village once belong to him) go. This scene is a good example of socialization of *hemşehri* migrants. In city life, people from the same place settle a kind of common life in order to support each other.

Adaptation and contact with the city are very important parts of migrants' life in urban as well as economic matters and *hemşehrilik* relations. In other words, these three concepts are one within the other and affect the determination of each other.

In one research about identity and adaptation to city, most of the interviewees answered that they see themselves as peasants and/or they could not be totally a city dweller (Erman, 1997: 306)[82]. In other words, people who migrated from rural areas to city and live a traditional and modern conflict and live problems about belonging to city (Genç, 1997: 309). Symbols of modern life, such as living in an apartment, help migrants to feel belong to city (Erman, 1997: 306). On the other hand, living in *gecekondu* districts, makes feeling belong to city harder. 'Buffer institutions' as Kıray presented; emerge in these conflict situations in order to strike a balance between rural and urban identities

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[82] Parallel to our inferences in family and gender part, Erman states also in the same research that women's adaptation to city is more difficult than men since women feel social pressure more than men (Erman, 1997: 306). Women and men face with social change and development differently.

(Genç, 1997: 310). *Hemşehri* associations are a good example of 'buffer institutions'.

Giddens (1990: 4-5) states that

The modes of life brought into being by modernity have swept us away from all traditional types of social order, in quite unprecedented fashion...obviously there are continuities between the traditional and the modern, and neither is cut of whole cloth; it is well known how misleading it can be to contrast these two in too gross a fashion.

Again Giddens (1976: 718-719) analyzes development of industrial societies and writes that;

The theory of industrial society runs roughly as follows: The fundamental contrast in the modern world, it is held, is between traditional, formed into a mass democratic state. The theory of industrial society recognizes the phenomenon of class conflict but holds that it is characteristic of the transitional phase in the emergence of industrialism out of traditional society and that it becomes transcended (read "regulated" or "institutionalized") when the industrial order reaches maturity.

According to this, during the emergence of modernization and during the process of migration to modernizing cities, rural and traditional identities changed their forms (Genç, 1997: 312). In this respect, coming to city is not just a situation of changing place. It is also a problem of adaptation for migrants. When the time of stay in the city becomes longer, attitudes and manners change and people accord with the city although they could not achieve a total integration (Mutlu, 2007: 114).

While rural migrants continue their traditions in *gecekondu* districts, contact with city life create new concepts[83]. We can state that, migrant adds

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[83]Arabesque culture, which emerged at the end of 1970s and became very effective in 1980s, is one of the examples of these concepts. Arabesque culture gave a way of expressing themselves in city to rural migrants For instance 1982 dated *Çiçek Abbas*/Abbas in Flower film (Director: Sinan Çetin) shows arabesque culture in *gecekondu* settlements successfully. Arabesk culture is not on the focus of this study. For a further reading on arabesque culture, please see Stokes, Martin. *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

rural-traditional information and values to his/her life in the city and tries to continue these codes of rural life in his/her new life in urban (Genç,1997: 314). A very important point to state is that, majority of *gecekondu* people do not want to go back to their villages (Mutlu, 2007: 143, Karpat, 1976). They want to stay, pursue a life in the city and make their children to have a good education. This reality sometimes is shown differently in films. We watch stories of unhappy and hopeless migrant characters and they want to go back. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, family goes back to Kahramanmaraş in the end of the film since they could not survive in Istanbul. In *Umut*, Cabbar faces with lots of difficulties and there is not any way out neither for him nor his family in the city.

In this respect, when we look at studies that we selected we see that rural-urban dichotomy starts in rural. In Stirling's study (1965: 283) there is an urban and rural social rank according to peasants. They speak as if the village is ranked below the urban areas, and even a poor townsman is proud of his urbanity (Stirling, 1965: 283). According to Stirling, there is a situation of mutual strangeness and mistrust between town and village (Stirling, 1965: 285). For most peasants, educated urban people are best avoided. "No one likes the humiliation involved in making visits to doctors and lawyers, and everyone is suspicious of and opposed to any official interference in village life," (Stirling, 1965:288).

According to Yasa (1966: 229), the rural family in *gecekondu*s is in a transformation process to *gecekondu* family and then to urban family. The *gecekondu* family is a socio-economically closed society. It diverges from a rural family structure and becomes an urban family structure (Yasa, 1966: 230). On the other hand, *gecekondu* families still follow some rural habits. Material values (clothing, eating, health habits etc) evolve into an urban life style fast; while moral values (beliefs, superstitions, traditions etc) transform more slowly (Yasa, 1966: 236). In the light of these, Yasa comes to the conclusion that the *gecekondu* family is a social institution in a transformation

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process, and its social structure is always in a state of change (Yasa, 1966: 236).

According to Karpat (1976: 78), a noteworthy majority of interviewees in his study thought that their children's future in the city will be better than their parents (92% of men, 93% of women and 91% of unmarried [when their children were born] answered in this way) (Karpat, 1976: 108). Squatters know, however, that the city requires them to adapt to urban culture; and consequently they find themselves as both uprooted villagers and unaccepted city dwellers (Karpat, 1976: 114). In order to move upward, squatters thought that they must develop their abilities and succeed through economic achievement. When they succeed, they face bureaucracy and opposition from the intellectual elite (Karpat, 1976: 114). In addition, as for increasing social position and income, residents think that it cannot be achieved with the help of *hemşehris* or *akrabalık*, but by individual effort and achievement alone (Karpat, 1976: 114). We can read this situation as, *hemşehrilik* and *akrabalık* concepts help individuals as buffer institutions during the adaptation to city. But, when someone want to be a real city dweller with a high social position and income, buffer institutions and solidarity networks did not work. As a result, if the squatter becomes a rich man, he is isolated from his village mates, who still continue to be simple workers (Karpat, 1976: 114).

But, problems of migrants during the adaptation process to city are not analyzed in detail in the selected studies differently from selected films. Turkish cinema is shaped under the daily life developments similar to other arts (Kayalı, 1997: 688). Because of this reason, social change and migration process reflected to stories of Turkish films (Kayalı, 1997: 688).

Keşanlı Ali Destanı starts with a song which summarizes migration, *gecekondu* life and problems successfully: "Here is Sineklidağ, Look at the city from a Hill, but the city is far away, Like in fairytales.[84]" Song continues as:

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[84] "Sineklidağ Burası, Şehre Tepeden Bakar, Ama Şehir Uzakta, Masallardaki Kadar"

"They came from all four sides, one from Maraş, one from Van, one from Erzincan, one from Kemah, one side is ramshackle, the other side is slope scarp, one is carrier, tinsmith… some of them becomes workman and toil[85]" But in the film we also see that characters adapted to city life in their own ways. In one scene we watch that Keşanlı Ali and friends hire carriers and workmen to contractors in the city and they made a system for this. Contractors have to talk with and pay them in order to find carriers and workmen to work in their constructions.

Big city (Istanbul almost in all films) is also represented as a victory to be won in films. If the migrant character becomes successful both economically and socially, this would mean as a victory against the big city and its residents and a way of proving him/herself. We can also read this representation as a challenge of traditional one to modern. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, "We will be the shah to Istanbul" says father in one scene, and Murat replies "King!" "I will defeat you Istanbul!" is a very famous line in Turkish cinema. Characters who come to Istanbul with a hope of having a good life there say this line in various Turkish films. "We will be the shah of Istanbul" line is another version of this famous line and shows the desire of being successful in the big city. Also Haybeci character is a good representation of social type who wants to be successful in Istanbul. He expresses this will various times in the film. In one scene father asks him about his being a conqueror of Istanbul. Haybeci replies, "It will happen man, it will happen. Now I'm the headman of here. If you live long enough, you'll see Haybeci as the king of Istanbul one day." Haybeci, who is represented as a devious, ambitious and shrewd type, becomes the only one who could survive in Istanbul at the end of the film. This desire to be successful and move upward is consistent with Karpat's findings that squatters think that they must develop their abilities and succed through

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[85] "Dört Bir Yandan Gelmişler, Maraşlısı Vanlısı, Erzincanlı, Kemahlı, Bir yanımız mezbele, Bir yanımız yokuş yar, Biri hamal kalaycı… Irgat olur bazısı, amelelik ederler"

economic achievement in order to move upward in the city (Karpat, 1976: 114). *Gurbet Kuşları* gives its message at the final scene: While main characters turning back to their hometown, we see new people coming to Istanbul at the train station (Kayalı, 1997: 689). City means a dead-end street on the one side, hopes and opportunities on the other.

We see this meaning of hopes in *Sürü*. Şivan wants to take his wife Berivan to doctor. When they come to Ankara, Şivan carries Berivan and says "Here is Ankara my Berivan. My gazelle, here is the capital city Ankara. They taught us a saying in the military service: 'Ankara, Ankara beautiful Ankara, all unlucky ones want to see you.' Here is our capital city. Here is the heart of Turkey, Ankara. Here is beautiful Ankara". In another scene, he says to Berivan "You'll get well, here is Ankara. Here all problems can be solved." These lines also can be read as a representation of traditional and modern/rural and urban conflict. Şivan represents rural type who does not feel any belonging to city life. We can understand his being a stranger to modern big city from his repeating Ankara word many times. But Ankara, big modern city, is the only solution for Berivan's illness according to him. Thus, he wants to reach Ankara.

Number of films focusing on migration, *hemşehrilik* and problems of adaptation to city increased started from 1960s as well as social studies. But especially since the beginning of 1970s, films were made by thinking on the subject in detail (Kayalı, 1997: 689). Akad's triology *Gelin, Düğün, Diyet*/ The Bride, The Wedding, The Blood Money is one of the best examples of this type of films.

5.3 Economic Life

Means of livelihood both in rural and urban areas are important indicators of social change. Turkish society was a rural agricultural society until 1950s (Kıray, 1998). This situation started to change with the flow of migration to urban areas and a social change process started in the 1950s. In the

rural areas of Turkey, main means of livelihood are farming and animal husbandry. "The form that production takes is cash-cropping, subsistence production, or combinations of both" (Ilcan, 1994: 559).With the advent of technological farming methods and opening of new roads to towns and cities changed the balances of rural livelihoods. The arrival of new economic relations, technology and products in villages increased productivity; but surplus labor emerged, lands are divided, some peasants lost their lands and sharecropper status. Besides, production for the market started in rural areas. This production style changed also balances in the villages and feudal stagnancy changed (Akşit, 1967: 79). But also as a result of these changes, income inequality between peasants increased and most of them faced with poverty (Akşit, 1967: 74). All these factors led some peasants to migrate to urban areas in order to have better life conditions.

In the 1960s and 1970s, sociologists were discussing capitalist transformation problematique in rural areas (Boratav, 1981). With the advent of new technologies, new production types and start of production for the market, a capitalist transformation in rural areas was expected. Kıray's hypothesis is that there will be a land and class polarization throughout the commercialization, commodity production, mechanization and credit using processes (Kıray, 1964; Kıray, 1971, Akşit, 1999). This hypothesis has an important place in rural research program of Turkey (Akşit, 1999: 175). Kıray asserts that class polarization will happen in villages where big land ownership is effective through the transformation of feudal landlord to an agro-industrial capitalist and sharecroppers to waged laborers. There is also a change in villages where small land ownership effective, but there has not polarization yet (Kıray, 1966 ve 1968; Kıray ve Hinderink, 1970, Akşit, 1999: 175). "Kıray see usuary relations between the merchants in town and commodity producer farmers in village as the 'dissolution of peasantry' and polarization mechanisms" (Akşit, 1999: 175). Besides, migration from rural to urban in 1950s and 1960s are evidences of the dissolution of peasantry according to

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Kıray (Akşit, 1999: 175). Akşit wants to test Kıray's hypothesis in 1967 and makes a field study in two villages in Antalya[86]. He makes a re-visit study thirteen years later. But, there is not a capitalist transformation in the villages thirteen years later and peasants remained as small commodity producers (Akşit, 1999). Akşit states that there is a big migration from rural to urban areas between 1950 and 1980. This migration means the dissolution of peasantry in a sense. But on the other hand, capitalist transformation hypothesis is not verified totally and peasantry continued as small commodity producers. According to Akşit (1998 and 1999: 176), migration contributed to transformation of peasants to small commodity producer farmers and ensured peasantry's continuity (1998 and 1999: 176).[87]

At this point we should focus on production types in villages, social change, poverty and migration. We will examine selected studies in the light of this framework.

Stirling also states that villages in his study survive by growing crops and keeping animals, in other words by mixed farming (Stirling, 1965: 44). Each village (Sakaltutan and Elbaşı villages in this study) has a territory around the village settlements that acts as a symbol of village political identity (Stirling, 1965: 48). The land is cropped in alternate years according to the village fallow system. But the real success of agricultural production "depends on the protection of the village headsman and watchman, and only a resident owner or tenant can be sure of this protection," (Stirling, 1965: 49). In terms of

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[86] It is the study we selected for the present study.

[87] For further reading please see Kıray, M. "Sosyo-Ekonomik Hayatın Değişen Düzeni: Kendiliğinden Dört Köyün Monografik Karşılaştırılması" E. Tümertekin, F. Mansur and P. Benedict (eds.) *Türkiye'de Coğrafî ve Sosyal Araştırmalar.* İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Coğrafya Enstitüsü, 1971. ;Kıray M.; Hinderlink, J. *Social Stratification as an Obstacle to Development.* NewYork: Praeger Publishers, 1970; Akşit, B. *Teknolojik Gelişimi Sosyolojik Ölçüt Alan Diyalaektik Bir Yaklaşım Açısından Türkiye'de Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm ve Köylere Girişi.* Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Öğrenci Birliği Yayınları,1967.; Akşit, B. "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Köylerindeki Dönüşümler" Celal, M. (ed) *75 yılda Köylerden Şehirlere.* Bilonço '98 Kitaplar Dizisi. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999: 173-186.

to land holdings, we see that members of a household that owns land work commonly on the land under the direction of the household head (Stirling, 1965: 51). "Most land belongs to household heads, but women may own in their own right; and sometimes stepsons or a brother's child living in a household may own part of the household land," (Stirling, 1965: 51). If land is productive, it can be rented to a neighbor on the basis of sharecropping. Besides agricultural work, some other crafts are found in limited numbers such as weaving, carpentry, masonry, smith and barbering (Stirling, 1965: 58-61). But still, main means of livelihood is based on farming and animal husbandry. In terms of marketing, the Office of Soil Products (*Toprak Mahsülleri Ofisi*) takes the harvest and sells it directly to the government. Also, the Agricultural Bank and Credit Co-operative offices give credits and loans to peasants (Stirling, 1965: 73, 75). In sum, the village produces grain for the market and imports products such as fruit, vegetables, tea, coffee, some readymade clothes, shoes, bedding and winter feed for animals. When it comes to the household economy, we see that "resources of a household are threefold: land, animals, and able-bodied ploughmen" (Stirling, 1965: 83). Production depend son the balance of these three items of a household (Stirling, 1965: 83). In this production style, the urgent need for cash is a problem. Because household incomes are insufficient, people borrow to meet their needs. They take out loans from the Agricultural Bank or Credit Co-operative and from moneylenders with illegal rates of interest and borrow from neighbors and kin (Stirling, 1965: 91).

As we mentioned above, Akşit also states that main livelihood resources are based on farming in the villages that he selected. "Access to capitalist markets and the arrival of modern technology into villages transformed the society intoworkers and capitalists" (Akşit, 1967: 86). But Akşit's sample shows that these two classes didn't emerge precisely like this; rather, different social strata with regard to occupations emerge such as big farmer, small farmer, sharecropper-worker, worker, qualified worker and

truckman-merchant (Akşit, 1967: 86). These social strata emerge in land distribution and annual income distribution issues. In addition, women and children also work in both villages and try to increase their families' income by entering the workforce (Akşit, 1967: 90). Because of this social stratification, all peasants couldn't benefit from goods and commodities, health, education and welfare services; and they had to migrate to *Gecekondus* in cities (Akşit, 1967: 79).

In both *Kibar Feyzo* and *Züğürt Ağa*, peasants make their living bu farming and animal husbandry. Similar to Akşit's findings, there is a feudal system and social stratification. The landlord is the owner of the lands. Peasants work on these lands and give most of the product to the landlord. Besides, women and children also work on fields in order to help to labor force. In both films, landlord also decides the type of the product. For instance, in *Kibar Feyzo* peasants want to plant cotton and take 100 Turkish Liras daily wage. But the landlord does not give permission them. In both Akşit's and Stirling's studies production for the market is stated. In Stirling's study the Office of Soil Products (*Toprak Mahsülleri Ofisi*), the Agricultural Bank and Credit Co-operative are mentioned as offices that buy products from peasants and give credits and loans to them (Stirling, 1965: 73, 75). But in films we selected, we see a feudal system based on landlord. Landlord takes the biggest share of the product and peasants take rest of it for their consumption. Akşit made his field study on two villages in the Mediterranean Region of Turkey and Stirling made in the Central Anatolia Region of Turkey. But location of *Kibar Feyzo* and *Züğürt Ağa* films are Southeastern Anatolia Region. Thus, we can state that means of livelihood, production styles and feudal system differ between regions of the country.

In *Sürü* film, means of livelihood of the tribes is animal husbandry. They feed and raise a sheep herd and sell them in Ankara. In one of the scenes, the father tells his son Şivan that their last hope is to sell the herd in Ankara. "If we sell 170 sheeps with a good price, we can pass the winter," he says, "if we

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cannot sell, we all starve during the winter." But, change is soon. Modern technology and life is about come their life. In one of the scenes, while they were taking the herd to the city down from the hills, the father sees a tractor plowing the field up to the hills. He understands that, their life order and means of livelihood will change soon because of the advent of modern technology and modern means of production. Thus, he says in one scene "There is no Veysikan family name. It was in the good old days. Now, we are poor, miserable nomads. (Name/Fame of the) Veysikan family is dead."

Rural poverty is another important concept. Theodore W. Schultz (1980: 639-640) states in his 1979 dated Nobel Prize Speech that,

> Most of the people in the world are poor, so if we knew the economics of being poor we would know much of the economics that really matters. Most of the world's poor people earn their living from agriculture, so if we knew the economics of agriculture we would know much of' the economics of being poor… We have learned that agriculture in many low-income countries has the potential economic capacity to produce enough food for the still-growing population and in so doing can improve significantly the income and welfare of poor people. The decisive factors of production in improving the welfare of poor people are not space, energy, and cropland; the decisive factor is the improvement in population quality.

Schultz' statements are parallel with the situation in Turkey. Unfortunately, the improvement in population quality could not be ensured. As we stated, Turkish society was an agricultural society until 1950s and transformation from a rural structure to urban structure has taken a long period. Still, there is a considerable amount of people make their living from farming and animal husbandry. When we look at the agricultural politics, various rural development plans have been applied in Turkey similar to world politics. Besides, there has been a considerable amount of rural loans from government (Demiröğen, Ören, and Alemdar, 2012: 86). But, targeted success could not be achieved and rural poverty increased. Migration to urban areas is one of the outcomes of poverty. When we think on the causes of this issue, we come to similar conclusions with Kıray and Akşit. Incomes and loans are not distributed

equally among the producers and big agricultural entrepreneurs take the biggest amount of loans rather than small producers (Demiröğen, Ören, and Alemdar, 2012: 92). This situation creates a vicious circle of poverty as well as outcomes of capitalist transformation and break up of peasantry.

In Kıray's study, we read change of peasantry and life codes in a town. Here, there is a settled peasant-merchant relationship. Ereğli is departing from a feudal socio-economic order and moving toward urbanization, organization, and disengagement with locality (Kıray, 1964: 87). Kıray indicates (1964: 88) that in Ereğli, social norms regard complaining about destitution and poorness as a sin. Because of this, it becomes impossible to determine incomes and expenditures of the residents of Ereğli. Kıray analyses how the families use their incomes and expenditures by looking at their furniture, meals eaten, foods made and consumed outside, and clothing. Waste and luxury concepts are also analyzed by examining variables such as possessing an automobile, which is regarded as a luxury by the families, or buying a refrigerator or travelling. Moreover, criterions such as getting an education and being regarded as an important person as a result of this, becoming rich and being regarded as an important person as a result of this, and working women and attitudes towards this are also analyzed. The subject of working women is important. Kıray (1964: 86) indicates that the people in Ereğli do not have a negative attitude toward working-women, and that they are open minded about the jobs women can perform. According to this study, the percentage of people who said that women can also take a role such as a teacher, midwife, nurse, doctor, judge, or engineer are % 95 (1964: 86). Under the light of these, we can state that there is a change towards urbanization and modernization in Ereğli. Although we cannot generalize this situation to all towns in Turkey, we can state that there was a social change in towns towards urbanization during 1960s.

In terms of urban areas, main means of livelihood for migrant people change. Most of them work in services sectors and temporary jobs. Means of livelihood also affects and changes living standards. As we mentioned above,

both push and pull factors affect migration process. These push and pull factors emerge in changing and modernizing societies. According to this, migration emerges as a concept of modern industrial societies (Tekeli, 2008: 173). But, results of migration in a modernizing society are not always positive. Bad living standards in *gecekondus* in urban areas are one of the negative results of migration (Filiztekin, Gökhan, 2008: 2). Even in 1995, 35% of the Turkish population was living in *gecekondu*s and most of them were without electiricity and piped water (Keleş, 1996; Filiztekin and Alpay, 2008: 2). This situation was worse in the period between 1950 and 1980. Thus, migration to city did not solve the poverty problem in the first hand.

Yasa analyzes *gecekondu* families' foods, nutritional habits, clothing habits and finally, health and cleaning habits in his work. Thus, we can understand the life conditions of *gecekondu* families in Ankara. According to Yasa's outcomes (1966: 185), a *gecekondu* family bears a resemblance to middle class craft families of the city in terms of sleeping hours, health issues, and teeth cleaning habits. On the other hand, *gecekondu* families resemble rural families in terms of waking up hours and general cleaning habits. Moreover, most of the *gecekondu*s don't have good physical and social conditions (Yasa, 1966: 53). Besides, streets lost their common meaning in *gecekondu*s. "Because of this reason, house groups in *gecekondu* settlements were called 'scatter'"(Yasa, 1966: 54). "Most of the *gecekondu* houses have a single room… New rooms were added in time," (Yasa, 1966: 54-55). Owners of these houses first rent rooms; and, after a while, rent the entire house. "These owners are brokers of these *gecekondu*s," (Yasa, 1966: 55). Adverse possession during the beginning of *gecekondu* construction turned into a type of exploitation of people (Yasa, 1966: 55) by *gecekondu* mafias. Karpat also states that, a regular *gecekondu* has usually one room (Karpat, 1976: 92). The house can later be expanded to 2 to 4 rooms (Karpat, 1976: 92). Among the house owners in *Gecekondus*, most of them stated that they built their own house; and the rest stated that they bought them (Karpat, 1976: 93).

When we get to the furniture of houses, we see that most of them are furnished according to a rural style. Furniture such as sofas, tables and chairs are for guests' usage. Family members use the same tables and cups (Yasa, 1966: 55). Toilets of most houses are common and not hygienic (Yasa, 1966: 56). Heating is a problem in winter. Most families use stove heating (Yasa, 1966: 56). Families who are economically in good condition can buy lignite coal. Families who are economically in bad shape use coal and waste fuels (Yasa, 1966: 56).Besides, the basic foods of families' consist mainly of carbonhydrates; and because of poor nutrition, most family members have health problems (Yasa, 1966: 57). Children and adults suffer from these problems. But most of the *gecekondu* families don't consider going back to village or towns despite these problems (Yasa, 1966: 58).

Looking at work types of *gecekondu* residents, Yasa (1966: 121) states that most of the newcomers have to find a job by themselves. Commonly, they find a job through a reconciler or a relative (Yasa, 1966: 121). If we examine jobs of squatter people, we see that they are qualified worker-craftsmen, unqualified workers, cleaners, small business owners, farmers and civil servants in turn (Yasa, 1966: 123). They learn professions such as driving, being an auto mechanic, carpentry, tailoring and bricklaying after they migrate to the city (Yasa, 1966: 124). Because of having difficulty adapting to urban culture, they change their jobs frequently and try to find new and better jobs. Thus, Yasa writes that categorizing the jobs of these people was difficult during the study (Yasa, 1966: 124). In parallel with Yasa, Karpat also states that the occupations of the male population were traditional professions such as crafts and services (Karpat, 1976: 101). 93% of male squatters are employed and only 30% of women, on the other hand, are employed and 83% of them work as servants (Karpat, 1976: 100). Employment among unmarried is also relatively high and the rest were too young and/or going to school (Karpat, 1976: 100). Moreover, Karpat's outcomes in Istanbul are parallel with Yasa's

outcomes in Ankara: Job mobility is high and 55% of male interviewees state that they change their jobs (Karpat, 1976: 105).

On the other hand, as we stated above, lots of migrant women work as servants and charwomen. In one study about charwomen, most women stated that they decided to work because of economical reasons (Suğur, 2009: 94). Besides, a big amount of charwomen stated that they faced with patriarchal obstacles, but when they started earning money, their husband led them work (Suğur, 2009: 94). In the literature, there is a parallelism between being a woman in labor sector and poverty and low wages (Suğur, 2009: 94). But still, in the selected studies we see that most of the interviewees thought that their conditions in city are good (61% of men, 64% of women and 57% of unmarried answered "good"; 5% of men, 6% of women and 7% of unmarried answered "worse") (Karpat, 1976: 106).

We see representations of those outcomes in our selected studies. In *Düttürü Dünya*, Dütdüt and his family live in a *gecekondu* house in Ankara. House has two small rooms, heating is a problem most times and they do not have firewood. In one scene, Dütdüt sends his disabled son out and tells him to collect brushwood for setting fire. His son goes out various times in order to collect brushwood during the film. Also in *Gurbet Kuşları,Sultan* and *Umut* we see that houses of characters are represented as poor *gecekondu*s. Houses have one or two rooms in all films and families live in hard life conditions. In *Düttürü Dünya* and *Keşanlı Ali Destanı* we see streets of real *gecekondu* districts. Parallel to Yasa's writings, streets in labyrinthine styles lost their regular meanings. Any place to walk or pass by turns out a street.

Moreover, in the beginning of *Keşanlı Ali Destanı* we see the effect and cruelty of *gecekondu* mafia. A recently migrated poor family builds a one room *gecekondu* in the first scene of the film. But, mafia men come and want money. Since the poor family could not give money, they pull the *gecekondu* down. This scene is not far away from the real life *gecekondu* mafias' manner. In 1988 dated *Düttürü Dünya* process of rural migration is almost completed,

immigrants are settled in the city and most of the *gecekondu*s are for rent. This time building contractors are up to pull down *gecekondu*s in order to build apartments. Owner of the house wants to put Dütdüt's family out and sell the house to a building contractor with a good price. Poor immigrants suffer in all these situations and could not find a solution for better life. Thus, representations in these films are corroborative of the "results of migration in a modernizing society are not always positive" statement and outcomes of selected studies.

5.4 Authority

Authority is frequently defined as legitimate power which is contrast to pure power (Turner, 2007). In Turkey authority is an important concept both in politics and in social and private life.

Although there are various studies and a wide literature on authority, we will mention main ones in the present study. Weber (1978) defines three types of legitimate authority.

> *Rational-legal authority* ensures conformity by creating a system of rules and procedures by which everyone is bound. Conformity is given voluntarily because the greatest benefit is obtained within the system. *Traditional authority* produces conformity because people view the position and succession of authority as a product of the past and thus as an arrangement that should continue to exist. There is no rational calculation of benefits, simply the recognition that all is as it should be. *Charismatic authority* encourages conformity by convincing group members that the person in the position of authority possesses some unique qualities and the authority should thus be obeyed. Authority of this type exists only as long as the charismatic person exists and with that person's demise the authority simply disappears or may transform into traditional authority passed through a line of successors. By any of these three mechanisms a society's members conform to the authority of the leader without the threat of coercion because they believe the authority is legitimate and thus the demands are legitimate (Konty, 2007).

In Turkey, all these three types of authority are effective. We can see rational-legal authority in the individuals' relations with landlords in the village

and government officers. Traditional Authority is very effective in rural areas and in family. Charismatic authority is very effective in politics and during political elections.

Hannah Arendt also discusses authority concept (Arendt, 1954). According to her, "the authoritarian relation between the one who commands and the one who obeys rests neither on common reason nor on the power of the one who commands; what they have in common is the hierarchy itself, whose rightness and legitimacy both recognize and where both have their predetermined stable place."

Arendt continues (1970: 45)

Authority, relating to the most elusive of these phenomena and therefore, as a term, most frequently abused, can be vested in persons-there is such a thing as personal authority, as, for instance, in the relation between parent and child, between teacher and pupil-or it can be vested in offices, as, for instance, in the Roman senate or in the hierarchical offices of the Church. Its hallmark is unquestioning recognition by those who are asked to obey; neither coercion nor persuasion is needed.

'Legitimate' and 'authority' terms and their difference are frequently discussed in literature. Both terms are used as neutralized or value-free forms of a normative and valuative concept (Turner, 2007). Legitimacy is generally viewed similarly to trust concept and used as a resource that regimes can use to gain acceptance from people for their policies (Turner, 2007). On the other hand, "what binds the subordinated to authority, less than an explicit set of reasons, is a belief in which the active forces are essentially affections: respect, reverence, awe, admiration, fear" (Oyarzún, 2011: 225)

When we look from these points of view, we can see that there are various authority types and relations in Turkey: Political authority, landlord authority, *muhtar* authority, teacher authority, boss authority, father authority e.t.c. In this study, we will focus on government/political, leadership, *muhtar,* landlord and father authorities, since these concepts are focused in the selected studies.

Rural change has not emerged "at the same time nor at the same speed even in the same way across the expanse of rural Turkey" (Beeley, 1970: 480). Urbanization and modernization came earlier to rural areas close to cities, but changes and developments did not came at the same time or at the same speed to much of eastern Turkey and some parts of the western Turkey (Beeley, 1970: 480). Thus, we cannot generalize all studies and all films to whole Turkey. But still, they give us proper information about social change in Turkey.

When we look at government/politcal authority, Kıray writes about civilian administration in Ereğli. The two organized political parties in the town are CHP (RPP) and AP (JP). However, the new situation created by the foundation of the factory, necessitated a new balance of powers (Kıray, 1964. 180). The leaders of the parties in 1962 continued their relationships with the representatives of the new powers (factory founders, their staff etc) on the personal level and waited for the position be more apparent (Kıray, 1964: 180). But there are movements against the political maneuvers. Together with the introduction of the factories, founding organizations started. For instance, peasants came together and protested the use of the factory machinery that was destroying their gardens and fields (Kıray, 1964: 195). This situation had broad repercussions in the town. Because of an increase in the number of construction workers, the 'Yapı-İş' Union of Construction Workers opened a branch in Ereğli. This union fought against the poor living conditions in construction factories and untrustworthy methods of hiring and firing workers; and the union also organized the biggest labor movement of those times (Kıray, 1964: 195). Because of these things, Ereğli residents were extremely aware about labor movements in Turkey during the foundation year of the factory (Kıray, 1964: 195).

Also Karpat states that, *muhtarlık* (head man office), the *Gecekonduyu Güzelleştirme Derneği (*An association in the sample district for the study),

trade unions and political parties are other important formal organizations in *gecekondu* districts (Karpat, 1976: 133).

Since field studies should be objective, we read observations and information about conditions of institutions. But films are more critical and in most Turkish films, government/political officers are represented as cruel. In some other films, they were represented also as cheaters and immoral. For instance in *Zübük* film (1980/Director: Kartal Tibet), which was adapted from Aziz Nesin's novel with the same title, politics and politicians are drawn as cheater and immoral characters

In *Umut,* government authority, which is represented with a police chief character, is cruel. Cabbar's horse dies when a car hits it. Police chief accuses Cabbar and says "I know horse carriage drivers; they are the reason of all traffic accidents!" Cabbar tries to talk with him and says that his horse died. Police chief says, "If you set loose your carriage, of course it dies. Is there a parking place? Look, this sir has mercy and gave up preferring a charge against you!" Cabbar says, "But I am the one who prefer a charge against him!" Police chief gets angry: "He is still talking, chuck him out!" Government authority supports the rich one in the film and cruel against the poor one.

In *Sürü*, government authority and system is criticized. When Şivan and Berivan went to stay in their *hemşehri*'s house in Ankara, he says to Şivan, "Life is different here. Still rich ones are rich and poor ones are poor, but different. Rich people here are not similar to our hometown's landlords. It's easy here. You find the right person; give your bribe, and then it's ok. Relax, we will find a way for sure." His son gets into conversion; "This is not the way father." His father says, "You always make things complex." The son represents conscious working class in the film. He says, "It is not complex, very clear. Look, you don't have a house, a job, a doctor, money to send me school, land. Şivan Ağa came here. What is the reason of all these? There is nothing in the hands of millions of people, workers, officers, laborers. A few people have millions, billions of money. Where the work of millions of people

goes? Who settled this system? I'll tell you, rich people of here, landlord of there, they are all the same." Kıray also states this kind of consciousness in her study. Although those issues could not be represented and criticized in detail because of the censorship during the period, we see strikes, labor unions and workers in various other films in Turkish cinema, especially after 1970s. For instance in *Maden* (Mine/1978/Director: Yavuz Özkan) film, political consciousness of mine workers and their struggle against capitalist system is told.

Analysis of authority concept can be continued with the leadership authority in villages and *gecekondu*s. Stirling states this situation as 'rank' in village. Rank in a society is a matter of an individual's position in the range of prestige and hierarchy of power (Stirling, 1965: 221). Stirling makes a classification of factors that determine the position of a man in the ranking system. There are three groups of factors: "One group comprises age and the position of a man in his own household, lineage and kinship network; the second comprises landholding, occupation, income and patterns of spending; and the third, piety, religious learning, and moral respectability," (Stirling, 1965: 222). These three scales affect each other. If an individual's position changes in one of these scales, it changes in the other scales too. But in all of these groups, wealth is the most important factor (Stirling, 1965: 234). Age and lineage position is out of personal control. In this situation, if a man is poor and shameless, he will be thought little of in respect to his age (Stirling, 1965: 235). The headman is a prominent figure in village life as we mentioned. He has different duties. He is positioned between state officials and peasants. The important point that Stirling finds out is that village leaders do not want to be the headman. Rather, they want to control the headman (Stirling, 1956: 236). This means that, villager leaders who have enough power can control the headman and can determine and decide the local order. In Stirling's work, we see that sample villages do not have an effective formal structure or authority or an informal leadership (Stirling, 1965: 264). Outside this system, local order

is the responsibility of the State. The State should be able to intervene in problematic situations, but the village still maintains its own order (Stirling, 1965: 265). All these concepts determine the power relations and balances in village. We see similar representations in various village films. For instance *Yılanların Öcü* (Revenge of the Snakes/1962/Director: Metin Erksan[88]), which was adapted from Fakir Baykurt's novel with the same title, tells the story of power struggle and balances in the village. When Hacıeli wants to build a house in front of Kara Bayram's house, Kara Bayram objects this situation, since the house will close his house's view. Situation turns to a power struggle soon and members and leaders of the village also involves in the struggle.

Looking at the situation in *gecekondu*s, Karpat (1976: 117) mentions three factors that affect leadership position. First, village background affects relations, values and behaviors. Secondly, "there was maintenance of order and security within the settlement," (Karpat, 1976: 118). Men who became successful for some reason within the settlement (who built the best house or who opened a shop etc.) belonged to a group of leaders (Karpat, 1976. 118). Thirdly, connections with the city, the political parties and the government (Karpat, 1976: 118) could affect leadership status. In light of these factors, Karpat (1976: 118) states that "the most successful leader (in the settlement) was the one who could harmonize the old with the new." Karpat gives example of Nafibaba district. "The leaders in Nafibaba emerged naturally as a consequence of their opinions and proposals expressed in informal meetings at the coffeehouse, work place or home…this was close to a form of traditional communal leadership brought over from the village," (Karpat, 1976: 121). The communal life provides a sense of belonging, security and group identity among the squatters (Karpat, 1976: 128).

Looking at the position of *muhtar* as an authority, we can say that it is an important institution in between government and local. In rural, *muhtar* has

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[88] Film was re-shooted in 1985 with the directory of Şerif Gören.

an important position. Stirling writes that "Administratively and legally, the village is ruled by a headman... He is expected to receive all public visitors, especially officials, to help keep order and bring criminals to justice and to take care of public property," (Stirling, 1965: 31). In addition, all villagers must appoint a watchman (*bekçi*) by law who is supposed to act with the orders of the headman (Stirling, 1965: 33). Most of these headmen and watchmen were chosen by village elders, and there is an internal solidarity against the other villages and outside world (Stirling, 1965: 34).

Akşit also discusses *muhtars'* place in power balance. He (1967: 117) states that "If the rich have the power of control, the *muhtar* also will work for the rich; and if the poor want to make a change on behalf of poor people, the rich and *muhtar* will stand out against this change or transform this situation on behalf of themselves." Here, Akşit refers Kıray's work on Adana villages and states that the landless peasants' candidate was elected as *muhtar* (Kıray, 1998). In Akşit's sample, the three most influential people in I village are all grocers. Although the *muhtar* is not one of these three people, he is the son of one of these grocers (Akşit, 1967: 118). Grocers are also big farmers and have an important position between the village and the market as we mentioned above. In G village, the landlord has the power of control; and the *muhtar* comes from the same family as the landlord (Akşit, 1967: 118). Akşit asked peasants if they could come together and claim their rights. Most of the peasants give a negative response to this question. They stated that they are poor and need money to claim their rights (Akşit, 1967: 118). Some of them stated that the landlord wouldn't allow them to claim their rights (Akşit, 1967: 118).

Also in *gecekondu* districts, *muhtar* has an important key position in *Gecekondu*s and affects the lives of squatters (Karpat, 1976: 134) since he symbolizes both the government and balance of power as a decision maker. In sum, "headman (*muhtar*) is the executive organ of the central government and

is elected to bond the relations between the neighborhood and the central authorities and the local government units" (Şevran, 2005: 52)[89].

In films, *muhtar*s were represented as authority figures and decision makers, but also they were criticized. In various films, *muhtar*s were represented as cheaters and immoral. Legally, *muhtar*s are working in the name of government. But in villages and districts, they also turn into decision makers and power symbols since they ensure contact with government and other authorities.

In *Sultan*, *muhtar* character is a cheater and immoral man. In the end of the film, he sells the land to constructors in order to gain more money. All *gecekondu* people lose their houses. *Muhtar* is a cruel character, even against his son. In *Keşanlı Ali Destanı*, Ali and Çakal Kazım competes during the *muhtarlık* elections. Because, being *muhtar* is not just only a government position, it is also a position for controlling the entire district. Ali wins the elections and thus, he takes all the control of the district and turns into an authority figure with a big power. In sum, we can state that filmmakers choose to show critical and problematical parts of life.

Landlords are also important authority symbols in feudal Turkish society. In studies that we selected, landlords are also reflected as cruel authority figures. In Akşit's study, Akşit asked peasants if they could come together and claim their rights. Most of the peasants give a negative response to this question. They stated that they are poor and need money to claim their rights (Akşit, 1967: 118). Some of them stated that the landlord wouldn't allow them to claim their rights (Akşit, 1967: 118). Other studies that we selected do not examine landlord issue in detail. For instance, Ilcan (1994: 560) summarizes landlord status on marriage issue in rural Turkey;

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[89] For a further reading on organization headmanship in Turkey, please see Şevran, Seçil. "The Place of Neıghborhood Administration in The Turkish Administrative System: The Case of Ankara." Unpubished Masters Thesis, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2005.

Landlord exercised power beyond the agricultural sphere. Villagers had to ask the landlord's approval of their daughter's or son's marriage partner. If a male villager expressed the desire for his daughter to marry someone not approved by the landlord, the marriage never took place. Even the appropriate bride-price payment was negotiated between the groom's father and the landlord. Often, villagers could not afford to pay the bride-price and relied on the landlord to help them financially. In addition, villagers were compelled to pay part of the bride-price money (usually half) to the landlord upon the marriage of their children.

We see representations of these statements in *Kibar Feyzo*, as we mentioned above. In the film, Maho Ağa, the landlord, is a cruel man who exercises big control over peasants. In one scene, Feyzo understands the problem and asks himself, "Why we do not rebel against Maho Ağa?" This is the beginning of Feyzo's start to change village orders and rebel against the feudal system. In another scene, Feyzo works as an eraser of wall writings. While he erases statements and slogans about right to strike, right to be equal, he writes them on his own mind. When he comes back to village, he teaches these to other peasants. They start to write slogans on walls like 'This order will change', 'both traditions and landlord, let's abolish bride price'. In the end of the film, they rebel against Maho Ağa for their rights. Feyzo shoots Maho Ağa and he dies. But unfortunately, order does not change. A new landlord comes to the village.

In *Züğürt Ağa*, the landlord is a powerful and rich man in the beginning. He applies all the rules of feudalism and sees peasants as his own commodity. In the films, peasants sell the landlord's wheat and escape to Istanbul. Landlord also has to migrate to Istanbul. In Istanbul, he looses all his authority as a landlord and ends up selling *çiğ köft*e in restaurants. Film is a successful example of its genre which tells feudal system, social change and migration.

Finally, when we come to private life, there is a pathriarchal system and father authority in Turkish family. Actually, this situation is similar in the world. For instance, "In early roman law, the family was an inviolable unit under the authority of the father. The more modern, but out model axiom, 'An Englishmen's home is his castle', incorporated the same principle" (Mencher,

1967: 167). Besides, the family is always under the effect of social institutions (Mencher, 1967: 164). For instance, Stirling (1965: 100) states that men are the core of the household in the village. There is a strong patriarchal system. "The senior man, father, or father's father of the other male members, owns the fabric of the house and usually owns most or all of the land," (Stirling, 1965: 100). We can state that the father has authority over the children, and respect is based on formal rules such as not speaking or answering back in public or in one's father's presence without his invitation (Stirling, 1965: 101). Thus, in such a social system, of course, almost all women want to give birth to a son. As her son grows, her position in her husband's house is becomes more guaranteed (Stirling, 1965: 114). A woman with an adult son would never be unwanted or remain homeless.

We watch this authority of father in films that we selected. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, we see the authority of father against their children and they had to respect his decisions. In *Sürü*, we also see the representation of an unpermissive father. He even hits his son Şivan various times and Şivan does not react since father authority is culturally very strong and he was taught that one should respect to his/her father. Also in *Züğürt Ağa*, even the landlord himself has a big authority; he also shows respect to his father.

5.5. Education

Schultz (1980: 639) states in his Nobel prized lecture that most of the world's people are poor and adds "what many economists fail to understand is that poor people are no less concerned improving their lot and that of their children than rich people are." Education of the children is included in this concept.

Generally, the value of education is measured with its contribution to economic growth or incomes of individulas (Akkoyunlu-Wigley and Wigley, 2008: 271). According to this, education provides people to gather a stock of human capital that can be used to improve micro or macro level income

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increase in the future (Akkoyunlu-Wigley and Wigley, 2008: 273). New technologies and innovations lead to economic growth in a country. Thus, besides providing human capital and work productivity, education also creates people to produce new technologies and innovation, thus it leads to spillover affects and research capability (Sarı and Soytaş, 2006: 181). Besides, education provides an individual to have the capability of functioning in various areas. For instance, being able to participation to public decision making, having enough information about the public debates and public policy can be possible through education (Akkoyunlu-Wigley and Wigley, 2008: 273). In Turkey, all those sides of education had been read as 'reaching the level of contemporary civilizations'. In other words, education of the citizens is the way for 'reaching the level of contemporary civilizations'.

After the foundation of Turkish Republic, education became one of the most important state policies. Improving and modernizing Turkey's educational system has been the formal policy of the state (Sarı and Soytaş, 2006: 181) in order to establish a Kemalist, secular and modern state. Actually, foundation and transformartion of education system is one of the most important parts of Turkish modernization (Akşit, Şen and Coşkun, 2000: 1). Since the Ottoman Empire period, different actors struggled about education policies in every social and political transformation process (Akşit, Şen and Coşkun, 2000: 1). In Turkish Republic, in order to supply education to every individual, "both primary and secondary education were (and still are) free of charge in state schools" (Smiths and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006: 546). Besides, "as women were considered central to the success of the new secular and modernizing ideology, there was special emphasis on the education of women" (Smiths and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006: 546). Thus, all schools including institutes and universities except military schools were opened to female students (Smiths and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006: 546).

Idea of 'reaching the level of contemporary civilizations' would be possible through the regulation of modern education systems and thus,

education system always has been a part of political project (Akşit, Şen and Coşkun, 2000: 2). In other words, education is strongly interconnected with society and political and economic systems (Nohl, 2008: 15). But we can state that, this policy became somehow successful when we think the importance and meaning of education to an average Turkish citizen (Akşit, Şen and Coşkun, 2000: 2). In Turkish culture, there is a big respect to educated people.

In Turkey, education is not just important for human capital and economic growth. It is also important for the social mobility of people. Rapid change in demographic structure of Turkey and migration from rural areas to urban areas turned education into an important area (Akşit, Şen and Coşkun, 2000: 2). Education has been an important area in order to adapt people to social changes and transformations (Nohl, 2008: 15). In other words, when the rural population of the country migrated to urban areas, edutation turned into an important area in order to re-settlement of social hierarchy, learning of city life and modern values and adaptation to city life (Akşit, Şen and Coşkun, 2000: 2). Thus, second generation migrants are more adapted to city life and feel more belongingness generally than their parents since they took education in the city. But still, education is not equal for everyone and lower social classes cannot reach all educational services equally. But as we mentioned, 'poor people not less concerned about their children than rich people' (Schultz, 1980: 639). Also Bourdieu and Passeron (2000: 155) write about the educational opportunity;

Democratic research is able to see in the statistics of educational opportunity which highlight the unequal representation of the different social classes in the different stages and types of education, is the manifestation of an isolated relationship between scholastic performance, taken at face valuse, and the series of advantages or disadvantages deriving from social origin… If one fails to take as one's explanatory principle system of relations between the structure of class relations and the schools system, one is condemned to the

ideological options which subtend the seemingly most neutral scientific choices.

Bourdieu and Passeron (2000:5) also mention education types. According to this, the education by all the educated members of a social formation or group is 'diffuse education'; education by the family-group members is 'family education'; and education by the system of agents explicitly conducted for this purpose by an institution directly or indirectly is 'institutionalized education'. According to this, "...cherished by certain anthropologists, that institutionalized education, unlike traditional education, constitutes a 'mechanism of change', capable of 'creating discontinuities' and 'building a new world'-Margaret Mead" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 2000:65). Also in Turkey, "formal education is 'a desired commodity of consumption' in all layers of society" (Akşit, Şen and Coşkun, 2000: 2).

Moreover, most families direct their moral and material energies to their children's education and education is still the main source of climbing up in the social hierarchy for most of the social layers (Akşit, Şen and Coşkun, 2000: 2). This situation can be evaluated as; most of the social classes are seeing education as the way of salvation from the hard life conditions and lower class statue. 'She/he graduated from school and saved herself/himself' is a common phrase in Turkey. It means one who can take education and have a profession would have the opportunity to gain money and have a better social status.

In the light of these, we will examine selected field studies and films. In Kıray's study, the heads of families mentioned that, education was considered necessary for the success of their sons and daughters. Moreover, criterions such as getting an education and being regarded as an important person as a result of this are also important (Kıray, 1964: 86). In addition, heads of households want their sons to be educated so that they 'earn money'. Besides, Kıray (1964: 86) indicates that the people in Ereğli do not have a negative attitude toward working-women, and that they are open minded about the jobs women can

perform. As we mentioned above, the number of people who said that women can also take a role such as a teacher, midwife, nurse, doctor, judge, or engineer is 95% (1964: 86). But still, these statements of interviewees do not reflect the whole reality. Because, although it is mentioned that women can do any job, the first aim of getting an education for girls is the wish that then they can accommodate the life of that day and have the knowledge to handle mundane, daily jobs (Kıray, 1964: 139).

In the case of women's education, there are lots of problems in Turkey. Although women's education was one of the main policies of newly founded Turkish Republic, "the level of schooling in Turkey is still rather low" (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006: 545) especially for women and especially in the eastern parts of the country. There are a big number of women who are not sent to school by male family members with the reason of traditions and morals. Besides, low education level of women is an obstacle for having a job and this situation make women economically dependent to male family members (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006: 546).

In *Gurbet Kuşları*, male members of the family talk about the necessity of a girl's sitting at home various times. Thus, Fatma has to sit at home. We do not see in the film that if she took a primary education; but she does not attend to any higher education institute during the film.

In Akşit's study, education is shown one of the reasons behing the migration to urban areas. When peasants' income decreases, they couldn't benefit from health, education and welfare services; and they have to migrate to *gecekondu*s in cities. When we look at views of migrants living in *gecekondu*s, we see that most of the families (97%) want their children to be educated according to Yasa's study (1966: 113). Moreover, most off them want their children to be civil servants (40%), then business owners and craftsman (Yasa, 1966: 113).

Karpat also states availability of education among the main pull factors of city (Karpat, 1976: 20). According to Karpat's study, 90% of men, 92% of

women and 87% of the unmarried are very or reasonably satisfied with living in Istanbul (Karpat, 1976: 140). They mentioned their satisfaction about education conditions in the city for themselves and for their family (Karpat, 1976: 141).

But still, educational opportunities are unequal for different social classes. Actually, school is an intersection of different social elements and culturally turns into an area of power struggle; thus, people from different social classes have different school experiences (Sayılgan, 2008: 247). In *Umut*, one of the most touching scenes of the film is Cemile's oral examination in front of three teachers. She even does not have shoes to wear in the exam and her father does not have enough money to buy new shoes. Besides, she does not have suitable conditions for studying for the exam in their poor house. In the scene, teachers make an English language oral examination to her. While she and her family were trying to survive, they expect from her to speak in another language. She could not answer questions and fails the class.

Generally, "household income, also the occupations and educational levels of parents are expected to play a role" in the attendance of children to education system (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2006: 548). In *Umut*, when Cemile fails the class, her mother gets very angry and says "Your father works hard day and night in order to send you school, you fail the class! We do not eat or drink, collect money for your notebooks and pencils, you fail the class!" Her sentences summarizes how economically difficult for them to send Cemile to school.

But, as we mentioned above, education is the main source of climbing up in the social hierarchy (Akşit, Şen and Coşkun, 2000: 2) and having a safe life if the person has a good occupation thanks to her/his education. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, Kemal is the only family member who can be adapted to the city and have a higher social status since he became a doctor after finishing the university.

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Finally, we should mention the traditional respect to educated person in Turkish society. Education is an important issue for Turkish society in general and people show respect to educated people. We see a good example of this situation in *Sürü*. In one scene, Şivan takes Berivan to doctor in Ankara. We understand his respect to doctor from his gestures and movements and he says "We never saw a doctor before."

In sum, both field studies and films that we selected states the importance of education for rural and migrant Turkish people and they refer to common points.

5.6. World View

Generating knowledge about modern social life and use them for prediction and control is one of sociology's interests (Giddens, 1990: 15). According to Giddens, in order to generate knowledge about modern life, one should understand the intimate connections between modernity, 'the separation of time and space', 'the development of disembedding mechanisms' and 'the reflexive appropriation of knowledge'. Disembeding mechanisms are 'symbolic tokens' and 'expert systems' involving 'trust' (Giddens, 1990:53-54).

According to Giddens (1990: 53), 'the separation of time and space' "provides means of precise temporal and spatial zoning". During the pre-modern times there were different time and calendar system, but in modern times, time and calendar systems were standardized and although still there are some different time and calendar systems, all world follow the same dating system (Giddens, 1990: 18). 'The development of disembedding mechanisms' means "a 'lift out' social activity from localised contexts, reorganising social relations across large time-space distances" (Giddens, 1990: 53). 'The reflexive appropriation of knowledge' means producing systematic knowledge about social life is connected with system reproduction and takes social life away from the stability of tradition (Giddens, 1990: 53). By symbolic tokens,

Giddens means the media that can be interchanged without the need of specific individuals or groups characteristics. Giddens examines 'money' as a symbolic token. Money provides the change of transactions between indiduals and institutions that separated in time and space (Giddens, 1990: 24) Also Simmel (2011: 205) analyzes money and states that; the degree to which money gets to be total for the consciousness of value relies on upon the real change of monetary enthusiasm from "primitive generation to industrial enterprise." By expert systems, Giddens means technical or professional expertise that arranges social, economic and material enviroments in which we live. Professionals such as doctors, teachers, lawyers, architects can be example. Those types of expertise create 'trust'. "Trust, in short, is a form of 'faith', in which the confidence vested in probable outcomes expresses a commitment to something rather than just a cognitive understanding" (Giddens, 1990: 27).

Other important concepts of modern life are changes in religious and superstitious beliefs. Durkheim (2008: 239) states that;

> Between the logic of religious thought and that of scientific thought there is no abyss. The two are made up of the same elements, though inequally and differently developed. The special characteristic of the former seems to be it natural taste for immoderate confusions as well as sharp contrasts. It is voluntarily excessive in each direction. When it connects, it confounds; when it distinguishes, it opposes. It knows no shades and measures, it seeks extemes; it knows no shades and measures, it seeks extremes; it consequently employs locigal mechanisms with a certain awkwardness, but it ignores none of them.

He adds "...realize that law, morals and even scientific thought itself were born of religion, were for a long time confounded with it, and have remained penetrated with its spirit" (Durkheim, 2008: 70). Scientific thought, although was born of religion, brought positivist thinking and secularism to modern social life. The center and the focal proposition of the hypothesis of secularization is the conceptualization of the methodology of societal modernization as a procedure of useful separation and liberation of the common circles basically the state, the economy, and science-from the religious circle and the associative separation and specialization of religion

inside it recently discovered religious circle. A related yet diverse semantic moment originates from Canon Law, where secularization refers to what could be known as a 'legal action' with legitimate results for the individual. Secularization refers to the legal (canonical) process whereby a 'religious' individual left the cloister to come back to the 'world' and its enticements, getting to be subsequently a 'secular' individual (Casanova, 2012: 13-19).

Under the light of these and by taking the subjects that were referred in selected studies into consideration, we can summarize that modern world view includes using of modern time, calendar and metric systems; adaptation to modern law, economic and communication systems; and having a scientific and secular world view. Sociologists also measure modern world view of people throughout those concepts in the studies that we selected. Kıray (1962: 171-173) states that a change insocial order affects people's conception of time, especially relating tobedtimes and waking times.

Stirling (1965: 266) states that in 1950, villages were aware of their connection to the national economy and system, but they were still far away from adapting to urban life. But, laws (kanun in Turkish) relating to rights or behavioral institutions affect villagers greatly (Stirling, 1965: 270). Both criminal law (because of violence and killings) and administrative law (because of the Village Law) are quite important for village life. Peasants know, however, that sometimes laws are ignored in the village. When we look ateducation, teachers are necessarily urban-educated and mostly young. Remaining government services for villages are public work, agricultural and veterinary services and health services. On the other hand, there is an urban and rural social rank according to peasants. They speak as if the village is ranked below the urban areas, and even a poor townsman is proud of his urbanity (Stirling, 1965: 271-283).

In 1950, the two villages in which Stirling made his field work were just in the beginning stages of social change. Although these villages were still conservative societies in which social control was effective and although there

was a dispute and ranking between urban and rural, change started. Changing economic conditions and an increase in law and order and public transportation brought villagers into greater contact with urban areas. Although they were still far away from adapting to urban life, after seeing the outside world, village social relations started to change. This contact with the outside world weakened solidarity within the village (Stirling, 1965: 292). "Peasants were no longer necessarily dependent on their leaders and they started to depend on the good-will of hosts of other people outside the village with different assumptions and ideas," (Stirling, 1965: 292). All those contacts with urban areas would start a social transformation in villages.

Kıray explains how she measured the trueness of interviewees' answers in her famous work Ereğli. According to her, no matter how one wants to change the answer, and changes the answer; the answer to the question remains within the boundaries of one's own life, knowledge, and values.. One cannot go beyond these borders and cannot convey experiences that are unfamiliar to him/her (Kıray, 1964: 13). After stating this explanation, Kıray writes that communication means and types are among the first factors that determine the residents of Ereğli's life pace, human relationships and views of life. This part is analysed under the titles such as post, newspaper, magazine, and cinema. According to the results, the majority of the people listen to the radio, mostly both Istanbul and Ankara radios and mostly folkloric songs, and then news and commentaries (Kıray, 1964: 153-154). The newspapers and the topics read show that Ereğli residents integrated themselves with Turkey to a great extent (Kıray, 1964: 161). Besides, Ereğli residents have a tendency towards urbanization and opening outward (Kıray, 1964: 168). Finally, Kıray (1964: 176) reaches the conclusion that in Ereğli the standard time units (hour, calendar, measurement units etc) are commonly used.

In terms ofreligion, Kıray concludes that Ereğli is not a very religious town viewing the study as a whole. However, it is common especially among the women to organize religious meetings and fortune telling rituals (Kıray,

1964: 184). Moreover, the idea that science is the answer to everything is suspiciously approached; and it is thought that there are many things that the human mind cannot comprehend. However, Ereğli residents are far removed from the idea of predestinarianism in their daily lives (Kıray, 1964: 187).

Akşit suggests that if the village starts to use modern production techniques, produces for the market place and begins to connect with other places, then the following happens: a) the concepts, measures and dimensions of local society start to change, and b) standard concepts, measures and dimensions settle down (Akşit, 1967: 121). For instance, Akşit asked peasants about their bedtimes and waking times in his sample. Most of the peasants answered Akşit's question on bedtime and waking times with standard time measures. Their answers suggest that a social change started with the opening of markets and other places (Akşit, 1967: 121-122).

Also Yasa and Karpat measured modern world view in *gecekondu* districts. According to Yasa (1966: 1900), most of the interviewed families (%70) are literate. Most of them use radio as a communication tool (%66) and mostly listen to folk songs (%95) and news (%88) in turn (Yasa, 1966: 195). Besides, superstitions are very effective. There are a high percentage of believers in the evil eye, possession, demons and spirits (Yasa, 1966: 226). Karpat (1976: 98-100) also looks into literacy rates among squatters. The literacy rate among the unmarried (94% of them know to read and write) and married men (84% of them know to read and write) is very high, but it's very low among married women (Just 31% of them know to read and write). On the other hand, the majority of interviewees (64% of men, 565 women and 67% of unmarried) responded that they did not yet consider themselves as city dwellers. They said that they didn't callthemselves city dwellers becausethey didn't live like the established residents (Karpat, 1976: 142). But adaptation of urban habits continues.

When modern world views come into question, Turkish cinema films mostly focus on modern/secular-superstitious/religious conflict. Turkish films

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not directly focus on the using of modern time, calendar and metric systems in daily life. Although constitution of secularism and modern science are among of the main aims Turkish Republic, superstitious beliefs are still very effective in Turkey. Durkeim (2008: 208) writes that if an individual does not have confidence in science, all the scientific proofs in the earth would be without any impact on her/his mind. According to him (Durkheim, 2008: 26) the thought of natural forces is likely inferred from that of religious forces, so between the one and the other there cannot be abyss that seperates the rational from the irrational.

That is why the miraculous interventions which the ancients attributed to their gods were not to their eyes miracles in the modern adaptation of the term. For them, they were beautiful, rare or terrible spectacles, or causes of surprise and marvel; but they never saw in them glimpses of a mysterious world into which the reason cannot penetrate (Durkheim, 2008: 27)

Turkish films successfully represent those characteristics of superstitious beliefs that Durkheim expresses. Field studies, or if we say in general scientific researches, cannot use this conflictious relation between modern/secular-superstitious/religious views since they have to be rational and scientific. Thus, we read findings and evaluations of scientists in scientific researches; but filmmakers can interpret and use the conflict since cinema makes to do it possible.

For instance in *Züğürt Ağa*, when his father gets ill, instead of taking him to a doctor, they go to tomb of a saint and pray. In the scene, Züğürt Ağa tells to Abuzer Agha "My father became totally senile." Abuzer offers to take him to a doctor. Züğürt Ağa answers "We tried lots of things. We went to the tomb of Sultan Şehmuz, you say 100, I say 200 times. Pir Habbap prayed for him, maybe 10 times but it's in vain. He is obsessed about women." Abuzer says "I say, take him to a doctor." But Züğürt Ağa does not think that going to a doctor as a solution. For him, superstitious beliefs are more important. Thus, "How can a doctor accomplish something which Pir Habbap could not

accomplish?" he answers. Also all peasants go for rain prayer with Şıh (sheik) when it did not rain.

Umut film gives good examples of superstitious beliefs. Going to a sheik/hodja is as rational/natural as trying to find a treasure in a field for Cabbar. In a scene, the child tries to find the place of the treasure by praying, but he couldn't manage it. When Cabbar asks about the problem, hodja answers "Demons are preventing us. They scared the child in order to stop him to see the place of the treasure." Hodja continues, "Demon is seducing this child's mind. I can see, but he can not. The treasure is between a white and a black stone. It is in a place as big as a cemetery. There is a dead tree, it's under that tree. There is a river on the right side of that tree." Hasan confirms; "Yes, that's right. Ceyhan River is flowing on the right side of the tree." Cabbar asks; "Is it necessary that the child see the place?" Hodja is very serious, he answers, "Yes it is."

In terms of films on migration and *gecekondu* issue, in famous Gelin, Düğün, Diyet/the Bride, the Wedding, the Blood Money trilogy, Akad tells the stories of three different families who migrated from different places to İstanbul as we mentioned. In Gelin, modern/secular-superstitious/religious conflict is very well established. Son of the main female character Meryem is ill. Her father-in-law Hacı İlyas, who is a conservative man, does not take the little boy's illness serious and tries to cure him with prayers and superstitious beliefs. Although he tries to cure his grandson with prayers and superstitious beliefs; money, a modern times tool, is very important for him and he invests to grocery shop that he opened in the district. Meryem does not believe solution with prayers and superstitious beliefs and takes her son to hospital secretly. There she learns that little boy's illness is very serious and an operation is necessary. She tries to convince her father-in-law for giving money for the operation but he does not agree and wants to use money for the grocery. At the end, little boy dies in the morning of the Feast of Sacrifice/*Kurban Bayramı*. Meryem leaves the house and starts working in a factory. This time family

sends her husband in order to kill her. But her husband cannot kill her and he also wants to work with her in the factory. Film is a very strong example of conservative-modern thinking, ignorance-education, money-health and rural-urban conflicts.

When we look at selected studies and films in general we can express that, although people use modern time, calendar and metric systems and they are adapted to modern law, economic and political systems; there are not strong changes in superstitious beliefs. As Durkheim (2008: 27) states, superstitious beliefs are not miracles in the modern adaptation of the term in Turkish culture.

5.7. Conclusion

In sum, concepts that we determined throughout field studies that we selected are also treated in films. When we look at field studies in general, we see that they have similar structures and they use similar methods in order to gather data. Moreover, it is possible to find common concepts they focus on like we determined as 'Family and Gender', 'Migration, Hemşehrilik and Integration with the City', 'Economic Life', 'Authority', 'Education' and 'World Views'. If we compare these concepts within field studies and films, we see that both of them use and focus on them. But, differently from field studies, films represent the main problems of the day visually and affectually because of cinema's structure. Thus, when it is looked to contents of field studies and films, we see that issues can be treated in detail through characters in films. Characters, based on the stories of films, can present us social issues throughout their dialogues, gestures and mimics. Herein, audience can easily understand and identify with the social issues and problems represented in the film. If we add sociological imagination to this examination; it is possible to state that we can comprehend that all the things we watch in a fictional film are actually a part of a bigger social reality with the help of sociological imagination. This therefore, brings us to the idea that we can understand the

social events, concepts and changes through sociological imagination and sociology of affects by watching films that suits the topic. On the other hand, sociologists make analysis of these concepts neutrally and analytically because of the structure of social sciences.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

Although art includes fiction in its form; both art and sciences try to understand the same world. Starting from this point, a comparative reading of field studies and Turkish films about the social change in the country between the 1950 and 1980 is the main axis of this study. As we mentioned in the introduction chapter, 'sociological imagination' and 'sociology of affects' state that cinema films could be used as well as other sources in order to understand social issues. Audience identifies with the characters in films; sees and senses the story of the film. Thus, the audience comprehends the social reality and subjects that the film represents. At this point, we think that 'sociological imagination' and 'sociology of affects' could be an alternative/contribution to classical empirical studies. Besides, we think that the individual can comprehend social issues through films relevant with the subject more effectively and faster than classical empirical studies convey. From this point forth, we sought to present and examine concepts that were discussed in field studies and Turkish films comparatively. With this aim, we chose five field studies and eight films that focus on the social change in Turkey between 1950 and 1980. After determining six concepts ('Family and Gender', 'Economic Life', 'Migration, *Hemşehrilik* and Integration with the City', 'Authority', 'Education' and 'World Views') that sociologists focused on selected field studies; we compared these concepts with selected films.

"The focal image of society for the sociologist as scientist is a system of relations" (Stern, 1976: 21). Research is an important part of studying a social issue. There are various methods of research in sociology and field study is a preferred method in Turkey as well as other research methods such as case study, participant observation and/or life history while studying social change.

In Turkey, period between 1950 and 1980 was a period in which modern society all through the world experienced the idea of democratization and developments in culture and cinema, the stream of individuals and trade across borders, and technological advancement. In Turkey, social change, which started in 1950s with the effect of economic policies of the government, impacted the old rural society, which existed for thousands of years, including the Ottoman Empire period. With the coming of changes in the 1950s, social stratification, professions, and entire human relations were effected and changed (Kıray, 1991). A society that was attached to the land started leaving the land (Kıray, 1991). Rural structure changed and new types of production and relations emerged during this period. Moreover, migration from rural to urban areas began all over the country. This process changed the structure of Turkey's cities. This huge and effective process, obviously, arouse Turkish sociologists' curiosity; and they wanted to analyze it. Thus, social change in Turkey as a system of relations has been studied by many sociologists.

Denzin (2009:5) offers four items of sociological enterprise: theory, methodology, research activity and the sociological imagination. Sociological imagination "appears at the moment when an individual becomes capable to visualize or 'imagine' the coincidence of his or her biography with the so-called 'public' or 'objective' problems" (Baker, 2002:86). Mills criticizes classical sociological studies and empirical works in his study and states that a composition of many good studies is necessary (Mills, 1959). According to this, while doing social research; a sociologist should have the knowledge and ability of sociological imagination. Sociological imagination will ease her/his work while doing induction or deduction from social events.

'Sociology of affects' also criticizes classical sociology. 'Affects' are related with our body and mind; with our intuitions and senses. Thus, affect theory is in contact with politics, social life and aesthetics. Baker states that current sociology is 'sociology of opinions'which gathers opinions already existing in minds of people (Baker, 2002: 42). Current sociology gathers those

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opinions through research methods such as participant observation (Baker, 2002: 97) and also with surveys, case studies and field studies. Baker suggests sociology of affects for an effective sociology. According to him, sociology of affects is sociology of senses and intuitions, which cannot be created through external factors (Baker, 2002: 11-19, 32).

'Creation of social types' is on the basis of sociology of affects. A social type is 'affective' and represents a real, psychological person (Baker, 2002: 58). Simmel's 'Poor' and 'Stranger', Marx's 'Lumpen Proleteriats', Foucault's 'Mads', Mills' 'Power Elite' or 'White Collar' are examples of social types in social sciences; and Moliere's '*L'Avare*', Balzac's '*Pere Grandet*' and Chaplin's 'The Tramp' are examples of social types in literature and cinema (Baker, 2002: 52-71).

Both sociological imagination and sociology of affects are strongly connected with cinema. Cinema, with its ability of being a 'document-in-itself', represents the real life and social types. Films, in the same way as novels, can likewise create social types through the visualization of affects and emotions (Baker, 2002: 3). Thus, it gives us the opportunity to use sociological imagination and sociology of affects by making a reading of the world through the social types, story and period represented in films. Besides, both sociological imagination and sociology of affects criticize classical empirical sociological studies. This point gives us the opportunity to compare field studies and cinema. Hereby, we want to make a comparative reading of field studies and Turkish films about social change between the 1950 and 1980.

To formulate in a more detailed manner the way this study proceeded; at first, we reviewed the main socio-political and economic developments between 1950 and 1980. *Jön Türkler* (Young Turks) period closed in 1950 according to Zürcher's conceptualization (Zürcher, 2004: 93-132). Multi-party system started after 1946 and the main characteristic of the DP was that it was based on rural. The DP took its votes and its main populist discourse from rural areas. Thus, rural people became political object for the first time. This mutual

relationship was based on anti-elitism. In other words, with Mardin's famous conceptualization, a center-periphery change started (Mardin, 1973).

On the other hand, there was an orientation towards the NATO and the U.S. This orientation increased Turkey's aim of being a modern agricultural country. This situation increased rural areas' effect; but of course landowners' affect, not poor peasants'. As a result, mechanization in agriculture started. With the coming of tractor to agriculture, lots of peasants lost their work. There was a 'tractor greediness[90]' in Anatolia in this period. As a result of unemployment, peasants started to migrate to urban areas.

This migrated population could not be city dweller/urban in the first course. Urbanization based on *gecekondu*s started in the second half of the 1950s in Turkey. Thus, this did not mean that all the population living in the city was city dwellers. Migrants settled their own *gecekondu* districts and their own community cultures. These migrants formed the working class of cities. Adaptation to city life was difficult for the first generation migrants. But still, they were happy to live in the city for their children's education and for opportunities of better life conditions. It was the second generation migrants who could adapt to city. This second generation youngsters would play a prominent role in political struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. This generation, who could not benefit from modernization both financially and emotionally, started to show their reaction politically.

Period between 1960 and 1980 is a period of public opposition. It is a period that unionization, workers' opposition, Kurdish opposition and student opposition increased and became very effective all over the country. Workers present that they are a 'working class' with 15-16 June resistance. Students, as a more educated and conscious class, made lots of demonstrations.

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[90] Kemal, Yaşar. "Çukurova'da Traktör Oburluğu"Cumhuriyet, 21 November 1952 in Ahmad, Feroz. *Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye (1945-1980)* Trans. Ahmet Fethi. İstanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1996: 140-141

This period was closed with the Memorandum of 12 March. But this created a bigger effect all over the country. Period at the end of 1970s was a chaos period in Turkey. Daily life was politicized and armed conflicts were being lived in streets. There was an economic chaos as well as this political chaos. It was very difficult to find basic consumption goods; they were in black market. There were long lines in front of groceries in order to find basic consumption goods. Government took January 24 sentences, but could not put into practice. There was crisis in all areas of life. Migration from rural to urban continued in this period. Thus, we can state that period between 1960 and 1980 is a period that public/society defined the realities and politics of the country.

As considered one of the main parts of the study, the third chapter sought to present and examine the development of sociology in Turkey especially between 1950 and 1980.

Sociology is a science trying to understand the world. Like most of the social sciences, sociology also received academic legitimacy during 19th century. When Ahmet Riza went to Paris and brought Comte's thoughts, the Ottoman Empire met with sociology (Berkes, 1936: 241). But the founder of Turkish sociology is Ziya Gökalp (Akşit, 1998:7, Berkes, 1936: 242), who accepted Durkheim's methodological views and founded the first sociology department of the country (Hançer, 2004: 7). Turkish sociology has been under the political influences (Berkes, 1936: 246). Especially during the first period of Turkish Republic, sociology was seen necessary in search of building a new society and identity. With the university reform of the 1933 and acceptance of German academicians into Turkish universities, Turkish sociology gained a new process.

In 1936, Faculty of Letters of Ankara University was founded in Ankara. Remarkable sociologists like Behice Boran and Niyazi Berkes started to work there and made their famous and founding field studies as we stated. During this period, other important sociology school was at Istanbul University, with Hilmi Ziya Ülken. But after a decade, left-wing sociologists

(sociologists who lean left) were started to be seen as a threat and in 1947, Faculty of Letters of Ankara was purged. Lots of social scientists had to go abroad. Thus, period between 1950 and 1960 was an infertile period for Turkish sociology (Kongar, 2003).

With the advent of the 1960s, various social sciences and sociology departments (such as the Middle East Technical University and Hacettepe University), state institutions (such as State Planning Organization and TUBITAK/The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) and Turkish Social Sciences Association were established. 1960s became a period in which lots of studies were made on social change in Turkey. Sociology in Turkey transitioned from a philosophical and theoretical structure to a more scientific, empirical and analytical structure firstly in the 1940s and then in the 1960s.

With the memorandum of March 12, 1971, Turkish social sciences took another blow. Some social scientists living in Ankara had to move abroad or Istanbul. But since the importance of social sciences was understood, this time another stagnancy period similar to the 1950s was not lived (Hançer, 2004: 11). From the 1970s until 1980, various social scientists made various empirical researches. Although those researches are a kind of fertility for social sciences, this situation is also a sign of not being sufficiently specialized (Akşit, 1998: 16).

Auguste Comte asserted in 1830 that social science should be a positive science. Since that time, sociology developed as a positivist science. Many social scientists from Spencer to Quetelet, from LePlay to Booth worked on empirical studies. Besides, Weber and Durkheim wrote their famous methodology books (The Methodology of the Social Sciences/Weber and The Rules of Sociological Method/Durkheim) and Simmel worked on interpretive understanding of social science (Essays on Interpretation in Social Science/Simmel).

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In Turkey, Ziya Gökalp wrote the first social fact driven article (Kıray, 1999: 18). After the 1940s and then after 1960s, many sociologists made empirical researches including Niyazi Berkes, Behice Boran, Mübeccel B. Kıray, Paul Stirling, İbrahim Yasa, Nermin Abadan-Unat, Tansı Şenyapılı, Önder Şenyapılı, Kemal Karpat and Bahattin Akşit.

Fourth chapter sought to present and examine the development of Turkish cinema between the 1950 and 1980 period and importance of characters as social types. Generally, Turkish visual arts come from a tradition that is based on traditional Turkish theatre. Turkish Shadow Play (*Karagöz*), Theatre in The Round (*Orta Oyunu*), standalone shows (*Meddah*), puppetry and improvisional theatre (*tuluat*) are the sources of Turkish cinema. All those arts are based on 'types' representing individuals on the society. Thus, we can state that Turkish cinema comes from an art origin based on 'types'.

The origins of Turkish cinema go until 1896, when the first screenings of films of L'umiere brothers were done. But, the first Turkish film is *Ayos Stefanos'taki Bir Rus Abidesinin Yıkılışı* (The Demolition of the Russian Monument in St. Stephan), which was shot in 1914 by Ali Fuat Uzkınay. In 1915, *Merkez Ordu Sinema Dairesi* (Army Film Center) was founded and Uzkınay and Weinberg were appointed as the heads of office by Enver Pasha. Activities of this center were stopped in 1918 and all the cinema equipment was given to *Malulin-i Guzat-i Askeriye Muavenet Cemiyeti* (The War Veterans Association) and the association produced various films. In 1922, Muhsin Ertuğrul, famous theatre director of the time, entered to cinema sector. This period is named as 'The Period of Theatre Men'.

In 1948, the government made a tax reduction for films. That was the start of a new period and gave a boost to the film sector. Besides, change of government in 1950 brought important changes in cultural policies as well as socio-economic policies. Social change and migration introduced cinema to Anatolia and the industry found a big market there. This period followed by the 'golden years' of Turkish cinema, or we can say '*Yeşilçam* Period'. Numbers

of films that were produced increased until the mid-1970s. Main genres were melodrama, drama and comedy during this period.

Social change and problems in the country surely affected cinema and many films were produced on this subject as we mentioned and selected for the present study. In a period which traditional life started to change and face with modern life, characters of films also encountered with social, economic and identity problems. Thus, we can state that there is a rural-urban conflict in those films. Whether the story of the film is rich girl-poor boy, family who migrated to city or the guy who wants to take revenge; we watch rural-urban conflict somehow. Besides, Istanbul is the background of almost all films and stories mostly are in classical narrative structure.

In the light of these, when we look at the relations between selected field studies and films, we should examine social types in order to see effect of sociological imagination and sociology of affects on films.

First of all, we should state that it is 'how' a film is narrated, rather than 'what' is narrated, that makes the difference. Turkish films are mostly in a classical narrative structure with three elements; 'exposition, climax and resolution' (Todorov, 1969: 70-76). Classical film narrative gives us the opportunity to understand the story line and know the characters since the character centered causality is the main axis of the classical story (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson, 1988: 2). Thus, audience identifies herself/himself with the social types that characters represent in the film. This identification leads us to use intuitions and senses as well. From this point forth, we can use sociology of affects. Besides, characters and stories of these films, which represent the reality, provide us to understand the problems and facts of social reality through sociological imagination.

Actually, characters of a film represent reflections of real people. Because of this reality connection, we can state that characters of films can represent social types as also Baker stated (Baker, 2002 and 2011). At this point we can find a connection between fictional stories and social types. A

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social type represents an individual in a society. Let us think Simmel's 'Stranger' or Chaplin's 'the Tramp' once again. A character also represents an individual from the society in a film. Thus, by watching characters in films, we can see and 'feel' social types as well. Story that is told over those characters brings us to understand the dynamics of real life if we use sociological imagination. Besides, we watch inner worlds and personalities of the characters in films. Their hopes, anxieties and desires are also represented in the stories of films. This situation gives us to see them from the point of sociology of affects since a social type is 'affective' by itself.

At this point, let us to take a look at structures and characters of films that we selected in general. In *Kibar Feyzo*, Feyzo represents a peasant who gets conscious after seeing modern life in city, and rebels against feudal system in the village. Feudal system, bride price and gender problems are successfully criticized in the film. In character of Feyzo, we understand that rural change is inevitable. In the rural-urban conflict which was settled through Feyzo character, urban symbolizes change, modern and a world in which people are organized and fight for their rights. Those elements do not occur in rural. Feyzo introduces those elements to rural and starts a change.

In *Züğürt Ağa*, comedy elements are used successfully. Main character of the film, Züğürt Ağa, loses everything after peasants sell all wheat and run away to city. He also had to migrate to the city, but he loses all his authority and then all his money there. He faces with a big alienation in the big city and gets in an identity conflict with himself. In the end, he manages to survive, but he is not a landlord anymore. Although characters are exaggerated and distant from real people because of the genre of the film; they still continue to represent social types. In the film that we watch through Züğürt Ağa character within a classical narrative structure, we again see rural-urban difference. This time urban is represented as a place which equalizes everyone who migrated from rural and shatters all rural authority codes. City life is difficult and cruel for everyone. Züğürt Ağa has to adapt these conditions in order to survive.

In *Sürü*, we watch the survival struggle of a migrant settler family. Hamo, father of the family, is a representation of an old male character who misses old rich days and who tries to protect his authority against his family. We watch the loss of father authority and loss of old rural life through the character of Hamo. In the following parts of the film, he and his sons take a train in order to take a sheep herd to Ankara. The herd and the train symbolize the connection between rural and urban. During their travel, we also watch the scenes and characters of modernizing Turkey. When they get to Ankara, they see the difficulty of urban life through their own desperation. City is not a solution. Young son of their *hemşehri* states this reality once again when they are talking about the city life. City is not different and the problem is the system itself.

In *Gurbet Kuşları*, almost all characters represent a type in the society. For instance, father character is a good representation of a traditional migrant father who wants to protect his authority against his sons and who wants to be successful in the city. Here, again we watch a loss of father authority when modern life codes get in to their lives. Murat character represents a shrewd taxi driver with a big ambition against being successful in the big city. The other character Fatma represents a daughter under patriarchal pressure who wants more freedom. Kemal character represents the migrant youngster who wants to take a good education in the city. He is a mediator between rural and urban. While other members of the family falter in city life, he can adapt to city. Kemal's position stems from his education. Education comes out as an element which can 'save' the person and can adapt her/him to modern urban life in the film.

In *Keşanlı Ali Destanı*, we see a similar structure. Although the film is in comedy genre and characters were exaggerated because of this, film totally represents the *gecekondu* life during the period. Both in filming locations and actors; real *gecekondu* districts and real *gecekondu* dwellers are used in the film. Zilha character, similar to Fatma character in *Gurbet Kuşları*, is a good

representation of a young girl who lives in gecekondu district and wants to be rich and happy before she gets older. City is seen as an area of freedom and as a way of salvation for women characters in lots of Turkish films. Both Zilha and Fatma dream to have a freer and better life in the city. But reality is different. Both of them have to live a life that is defined for them by patriarchal authority. On the other hand, Keşanlı Ali character is a representation of an ingenuous young man who tries to seem strong in order to survive hard life conditions in the city. We see that life in the city is not easy also for men. Besides, we watch the daily life in a *gecekondu* district, authority system in this district and relations with the city through this system in the film.

Umut is a film of hopelessness ironically to its title (*Umut* means 'hope' in Turkish). In the film we watch shootings of Adana and the rhythm of life there. Every day various passengers come to the station, Cabbar sleeps in his phaeton, streets of the city is washed with a tanker and Cabbar's wife does housework all the time (Arslan, 2007: 463). What continues in this rhythm is poverty. We watch poverty of a migrant family trying to live in a big city. Cabbar character is representation of a poor migrant who tries to survive, to take care of his family and to find a way out from poverty. Even education is not a solution to poverty since characters cannot successfully continue to their education. Contrary to Kemal character in *Gurbet Kuşları*, Cemile cannot pass her exams. Because there are not suitable conditions at home for studying, she even does not have shoes to wear. In *Umut* as well as other films that we selected, we see continuing poverty in the city. There are not any differences in terms of poverty after migration.

In *Sultan*, Sultan character represents an alone woman who tries to take care of her four children in a *gecekondu* district. It is not very difficult to find a reflection of Sultan character in the real life. Sultan works as a servant in rich families' house and has a strong personality. But still she searches a father for her children. Besides, we watch neighborhood relations and migrants' support

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to each other through other characters of the film similar to other films we selected.

In *Düttürü Dünya*, we watch the next phase after migration. It has been years since the characters migrated to city. *Gecekondu*s are for rent and very expensive now. Even finding fuel wood is very difficult. In the film, Dütdüt Mehmet and his family also float around in real locations of *gecekondu* districts of Ankara. We watch day and night life of Ankara in the film. On the one side, there is a capital city with lots of officers, on the other side there are *gecekondu*s and night clubs. Dütdüt Mehmet, who dreams to be famous composer one day, tries to take care of his family by finding extra jobs as well as playing clarinet in a night club. In lots of films, including *Düttürü Dünya*, we observe that migration to city is not a solution. There are people who became happy after migrated to city in real life undoubtedly. But cinema looks from the point of view of powerless and defeated characters most of the time.

In the light of these, it is possible to state that almost all main characters in these films reflect a social type. Thus, they are representations of real individuals in real life. Besides, while watching those characters, we not only see events happening with them, but also their inner worlds and personalities. This situation makes us to sense and intuit them. Our sense and intuition allows us to understand the social life they represent better. This is what Baker means in sociology of affects. Moreover, if we critically watch those films, we can comprehend the social change and problems emerged during this process in Turkey. It is ability of sociological imagination that makes us to understand this big social reality.

In sum, the concept of 'affect' constitutes of the things we realize and see; and our perceptions, sensations and intuitions. As a matter of fact, sociology of affects is 'sociology of senses and intuitions' (Baker, 2002). At this point let us have a look at 'affect' through social types. We see, feel, and understand the characters we watch in the films and therefore the social types they represent. We identify ourselves with most of the characters. When we do

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this, then we comprehend more about the equivalent of that character in the real life. In this sense cinema offers us an 'affectual tool'.

For instance, the character 'Cabbar' in the *Umut* film represents a poor migrant from rural to the city, who works as a horse carriage driver for living. In real life it is not hard to find one who is similar to Cabbar (The director Yılmaz Güney already tells the story of his father in this film already). By seeing, getting affected and/or identifying ourselves with the social type Cabbar represents, it is possible to apprehend the issues and problems this type faces in the life.

When we add sociological imagination to this resolution; through what is told in a movie, and through the reality fictionalized and the characters themselves (although we know that the movie we watch is a fictional work), with the help of sociological imagination we can comprehend that all the things we watch is actually a part of a bigger social reality. This therefore, brings us to the idea that we can understand the social events, concepts and changes by watching films that suits the topic. The reason why we used films in this study is this feature of sociology of affects and sociological imagination.

On the other hand, there is no hierarchical relationship between the sociology of affects' and sociological imaginations' view of real life by using films and field studies' view of real life.

In sum, sociological imagination and sociology of affects presents us another way of reading of social reality. What they say is that while doing this reading it is possible to use visuality. (We use cinema films as a visual resource in this study). On the other hand, sociological imagination and sociology of affects criticizes empirical sociology. We, as mentioned above several times, also analysed films by using sociological imagination and sociology of affects; and field studies by using empirical sociology. We found that cinema films can successfully represent some elements differently from field studies. First of all, there are detailed representations of individuals also with their personalities, senses and emotions in films. This leads us to understand representations of

social types from the real life and gives us to opportunity to get in identification with films. Second, in terms of social change, modernization and rural-urban conflict concepts; we think that cinema makes determination and representation of them faster. Finally, cinema passes its effect to audience rapidly and persistently. Thus, it becomes more effective. Cinema does these by using the strong impression ability of images and visuality as well as by its narrative structure. Since field studies have to be neutral and have to use an analytic written language, there are not such effects and outcomes of them.

As a conclusion, we found that 'sociological imagination' and 'sociology of affects' could be an alternative/contribution to classical empirical studies. Besides, we think that we can comprehend social issues through films relevant with the subject in a more effective and faster way than classical empirical studies convey.

At that point, we offer that further studies focusing on different periods of Turkey can be done. A further study focusing on social change process of Turkey starting from 1980 through comparison of empirical studies and films that were made during this period would be fertile and contributing to literature. Besides, we think that a further study from the point of historical sociology would also be an important contribution to the literature. Finally, we should mention that outcomes of the study might be different if different field studies and films were chosen for the present study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SELECTED FIELD STUDIES

A.1 Turkish Village/Paul Stirling

British anthropologist Paul Stirling and his wife lived in two villages of Kayseri between 1950 and 1952 and conducted field research about those two villages. The book was published in 1965. In the beginning of the research, Stirling looks for a 'typical' Turkish village, but there is no such thing. He tries to find an orthodox Muslim, Turkish-speaking village with a modest size that is far away from the influence of the cities (Stirling, 1965: 3). At the end, he agrees to help solve some practical problems at an American clinic near Kayseri and plans to do his research in this area. He and his wife go to the village, Sakaltutan, in the Kayseri province and live there from November 1949 to August 1950. Then, they go to another village (actually it is a Nahiye, a settlement bigger and richer than Sakaltutan and the center of the district) nearby, Elbaşı, and live there from August to November 1951. Stirling performs his field research during this period.

In his twelve-chapter work that records the results of his field research in those two villages, Stirling makes a detailed analysis of village life and its socio-economic dynamics. Stirling observes and conducts deep interviews with village residents and uses statistical data during the field research. He also compares those two villages. The last chapter of the study gives us the results of the research based on a connection with the cities and social change.

In the first chapter of the study, Stirling makes an introduction to Turkey, previous changes during the Ottoman Empire and then the Turkish Republic and reforms.

In the second chapter, Stirling makes an examination of Kayseri province and two villages chosen for the study. According to this chapter, Sakaltutan is a medium sized village with about six hundred residents in which education levels are quite low (Some young people can read the new Latin alphabet and some old people can read old manuscripts). Elbaşı is a bigger village with about 1,200 residents, in which education levels are higher than Sakaltutan (Quite a number of its residents can read, including a few women) (Stirling, 1965: 18, 20, 24).

In the "Villages and Households" titled third chapter, Stirling analyzes village social structures, organization and solidarity and relations with other villages. According to this analysis, there is a dispersed settlement style of the villages. This style of settlement affects social relations and structures. In addition, a person's position in the network of interpersonal relationships is mainly determined by a few main factors such as sex, age, kinship, occupation and wealth (Stirling, 1965:26-27). Furthermore, personal honor and the range and strength of an individual's urban contacts also affect a person's position. Kinship relations are the most common type of social relations. Religious learning and knowledge are also important qualifications within the social structure. Having urban contacts is important in the villages because such contacts imply influence with officials. When we look at thevillage solidarity, we see that all individuals are committed by birth or marriage and bound by many ties to the village (Stirling, 1965: 27-29). Thus, outsiders are a common topic of conversation. "Administratively and legally, the village is ruled by a headman… He is expected to receive all public visitors, especially officials, to help keep order and bring criminals to justice and to take care of public property," (Stirling, 1965: 31). In addition, all villagers must appoint a watchman (*bekçi*) by law who is supposed to act with the orders of the headman (Stirling, 1965: 33). Most of these headmen and watchmen were chosen by village elders, and there is an internal solidarity against the other villages and outside world (Stirling, 1965: 34). When we look at the

households in the village, Stirling states that both villages, Sakaltutan and Elbaşı, have a similar average number of persons per households, six persons (Stirling, 1965: 39).

The fourth chapter is titled, "The Village Economy". According to this chapter, the village survives by growing crops and keeping animals, in other words by mixed farming (Stirling, 1965: 44). Each village (Sakaltutan and Elbaşı villages in this study) has a territory around the village settlements that acts as a symbol of village political identity (Stirling, 1965: 48). The land is cropped in alternate years according to the village fallow system. But the real success of agricultural production "depends on the protection of the village headsman and watchman, and only a resident owner or tenant can be sure of this protection," (Stirling, 1965: 49). In terms of to land holdings, we see that members of a household that owns land work commonly on the land under the direction of the household head. "Most land belongs to household heads, but women may own in their own right; and sometimes stepsons or a brother's child living in a household may own part of the household land," (Stirling, 1965: 48-51). If land is productive, it can be rented to a neighbor on the basis of sharecropping. Finding a sharecropper is easy in Sakaltutan village, and lots of people want to take on more land if they can find it. On the other hand, since the productivity of the land is greater, finding sharecroppers is not easy in Elbaşı. But sharecropping is a prominent element in villages. Besides agricultural work, some other crafts are found in limited numbers such as weaving, carpentry, masonry, smith and barbering (Stirling, 1965: 58-61). Furthermore, although labor is exported outside of villages (Stirling, 1965: 64), permanent migration to towns is rare in both villages in 1950 (Stirling, 1965: 68). This means that social factors are important in keeping people rooted in the villages (Stirling, 1965: 68). When it comes to marketing, the Office of Soil Products (*Toprak Mahsülleri Ofisi*) takes the harvest and sells it directly to the government. Also, the Agricultural Bank and Credit Co-operative offices give credits and loans to peasants (Stirling, 1965: 73, 75). In sum, the village

produces grain for the market and imports products such as fruit, vegetables, tea, coffee, some readymade clothes, shoes, bedding and winter feed for animals.

The fifth chapter is titled, "The Household Economy". In this chapter we see that "resources of a household are threefold: land, animals, and able-bodied ploughmen," (Stirling, 1965: 83). Production depends on the balance of these three items of a household (Stirling, 1965: 83). In this production style, the urgent need for cash is a problem. Because household incomes are insufficient, people borrow to meet their needs. They take out loans from the Agricultural Bank or Credit Co-operative and from moneylenders with illegal rates of interest and borrow from neighbors and kin (Stirling, 1965: 91).

In the "Household and Family Structure" titled sixth chapter, Stirling states that the household is an institution in which the main human physiological needs are met as well as an economic firm (Stirling, 1965: 98). Men are the core of the household. Unfortunately, there is a strong patriarchal system. "The senior man, father, or father's father of the other male members, owns the fabric of the house and usually owns most or all of the land," (Stirling, 1965: 100). We can state that the father has authority over the children, and respect is based on formal rules such as not speaking or answering back in public or in one's father's presence without his invitation (Stirling, 1965: 101). Generally, a father does not leave an inheritance for the land to his sons. The portion of inheritance is done after the death of the father (Stirling, 1965: 101). In this style of life, marriage is an important symbol of transition to adulthood. Another important tradition is raising a stepson if a man has no sons. "He takes a son of his brother or sister, or a son of his wife's brother or sister and brings him up as his own son and heir to his land" (Stirling, 1965: 103- 104). When it comes to the relations of brothers, they are raised together in the same social system but there is an authority relationship between the elder and younger brothers. When it comes to relations among women, the first one we should mention is the mother-daughter relationship.

Girls grow up with the women of the household and learn life from their mothers. But the more effective relationships are between mother-in-laws and daughter-in-laws. A bride and a daughter-in-law are both called '*gelin*', which means 'the one who comes' (Stirling, 1965: 109). "She is expected to do all the more menial tasks in the household, and to wait on her mother-in-law," (Stirling, 1965: 109). Cooperation is expected between gelin and mother-in-law, of course under the authority of the mother-in-law. The *gelin* is not permitted to initiate conversation with elders and her husband and obeys the family rules. Another relationship between women is co-wives (*Kuma* in Turkish), who have to live under the same roof if there is polygamy. Polygamy is quite rare in the villages, and there are only two households like this in the villages. The elder (the first) wife is generally discarded, and relations between these wives are naturally bad (Stirling, 1965: 110). We can say that women and men live in different social worlds (Stirling, 1965: 112). Women do all domestic works; they have social and domestic relations with neighbors and female kin. As for the husband-wife relationship, there is an authority relationship between these two. Marriage is an important status for a woman, and she only can have a sexual relationship with her husband after the marriage. Other kinds of sexual relationships by a woman are punished (Stirling, 1965: 112). In a marriage, men decide all kinds of land, farming, and household issues. Women of course influence their husbands in these decisions (Stirling, 1965: 113). In such a social system, of course, almost all women want to give birth to a son. As her son grows, her position in her husband's house is becomes more guaranteed (Stirling, 1965: 114). A woman with an adult son would never be unwanted or remain homeless. There is a relationship between mothers and sons based on respect, but sons give orders to mothers if necessary (Stirling, 1965: 114).

Chapter seven is titled as "The Domestic Cycle". Stirling (1965: 146) states that, "In general, over much Anatolia, the village social system worked against the maintenance of wealth in any one household or line of households

through more than one generation." Land shortage over the generations because of population increase and other economic reasons creates a problem. In 1950, fathers still profit from the large families of their sons; but the as the sons' holdings are smaller they become more hopeless about the future (Stirling, 1965: 146). This situation creates migration, even if it's not permanent for these two sample villages of the study. To fulfill the needs of a family, many men go away from the village for work. Going to urban areas for work is expected to increase importance and achievement of those men in the village (Stirling, 1965: 146). But, leaving the village for a long time makes such an increase of importance more difficult. Furthermore, after seeing the outside world and other social relations, one becomes less enthusiastic about achieving economic and social success in the village (Stirling, 1965: 146, 147).

Chapter eight is titled as "Kinship", a very important institution of village social relations. There is not specificity or formality in kinship roles but reciprocity is the main sanction (Stirling, 1965: 149). The Turkish system of kinship is different from most Western European systems and has more varied terminology (Stirling, 1965: 151). Agnates have a basic relationship based on duty in this system. They must stand together when facing problems, fighting and during disputes (Stirling, 1965: 155). If a man is attacked, agnates should defend him; if a man is killed, agnates should avenge him (Stirling, 1965: 155). This system makes a clear division in the village and creates different groups. Moreover, agnates also have duties for domestic relations. For instance, if a boy's father dies, they are expected to support and take care of him. If a man wants to marry and if his father is not alive, agnates support him (Stirling, 1965: 156). In this system based on kinship, there are different lineages in villages, which have their own name based on the ancestors' nickname (Stirling, 1965: 157). Their existence relies on the recognition and fulfilling of the special personal rights and duties of agnates to each other (Stirling, 1965: 158). Prestige is a main issue of lineages and is dependent on honor, *namus* in Turkish; and, unfortunately, this is directly related to the women members of

lineages (Stirling, 1965: 168). *Namus* is the reason of most killings in the area (Stirling, 1965: 168). In sum, there is a relationship based on belonging to a lineage, which means defense, intimacy and co-operation (Stirling, 1965: 161). Membership of a group is a kind of insurance against problems and trouble (Stirling, 1965: 168). Lineage members are expected to help each other.

In the ninth chapter, titled "Marriage", we learn that "marriage is at the center of village society," (Stirling, 1965: 178). Household members are shaped according to marriage. There is a bride price, *başlık* in Turkish, tradition; and the groom's family has to make a wealth exchange or cash payment with the bride's family (Stirling, 1965: 185). In Stirling's study, more than half of the marriages are made between people with some kinship ties (Stirling, 1965: 201). This situation shows the strong effect of kinship relations. "The stability of marriage depends entirely on sanctions built into the local community and is totally unaffected by the State laws," (Stirling, 1965: 220). If there is a failure of a wife based on her duties or if she cannot give birth to a son, there is a reason for divorce for her husband. But, if there is not such a situation, divorces are almost nil (Stirling, 1965: 220). All of these concepts are indicators of a strong patriarchal system.

The title of chapter ten is "Rank". According to this chapter, rank in a society is a matter of an individual's position in the range of prestige and hierarchy of power (Stirling, 1965: 221). Stirling makes a classification of factors that determine the position of a man in the ranking system. There are three groups of factors: "One group comprises age and the position of a man in his own household, lineage and kinship network; the second comprises landholding, occupation, income and patterns of spending; and the third, piety, religious learning, and moral respectability," (Stirling, 1965: 222). These three scales affect each other. If an individual's position changes in one of these scales, it changes in the other scales too. But in all of these groups, wealth is the most important factor (Stirling, 1965: 234). Age and lineage position is out

of personal control. In this situation, if a man is poor and shameless, he will be thought little of in respect to his age (Stirling, 1965: 235).

The eleventh chapter is "Groups, Feuds and Power". There are different groups in the two villages. Actually, almost all households are economically independent; and there is no dominance in this manner (Stirling, 1965: 236). But, there are voluntary associations; and both villages are divided into quarters (Stirling, 1965: 237). Living in a quarter creates a belonging to there. Another social phenomenon of villages is feuding. As it is stated above, if there is quarrel, people from the same lineage are expected to defend each other. Actually, feuding between lineages can last for generations (Stirling, 1965: 249). Feuding may result in not talking with each other, committing violence and even killing. For instance, Stirling (1965: 251) gives an example of feuding between two groups because of opening a door in a wall. Apparently, Melik wants to open a window in a wall overlooking a patch of ground that belongs to his neighbor, Hasan, who is a poor member of another lineage. Hasan accepts the opening of that window in the beginning. When Melik then turns the window into a door, however, Hasan objects. A quarrel starts, and men from both Hasan's and Melik's lineages get involved. In the end, Hasan shoots Melik's eldest son. Although the victim recovers, Hasan hides in caves near the village to escape from the gendarmerie.

The headman is a prominent figure in village life. He has different duties as we mentioned above. He is positioned between state officials and peasants. The important point that Stirling finds out is that village leaders do not want to be the headman. Rather, they want to control the headman (Stirling, 1956: 236). In Stirling's work, we see that sample villages do not have an effective formal structure or authority or an informal leadership (Stirling, 1965: 264). Outside this system, local order is the responsibility of the State. The State should be able to intervene in problematic situations, but the village still maintains its own order (Stirling, 1965: 265).

The last chapter is "The Village and the World". In 1950, people in urban areas and the countryside did not interact very much with each other. Villages were aware of their connection to the national economy and system, but they were still far away from urban life (Stirling, 1965: 266). The relationship between villages and political authority changed after the victory of the opposition party, the DP, in the 1950 elections. After that election, winning village votes became a major policy aim (Stirling, 1965: 269). Laws (*kanun* in Turkish) relating to rights or behavioral institutions affect villagers greatly (Stirling, 1965: 270). Both criminal law (because of violence and killings) and administrative law (because of the Village Law) are quite important for village life. Peasants know, however, that sometimes laws are ignored in the village (Stirling, 1965: 271). When we examine education, we see that teachers are necessarily urban-educated and mostly young. Remaining government services for villages are public work, agricultural and veterinary services and health services (Stirling, 1965: 278). On the other hand, there is an urban and rural social rank according to peasants. They speak as if the village is ranked below the urban areas, and even a poor townsman is proud of his urbanity (Stirling, 1965: 283). According to Stirling, there is a situation of mutual strangeness and mistrust between town and village (Stirling, 1965: 285). For most peasants, educated urban people are best avoided. "No one likes the humiliation involved in making visits to doctors and lawyers, and everyone is suspicious of and opposed to any official interference in village life," 288.

In 1950, the two villages in which Stirling made his field work were just in the beginning stages of social change. Although these villages were still conservative societies in which social control was effective and although there was a dispute and ranking between urban and rural, change started. Changing economic conditions and an increase in law and order and public transportation brought villagers into greater contact with urban areas. After seeing the outside world, village social relations started to change. This contact with the outside world weakened solidarity within the village (Stirling, 1965: 292). "Peasants

were no longer necessarily dependent on their leaders and they started to depend on the good-will of hosts of other people outside the village with different assumptions and ideas," (Stirling, 1965: 292). All those contacts with urban areas would start a social transformation in villages.

A.2 *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası*/ **Ereğli: A Coastal Town Before Heavy Industry (Mübeccel Belik Kıray)**

Kıray, who has a prominent role in the adaptation of contemporary sociological theories to Turkey, has made effective additions in the subject of field studies. Kıray has conducted many field studies in many places such as İzmir, Ereğli, Adana, and Safranbolu.

According to Kongar (2003: 426), Kıray is much more effective in accumulating data and resolving findings than doing theoretical analysis. In fact, Kıray has made many studies, collected data for the studies, and analyzed the data in her field. So, she can be counted as 'the father' of that field. "Because of this the theoretical novelties Kıray brought are concepts that founded the bases for new formations rather than being proper for making speculations on it,"(Kongar, 2003:426).

Starting from this point of view we will analyze first Kıray's approach to several concepts and then her works subject to our study.

Kıray states his thoughts on social transformation in the introduction part of her book *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası*, which was requested and supported by the State Planning Organization and published in 1964. We can find Kıray's perspective on social change in her chapter named "A Frame for Social Structure Analysis". Her thoughts on this chapter provided the basis for her latter studies.

Kıray (1964: 5) states that it is important to know to what extent and type there are changes in specific locations and times, and she makes generalizations about these as far as it is possible.

According to Kıray change occurs as follows (Kıray 1964: 1-8; Numbering and summary Kongar, 2003:431):

1)   Every society is an entirety; regardless of it being feudal, modern, or under transformation.

2)   This entirety is composed of human relationships and norms that come about as a result of these relationships.

3)   This entirety changes with a pace and tempo thatis not always the same.

Moreover, according to Kıray a social structure is composed of four elements (Kıray 1964: 1-8; Kongar 2003:431):

1)   An ecological society that has a specific place and form in a space.

2)   A population that has its own peculiar quality.

3)   A specific organization.

4)   A social value system that depends on the three things above.

According to Kıray because the elements of social structure are connected to each other, a change cannot occur randomly. A change occurring in some elements of a social structure also affects the other elements. However, since the elements of a social structure do not all change with the same pace and amount; there will be gaps in between. In this case, a change becomes visible always as a balance preserving mechanisms together with social structures' inner change formations (Kıray, 1964: 6). In other words, according to Kıray social change occurs gradually. This change does not occur at the same rate and in the same amount for each element of a society. Therefore, in a society under change, qualities can be seen related with both the old and new structure (Kıray, 1964; Kongar 2003). Actually, society becomes whole during the transition process. But some parts of this wholeness cannot exist in an industrial society (Akşit, 2012: 95). These are some remaining parts and renditions from the previous culture. As a result of this, some intermediate

forms emerge; and these intermediate forms are necessary for the co-existence of modern and traditional institutions without conflicts (Akşit, 2012: 95).

From this point Kıray comes to the "Buffer Institutions"(*Tampon Kurumlar*) concept. Buffer institutions are the institutions and relations that undergo a comprehensive and relatively fast change and cannot be seen in both main structures; however, buffer institutions become visible within formation and make it possible to integrate (Kıray, 1964: 7). This situation comes about as a result of the fact that every enterprise and formula or the values related with these do not change at the same time and pace, and do not turn into the same structure within the same time period. Buffer institutions forestall social disintegration by enabling the change to happen without depression during the transition period from feudal society to capitalist society or traditional society into modern society (Kıray, 1964: 7; Kongar, 2003: 438). Buffer institutions that enable the society to undergo a modest change also protect the person and family in small-scale situations (Kongar, 2003: 439).

According to Kongar (2003: 443), Kıray's concept of buffer institutions comes about as a result of a combination of the functionalist approach, which sees the society continuously in a balanced position, and Ogburn's 'cultural lag' concept. By using this concept Kıray identifies the shortcomings and flaws of the functionalist approach related to large-scale change (Kongar, 2003: 443). Kıray's approach discusses change on a medium scale. If this approach can become independent from big-scale change models, its scientific side will be more apparent (Kongar, 2003: 443).

In light of all of this, we will now analyze the work of Kıray that we chose for our study.

Ereğli: A Coastal Town Before Heavy Industry, whose data Kıray collected in 1962 and which was published by the State Planning Organization in 1964, is one of the most important studies in its field.

Kıray presents her theoretical framework in the introduction part of the study. In the introduction part of her five parted work, Kıray states that the aim

of her study is "to ascertain the functional whole which social institutions, human relations and value systems constitute in 1962 in Ereğli Town," (Kıray, 1964: 1). Kıray's issue in this study was how Ereğli dealt with the changes and problems brought about by the start of the iron and steel factory in the town in the spring of 1961(Kıray, 1964; 1). With the foundation of the factory, the social life in the town undergoes a great change. Kıray aims to investigate village life as it is then, before it completely changes. With the introduction of a factory, Ereğli becomes a laboratory for investigating the effects of heavy industry (Kıray, 1964: 1). After setting the aim and the problem like this, she draws the conceptual frame mentioned above.

In the second part, the methodology and material of the study is designated. At the beginning of this chapter, Kıray states that the information required for this study is gathered by using various methods used in the social sciences (Kıray, 1964: 9). Written sources are composed of "publications of General Directorate of Statistics, reports of Zonguldak Region of works ministry regional planning ministry and State Planning Organization county surveys' parts related with Ereğli" (Kıray, 1964: 9). Moreover, open interviews are conducted with the people who can give information about the gender, occupation, socio-economic status, political party and similar groups that they belong to (Kıray, 1964: 10). In these interviews open-ended questions are used. Another method used is the survey (Kıray, 1964: 10). As a population, head of the families are taken into account; and the heads of families are surveyed (Kıray, 1964: 11). This population data is based on the 1960 election files of the civil registry of the village and tables are prepared according to the neighborhoods. The participant households are selected by choosing one out of every four houses, resulting in a sample of 491 houses. With these necessary eliminations the sample is reduced to 486. Of this number, 35 heads of household are women; and the remaining 449 heads of household are men (Kıray, 1964:11).

Surveys are made up of 6 sections in total with 145 questions. These questions are prepared in order to reflect individual and family income, occupation, consumption norms, and family experiences (Kıray, 1964: 12). The people administering the surveys are chosen among the primary school teachers. According to Kıray (1964: 13) "primary school teachers are the ideal people for this kind of studies in a town like this."

Kıray (1964: 13) measures the sincerity of the answers given by the survey participants as follows:

No matter how one wants to change the answer, and changes the answer; the answer to the question remains within the boundaries of one's own life, knowledge, and values. One cannot go beyond these borders. One cannot convey experiences that are unfamiliar to him/her. . . (Moreover) in order to prevent people who are going to answer the questions from learning the questions in advance from others or being influenced by others, the surveys are conducted very promptly.

In the third part of her study, Kıray analyses the history of Ereğli. From the fourth part on she starts analyzing Ereğli's social life. According to the answers given to the applied techniques Ereğli's maritime transportation, land transportation, and its connection to the city centers and other villages are analyzed.

In the fifth part, titled "Population and Population Movements", variables like Ereğli's population in various years, age distribution, education of the head of the families, marital status, number of children, outward migrations, migrants to Ereğli, and trips are analyzed. According to these studies, there are both people migrating to and from Ereğli. For example, in Kıray's sample 61.3% of the heads of the families born in Ereğli haverelatives who are residents outside Ereğli (Kıray, 1964: 40). Another important issue analyzed in this part is the concept of 'stranger'. According to Kıray (1964: 49) the stranger has a critical position in terms of urbanization and outsourcing. The most repeated answer in the 'stranger' criteria is not being born in Ereğli

(Kıray 1964: 52). Another important factor is the difference between foreigner and stranger. There are many foreigners coming to Ereğli's harbor from Europe and other places. Yet stranger is another thing. For instance, Kurdish and Laz people are strangers according to the folk (Kıray, 1964: 55).

The sixth part of the study is titled "Socio- Economic Life in Ereğli". Criterions such as occupational groups, peasant – merchant relationship, historical perspective, occupational mobility, and occupational choices in Ereğli are analyzed in this part. Moreover, criterions such as getting an education and being regarded as an important person as a result of this, becoming rich and being regarded as an important person as a result of this, and working women and attitudes towards this are also analyzed. The subject of working women is important. Kıray (1964: 86) indicates that the people in Ereğli do not have a negative attitude toward working-women, and that they are open minded about the jobs women can perform. According to this study, the number of people who said that women can also take a role such as a teacher, midwife, nurse, doctor, judge, or engineer is 95% (1964: 86). At the end of this part, Kıray (1964: 87) makes one of the most important propositions by pointing that Ereğli is departing from a feudal socio-economic order and moving toward urbanization, organization, and disengagement with locality.

The seventh part is named "Income Differentiations and Consuming Norms". Kıray indicates (1964: 88) that in Ereğli, social norms regard complaining about destitution and poorness as a sin. Because of this, it becomes impossible to determine incomes and expenditures of the residents of Ereğli. Kıray analyses how the families use their incomes and expenditures by looking at their furniture, meals eaten, foods made and consumed outside, and clothing. Waste and luxury concepts are also analyzed by examining variables such as possessing an automobile, which is regarded as a luxury by the families, or buying a refrigerator or travelling.

The eighth part is named "Family Structure and Human Relationships in the Family". Criterions such as family structure (extended family, nuclear

family etc), father-son relationships, daughter-father-mother relationships, and husband-wife relationships are analyzed. Moreover, relationships associated with events such as birth, circumcision, marriage, and death are also analyzed. According to this research, there is a loosening in the relationship between father and son in the society. The saying, "Daughters are more favorable" (Kıray, 1964: 119) is an indicator of this. The traditional father-son relationship has changed, and there is a conflict between them (Kıray, 1964: 119). And this is a kind of disengagement from the traditional structure. However, the mother-son relationship continues in its traditional level. A woman's status in the house is guaranteed when she gives birth to a boy (Kıray, 1964: 120). Girls are brought up in a more traditional way. In terms of inheritance, however, we see that behaviors are becoming less traditional and more of a combination of Islamic norms and provisions of civil law.

The ninth part is titled, "Education in Ereğli".According to a survey of the heads of families, education was considered necessary for the success of their sons and daughters." In addition, heads of households want their sons to be educated so that they "earn money". In terms of girls, although it is mentioned that girls can do any job, the first aim of getting an education for girls is the wish that then they can accommodate the life of that day and have the knowledge to handle mundane, daily jobs (Kıray, 1964: 139).

The tenth part is titled, "Spare–time activities". Among the spare-time activities of women are visiting others and events related to birth, circumcision, marriage and death. Men's spare time activities include going to places where you can drink alcoholic beverages and attending meetings where alcohol is consumed. Women are more interested in radio, television and cinema. Moreover, there is a tendency toward participating in the activities of big cities, which are commercialized and undergoinga change as a result of new working conditions.

The eleventh part is titled "Communication and Concepts". According to Kıray, communication means and types are among the first factors

thatdetermine the residents of Ereğli's life pace, human relationships and views of life (Kıray, 1964: 153). This part is analysed under the titles such as post, newspaper, magazine, and cinema. According to the results, the majority of the people listen to the radio. And the majority of radiolisteners listen to both Istanbul and Ankara radios. The majority of people listen to folkloric songs, followed by news and commentaries in second place (Kıray, 1964: 154). The newspapers and the topics read show that Ereğli residents integrated themselves with Turkey to a great extent (Kıray, 1964: 161). In the section titled "Turkey and World Concepts", the thoughts of Ereğli residents about Turkey and the World are measured. According to this section, Ereğli residents have a tendency towards urbanization and opening outward (Kıray, 1964: 168). This section is followed by the subsection titled "time, distance, and punctuality". Kıray reaches the conclusion that in Ereğli the standard time units (hour, calendar, measurement units etc) are commonly used (Kıray, 1964: 176). The concept of time is on the road to becomingstandardized.

The twelfth part is titled "Civilian Administration". In this part, political life, judicial life, public security, and health care issues are analyzed. According to this section, the two organized political parties in the town are CHP and AP. However, the new situation created by the foundation of the factory, necessitated a new balance of powers (Kıray, 1964. 180). The leaders of the parties in 1962 continued their relationships with the representatives of the new powers (factory founders, their staff etc) on the personal level and waited for the position be more apparent (Kıray, 1964: 180). When we look at public security, it is seen that most events occur in Ereğli's business area, in places such as cafes, and taverns. There are not many records of crimes committed in the residential areas. Actually, Ereğli has not faced the criminal situations seen in the big cities yet (Kıray, 1964: 181). The most important problem in terms of health issues is malnutrition. There is perfect trust in the medicine, remedies and doctors available in the town. The town-dwellers go to doctors for all kinds of diseases. According to Kıray, Ereğli is connected to the

doctors to an extent that cannot even be seen in the big cities (Kıray, 1964: 182).

The thirteenth part is titled "Religion and World View". This part is analyzed under the subtitles such as organization and official religious life, public beliefs and world view. According to Kıray, religious lives constitute the datum point of the social change in Ereğli. However, it is impossible to precisely measure the effects of the change on religious lives and measure how widespread religious beliefs and customs are (Kıray, 1964: 183). Because Turkish laws at the time were strict regarding what people could say about religious beliefs and customs, interviewers avoided asking direct questions about such topics in this study. They did not want to undermine the reliability of the study as a whole by asking questions that were difficult for people to answer honestly (Kıray, 1964: 183). It was still possible, however, to reach some conclusions (Kıray, 1964: 183). Viewing the study as a whole, Kıray concludes thatEreğli is not a very religious village. However, it is common especially among the women to organize religious meetings and fortune telling rituals (Kıray, 1964: 184). Moreover, the idea that science is the answer to everything is suspiciously approached; and it is thought that there are many things that the human mind cannot comprehend (Kıray, 1964: 187). However, Ereğli residents are still far removed from the idea of predestinarianism in their daily lives. They take a more a rational, neutral, and tolerant attitudetoward women, diverging from religion in this matter (Kıray, 1964: 188).

The fourteenth part is titled "iron and steel plants". Ereğli residents learnthat theiron and steel plant willbe a built in their village, mostly via the Democratic Party; and they welcome it with cheers (Kıray, 1964: 190). The factory's introduction will create an irrevocable social change. However, their first contact with the factory is negative. Some people indicate that the factory does not like the Ereğli residents (Kıray, 1964: 192). Others, however, feel that thanks to the factory, there is agreater possibility that their sons will find a joband not have to leave their own country (Kıray, 1964: 192). The part of this

section where worker's movements are mentioned is highly important. Together with the introduction of the factories, founding organizations started. For instance, peasants came together and protested the use of the factory machinery that was destroying their gardens and fields (Kıray, 1964: 195). This situation had broad repercussions in the town. Because of an increase in the number of construction workers, the 'Yapı-İş' Union of Construction Workers opened a branch in Ereğli. This union fought against the poor living conditions in construction factories and untrustworthy methods of hiring and firing workers; and the union also organized the biggest labor movement of those times (Kıray, 1964: 195). Because of these things, Ereğli residents were extremely aware about labor movements in Turkey during the foundation year of the factory (Kıray, 1964: 195).

The fifteenth part is titled "Surrounding Villages in Situation of Neighborhood Relations". Six villages, which are a1-1.5 hour walking distance to the Ereğli center, are both at the border of the factory and the town; plus, these villages are like functional parts of the factory and town. With the introduction of the factory, these neighboring villages will change asmuch as the town, and even more (Kıray, 1964: 200). For this reason, questionnaires are conducted inthese villages as well, and the results are examined. The villages have a similar tendency as the town. However, here the tendencies are similar to the towns that are less urbanized and less developed economically (Kıray, 1964: 239).

In the last part, named "Summary and the Results", Kıray gives a summary of the whole study and makes some generalizations. According to this section, "how much fartherthe newly founded factory will take Ereğli is not only related to the factory. This is much more related to the changes occurringall overentire Turkey,which affect both the factory and the whole town" (Kıray, 1964: 239). Changes in the basic social relationships between individuals are important beause they affect society as a whole (Kıray, 1964: 240). The effect of the iron and steel plants on Ereğli will also affect the towns'

ability to connect with and integrate into Turkey as a whole. (Kıray, 1964: 240).

A.3 *Türkiye'de Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm ve Köylere Girişi* / **Underdeveloped Capitalism in Turkey and Its Access into Villages (Bahattin Akşit)**

Akşit's 1967 study "Underdeveloped Capitalism in Turkey and Its Access into Villages with regards to a Dialectical Approach that takes Technological Development as a Sociological Criterion" has three chapters. The first chapter is "A Study on Working Codes of Development of Human Societies". The second chapter is "Access and Development of Capitalist Market and Modern Technology into Village", and the third chapter is "Affect of Production for the Market and Modern Technology on two Villages around Ankara". In this study, we will focus on the second chapter of the work, in which Akşit analyzes his field study in two Antalya villages. Akşit (2013) states that he examines "social transformations in villages which started production for the market under the effect of capitalism and used modern technology for production and transportation, integration with markets and cities and so participation to capitalist division of labor of the world" in the study. Akşit cites Kıray's "Social Stratification as an Obstacle to Development" study and underlines how production for the capitalist/market transformed peasants. Accordingly, social development is the focus of the study. Peasants' division into different social strata and transformation with the advent of capitalism are taken as an obstacle to social development. The arrival of new economic relations, technology and products in villages increases productivity; but peasants lose their lands and sharecropper status. As a result, their income decreases; they couldn't benefit from health, education and welfare services; and they have to migrate to *Gecekondus* in cities.

Akşit chooses two villages from Manavgat region of Antalya to test again the outcomes of Kıray's field research in four Adana villages. One of the villages has a big farm with big lands. The other one has smaller lands. In the first village, peasants said that the old clan leader distrained 5000 decares of

land during 1940s and 1950s through some political and juridical tactics. This resulted in a capitalist farm, and peasants became sharecroppers in this system. Akşit states that this capitalist transformation occurred and predicts that the capitalist farm will persist (Akşit, 2013)

Akşit uses questionnaires in his field research. He states that he prepared questions before he took the field. In addition, he conducts one-on-one interviews with some peasants. Akşit's survey sample in these two villages consisted of family heads with similar income and outcome levels. He surveyed the sample group with the help of teachers, *muhtars* and some peasants familiar with village issues (Akşit, 1967: 72).

Akşit names the villages as I and G in the study (1967: 74). We will continue to name villages as I and G. I village has 116 houses and a population of around 700, and 29 houses were taken into sample of the study. G village has 72 houses and a populationof around 400, and 18 houses were taken into sample of the study.

In the first chapter titled "Access into Markets and Mobility", Akşit examines production for the market and changes in shopping attitudes in markets. (Akşit, 1967: 79). Both villages started to produce for the market and thus, feudal stagnancy changed. There is an income distribution difference, however, and most peasants are faced with poverty. This situation created an immobility stemming from poverty. Furthermore, some members of most families in the sample migrated to cities (Akşit, 1967: 74).

Akşit examines access conditions to modern means of production in the "Change in Means of Production and Production Types" chapter. According to this chapter, close relatives of a landowner bought tractor, as well as landowner and sharecropper in G village. In I village, some residents bought tractors with loans and plowed the rest of the peasants' lands collectively. 72% of the sample is sharecroppers and 17% are workers that are not sharecropping in G village. 50% of the sample are sharecroppers or rent out their tractors in I village (Akşit, 1967: 83- 85).

Akşit (1967: 86) states in the "Social Structure of Present Day" chapter that "Access to capitalist markets and the arrival of modern technology into villages transformed the society into workers and capitalists." But Akşit's sample shows that these two classes didn't emerge precisely like this; rather, different social strata with regard to occupations emerge such as big farmer, small farmer, sharecropper-worker, worker, qualified worker and truckman-merchant. These social strata emerge in land distribution and annual income distribution issues. In addition, women and children also work in both villages and try to increase their families' income by entering the workforce. Loan systems are common among small farmers and sharecropper workers. Loans involve mutual cooperation and a promise to help when payments are needed among peasants at the same stratum (Akşit, 1967: 86-90). But according to Akşit (1967: 119), the main problem in this issue is the relationship between capitalists who have modern agriculture technology and lands and workers who just supply their labor.Thefirst groupcontrols the second group.

In the "Capital Savings and Social Differentiation" chapter, Akşit examines the market relations of the village (Akşit, 1967: 93). Markets offer new commodities and demand villages' goods. In this situation, grocers emerged as intermediaries between the peasants and the market. They make capital savings, buy peasants' goods, sell them new goods and know the market price of the goods. Peasants, however, don't know the market relations and market prices of the goods (Akşit, 1967: 94). Furthermore, grocers buy new lands from the peasants with their saved capital and expand their lands. In Akşit's sample, social differentiation is improved. Most of the peasants borrow money, and discharging debts is a problem. Peasants discharge their debts byborrowing from other peasants and sell their lands in the end to pay their debts (Akşit, 1967: 98).

After examining various examples from both villages, Akşit starts to examine their population structure. We see in the "Population Structure" chapter that theaverage age of the sample is young, and there is a fast

population increase (Akşit, 1967: 105). Also, the literacy level for I village is 68,5% and 50,7% for G village(Akşit, 1967: 105).

In the "Family as an Institution Adopting to Changing Conditions" chapter, "Extended Family" is defined as a familiy with a mother, father, married sons and brothers-sisters; "Nuclear Family" is defined as a familywith a husband and wife and unmarried children; and "Transition Family" is defined as a family that differsfrom the first two models (Akşit, 1967: 110). The percentage of nuclear families increases in towns and cities. Akşit also comes to the conclusion that there is a transition towards the nuclear family (1967: 111). But, there are problems. Goods produced with modern technology don't bring wealth to villages, and that causes theseparation of family members from extended family structure into nuclear families. Separated family members, however, still have to help each other in difficult economic conditions (Akşit, 1967: 111).

In the "Stratified Consumption, Clothing and Nutrition" chapter, we see the change in clothes, foods and houses starting with social differentiation. According to Akşit's analysis, the life style in the village is stratified (divided into those who are rich and those who are poor) (Akşit, 1967: 116).

In the "Power of Control in the Village and *Muhtar*" chapter, Akşit discusses the issues of control and balance of power in the village. Akşit (Akşit, 1967: 117) states that "If the rich have the power of control, the *muhtar* also will work for the rich; and if the poor want to make a change on behalf of poor people, the rich and *muhtar* will stand out against this change or transform this situation on behalf of themselves." Here, Akşit refers Kıray's work on Adana villages and states that the landless peasants' candidate was elected as *muhtar* (Kıray, 1998). In Akşit's sample, the three most influential peoplein I village are all grocers. Although the *muhtar* is not one of these three people, he is the son of one of these grocers (Akşit, 1967: 118). Grocers are also big farmers and have an important position between the village and the market as we mentioned above. In G village, the landlord has the power of control; and

the *muhtar* comes from the same family as the landlord (Akşit, 1967: 118). Akşit asked peasants if they could come together and claim their rights. Most of the peasants give a negative response to this question. They stated that they are poor and need money to claim their rights (Akşit, 1967: 118). Some of them stated that the landlord wouldn't allow them to claim their rights (Akşit, 1967: 118).

In the "Effect of Technology on Concepts and Assuming Attitudes" chapter, we see that if the village starts to use modern production techniques, produces for the market place and begins to connect with other places, then the following happens: a) the concepts, measures and dimensions of local society start to change, and b) standard concepts, measures and dimensions settle down (Akşit, 1967: 121). For instance, Akşit asked peasants about their bedtimes and waking times in his sample. According to Kıray (1962: 171-173) a change in social order affects people's conception of time, especially relating to bed times and waking times. Most of the peasants answered Akşit's question on bedtime and waking times with standard time measures. Their answers suggest that a social change started with the opening of markets and other places. Akşit underlines the concept of alienation at that point. He refers to Kıray and mentions that when peasants were asked to identify their problems and concerns, they said: road building, electricity, water and/or mosque construction. Unless there is industry, road construction and electricity aren't enough to solve their problems. Because peasants think that nobody will be interested in their personal problems, however, they feel alienated; and their real problems are not addressed. Akşit makes his survey by considering this alienation problem and finding out that landlessness, unemployment and financial difficulties are the main concerns and problems with a 51,8 percentage. Although they don't believe that they can find jobs or that conditions will change if they move, most of the unemployed consider migrating to towns and cities (Akşit, 1967:125-127).

An important point that we should state is that Akşit makes a revisit study to G village thirteen years later. In his 1967 work, Akşit predicted that sharecroppers would be discharged and capitalist farms would continue. But, in his work thirteen years later, he finds out that sharecropper peasants became mid level farmers; and capitalist farms were shared among the landlord's sons and cousins (Akşit, 2013). Thus, the capitalist model couldn't be verified in Akşit's sample.

A.4 *Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri*/ **Squatter Families in Ankara (İbrahim Yasa)**

İbrahim Yasa, one of the most important scholars who studied social change, made field studies in most of his works. Tüzün (2003: 212) summarizes Yasa's research theory as follows:

1) Cutting up complex social events

2) Analyzing those social events through "Sample event examination" or "observation" methods

3) Categorizing those social events through typification.

4) Making generalizations through categorized events.

Tüzün (2003: 213-214) states that Yasa takes a descriptive attitude in his studies and neither transforms his hypotheses into variables nor tests variable interrelations.

Yasa refersto "family structure" in his studies. He categorizes family types into three groups: rural, shanty house and urban families. He identifies the following characteristics of rural families (Yasa, 1970: 162-176 in Tüzün, 2003: 217):

1)   Agriculture is the common work for all family members in a rural family.

2)   Work descends from father to son in a rural family.

3)   There is a distinct father authority in a rural family, and the sphere of family social relations is wider than urban families.

4)   There is a penetration effect in rural families.

5)   Rural families are more crowded than urban families.

6)   The marriage age is lower in rural families.

Squatter families are in a transition period between rural and urban families (Tüzün, 2003: 217). Squatter families are communities in transition who have settled in transition parts of cities (Yasa, 1966: 20-21).

When we make a generalization in the light of these things, Yasa (Tüzün, 2003: 219) defines society as "A social heritage that emerges through emotions and thoughts passing between people and from lineage to lineage." Yasa likens society to a living organ and family to cells of this organ. Furthermore, social structure is like the inner structure of a machine, and any change in any part of this machine affects other parts as well (Yasa, 1970: 1-2). According to Tüzün (2003) Yasa, like Kıray, seizes upon Ogburn's "Cultural Lag" approach. Moreover, Yasa also uses the "Buffer Institution/*Tampon Kurum*" concept of Mübeccel Kıray and states that social problems exist if Buffer Institutions are not created during the social change process (Yasa, 1970: 22).

To sum up, according to Tüzün (2003: 231), Yasa's social change conception is cohere with approaches of different theoreticians of structuralist-functionalist approach. But he makes his inferences in a descriptive manner rather than by analyzing. Yasa made a significant contribution to social sciences due to his works and data that he collected in his field studies.

Yasa's study "*Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri*/Squatter Families in Ankara", which was published in 1966, is one of the most comprehensive studies that was made on shantytowns in Turkey. The study consists of five main chapters and thirteen sub-chapters. In the introduction chapter, Yasa (1996: 1) states that he tries to present the rise, constitution and development of squatter families within a process.

First of all, it would be relevant to examine the method of the research, which is in the fifth chapter of the study. According to Yasa, rural families that

have recently migrated to cities experience social change more than long-established rural and urban families (Yasa, 1966: 239). The subject of the research is these families who have recently moved from rural to urban areas. According to Yasa (1966: 240), "family is the main unit of the society and the most relevant unit in which social change can be observed is also family." Yasa's sample consists of 91 neighborhoods that were determined in 1960 numereotage (21 of 112 neighborhoods were excluded from the sample since they lost shantytown characteristics). Those 91 families consist of 53.000 houses in 14 different districts. 1000 houses were selected among those 53.000 houses through simple probability analysis and causal numbers table methods. Research was completed with 916 houses (84 of 1000 houses were excluded since they couldn't be reached) (Yasa, 1966: 241-242).

At this point we will summarize Yasa's hypotheses for the study (Yasa, 1966: 242-243):

1)   Rural families that migrate to cities, over time, incorporate rural cultural elements into urban life conditions..

2)   Urban conditions change material culture elements faster than moral culture elements.

3)   Families, which previously migrated to cities, were affected by these material and moral cultural changes more than families who migrated later.

4)   The changes undergone by rural families that settled in cities were slow and limited. Change spreads in time and affects relative-neighbor relations.

Yasa prepared a questionnaire including 23 main and 112 sub-questions. We can divide questionnaire questions into two groups. The first group of questions includes the economic structure and material culture of families and the changes that come along with these elements (Yasa, 1966: 243). The second group of questions includes moral culture parts of this social change (Yasa, 1966: 243).

At this point, we will examine the first chapter of the study. Title of the first chapter is "Population Movements in Our Country and a Collective Outlook on Shantytown Question/ *Memleketimizde Nüfus Hareketleri ve Gecekondu Sorununa Toplu Bir Bakış*". Yasa examines the main and sub-causes of migration in Turkey, such as economic reasons, land problems, agriculture problems and family problems. Then, he examines social causes such as population increase, heritage problems, blood feuds and security problems. Following these parts, Yasa examines previously made studies about shantytowns. Based on these examinations, we find that shantytowns in Turkey have been increasing since 1945 (Yasa, 1966).

Yasa mentions "Migration to City and Settlement" in the second chapter. After the first sub-chapter, in which he analyzed the construction and furniture of shantytown houses, Yasa analyzes settlement in city, family structure and the economic order of squatter families. According to this analysis, three out of five families living in shantytowns are owners of the houses that they're living in, and two out of five of families are tenants (Yasa, 1966: 65). 16% of the owners built their houses and one fifth bought their houses (Yasa, 1966: 65). Most of the houses have a single room (Yasa, 1966: 67). In addition, most of the houses don't have a kitchen, and the toilets are outside and in common use (Yasa, 1966: 68). More migrants come to cities with their families than alone (Yasa, 1966: 76).

When it comes to children of squatter families, we see that most of the families (97%) want their children to be educated. Moreover, most of them want their children to be civil servants (40%) (Yasa, 1966: 113). The second and third most desired occupations for the children of migrants are independent business owner and craftsman. Yasa, states that this situation shows that squatter families increasingly accommodate to the city (Yasa, 1966).

In terms ofeconomic matters, Yasa (1966: 121) states that most of the newcomers have to find a job by themselves. Commonly, they find a job through a reconciler or a relative (Yasa, 1966: 121). If we examine jobs of

squatter people, we see that they are qualified worker-craftsmen, unqualified workers, cleaners, small business owners, farmers and civil servants in turn (Yasa, 1966: 123). They learn professions such as driving, being an auto mechanic, carpentry, tailoring and bricklaying after they migrate to the city (Yasa, 1966: 124). Having difficulty adapting to urban culture, they change their jobs frequently and try to find new and better jobs. Thus, Yasa writes that categorizing the jobs of these people was difficult during the study (Yasa, 1966: 124).

The title of the third chapter is "Material Values and Habits". In this chapter, Yasa analyzes squatter families' foods and nutritional habits firstly. Then, he analyzes clothing habits and finally, health and cleaning habits. According to Yasa's outcomes (1966: 185), a squatter family bears a resemblance to middle class craft families of the city in terms of sleeping hours, health issues, and teeth cleaning habits. On the other hand, squatter families resemble rural families in terms of waking up hours and general cleaning habits.

Yasa examines "Moral Life and Values" in the fourth chapter. According to this chapter, most of the interviewed families (%70) are literate (Yasa, 1966: 190). Most of them use radio as a communication tool (%66). They mostly listen to folk songs (%95) and news (%88) in turn (Yasa, 1966: 195). Superstitions are very effective. There are a high percentage of believers in the evil eye, possession, demons and spirits (Yasa, 1966: 226).

In terms of relations with neighbors, we see that there are close relations with neighbors (Yasa, 1966: 206); but that they don't help each other frequently (Two out of five help each other, three out of five don't help) (Yasa, 1966: 207). According to Yasa (1966:207) this situation shows that shantytown communities diverge from rural communities on a large scale.

At this point, it would be relevant to mention Yasa's general observations of squatter families and his conclusions based on the questionnaires.

According to Yasa (1966: 53), most of the shantytown neighborhoods don't have good physical and social conditions. Streets lost their common meaning in shantytowns. "Because of this reason, house groups in shantytown settlements were called 'scatter'" (Yasa, 1966: 54). "Most of the shantytown houses have a single room… New rooms were added in time," (Yasa, 1966: 54-55). Owners of these houses first rent rooms; and, after a while, rent the entire house. "These owners are brokers of these *gecekondu* districts," (Yasa, 1966: 55). Adverse possession during the beginning of shantytown construction turned into a type of exploitation of people (Yasa, 1966: 55) by *gecekondu* mafias.

When we get to the furniture of houses, we see that most of them are furnished according to a rural style. Furniture such as sofas, tables and chairs are for guests' usage. Family members use the same tables and cups (Yasa, 1966: 55). Toilets of most houses are common and not hygienic (Yasa, 1966: 56). Heating is a problem in winter. Most families use stove heating (Yasa, 1966: 56). Families who are economically in good condition can buy lignite coal. Families who are economically in bad shape use coal and waste fuels (Yasa, 1966: 56).

The basic foods of families consist mainly of carbohydrates; and because of poor nutrition, most family members have health problems (Yasa, 1966: 57). Children and adults suffer from these problems. But according to Yasa (1966: 58), squatter families don't consider going back despite these problems.

If we get to Yasa's conclusion remarks, the rural family's transformation to squatter family and then to urban family is a long process (Yasa, 1966: 229). The squatter family is a socio-economically closed society. It diverges from a rural family structure and becomes an urban family structure (Yasa, 1966: 230). On the other hand, squatter families still follow some rural habits. Material values (clothing, eating, health habits etc) evolve into an urban

life style fast, while moral values (beliefs, superstitions, traditions etc) transform more slowly (Yasa, 1966: 236).

In light of all of this, Yasa comes to the conclusion that the squatter family is a social institution in a transformation process, and its social structure is always in a state of change (Yasa, 1966: 236).

A.5 The *Gecekondu*: Rural Migration and Urbanization (Kemal Karpat)

In his 1976 published study "The *Gecekondu*: Rural Migration and Urbanization", Karpat (1976:1) explains that the purpose of the study is "to investigate the socioeconomic background, migration, and urbanization of a group of rural migrants living in three *gecekondus*, or squatter settlements, in the northern hills of Istanbul." These settlements are Nafibaba (Hisarüstü), Baltaliman and Ahmet Celaleddin Paşa (Celaleddin Paşa) (Yasa, 1976: 1). According to Karpat (1976: 1), the *gecekondus* are a part of a process of rural migration and urbanization, or modernization, in the third world nations. As a result, village and city are part of a continuum in time and space; they affect each other and are affected by micro and macro developments at national and global levels (Karpat, 1976: 1). Karpat states that this is the central idea of this study.

The data accumulated in this study was gathered by a team of 16 trained researchers and derived from 949 interviews, which were based on questionnaires with individual squatters (Karpat, 1976: 4-5). The survey for the study was conducted in 1968. Karpat (1976: 5) writes that each member of the research team prepared an essay about his or her most striking impressions or some relevant information that was not included in the questionnaire. By using this method, problems and issues that seemed important for interviewees came into view. In addition, Karpat (1976: 5) states that "he chose to interview each squatter individually above the age 16 rather than limit the interview to household heads." According to Karpat (1976: 5), "this method revealed the differences in the level of education, occupations, attitudes and aspirations

prevailing among men, women, and bachelor boys and girls." In sum, they interviewed 430 married women, 393 married men, 89 unmarried boys and 37 unmarried girls (1976: 5). The questionnaire includes 88 major categorical questions and a series of open-ended questions. "The answers were index-scored according to frequency and rated in percentages," (Karpat, 1976: 5).

Karpat analyzes material derived from these questionnaires in eight main chapters and an introduction and a conclusion chapter.

The title of the first chapter is "The *Gecekondu* in Comparative Perspective". Karpat provides an overview of squatter settlements and their scope in the world with statistics. According to this overview, squatter settlements are seen in many third world countries that are in a process of rural migration and urbanization (Karpat, 1976: 7). The United Nations defines squatter settlements as "non-legal or illegal occupation of land construction of buildings by low-income people," (in Karpat, 1976: 15). Rural migration on the other hand, is a process in the 19th and 20th centuries resulting from the outcomes of changes in the social structure and economy (Karpat, 1976: 16). Main push factors in rural migration are poverty, low income and lack of education and health facilities. Main pull factors in the cities are the opportunity for employment, higher income and availability of education, health and other facilities (Karpat, 1976: 20). Squatters maintain their village culture and adapt to city culture at the same time as well (Karpat, 1976: 41).

The second chapter of the study is "Historical Roots of Migration and the *Gecekondu* in Turkey". After reviewing social and economic changes in the 19th and beginning of 20th centuries, Karpat examines "*Gurbetçilik*" (literally meaning "in strange lands" or "outside of one's home" [1976: 54]) as the beginning of migration. It's a form of seasonal migration (Karpat, 1976: 54) that stems from agricultural and ecological problems. Many people had to leave their lands for socio-economic reasons caused by those agricultural and economic problems.

As for the causes of recent migration, there was a rural population increase from 1923 to 1946; and this population growth occurred at a faster rate than agricultural production (Karpat, 1976: 56). Furthermore, the slow but steady mechanization of agriculture, starting from 1950 and especially after 1960, resulted in cost accounting, efficiency and an increase in production (Karpat, 1976: 56). "This development eliminated the marginal farms and left no justification for surplus manpower to stay in the village…" (Karpat, 1976: 56) Moreover, problems with landlords, tribal chiefs and problems of *kan davası* (vendetta) (Karpat, 1976: 56) are other causes behind migration. Industrialization after 1963 created structural changes and gave a new direction to rural migration (Karpat, 1976: 58). Since industrial production increased, the male population that engaged in industry and services also increased and thus led to rural migration (Karpat, 1976). As a result, the population of urban areas increased. The *Gecekondus* found around all major Turkish cities were built mostly after 1950 (Karpat, 1976: 59). The population of three squatter settlements (Nafibaba, Baltaliman and Celalettin Paşa) came from 36 provinces in Turkey (most of the interviewees [597 of 950] came from northeastern Anatolia and the Black Sea) (Karpat, 1976: 65). When it comes to urban reaction to rural migration, Karpat (1976: 62) writes that "the old city inhabitants regarded the migration as a peasant invasion."

The third chapter is "The Establishment and growth of the *Gecekondu*". According to this chapter, *Gecekondus* in Turkey, like elsewhere in the world, were constructed not by migrants but slum dwellers or low-income groups who settled earlier in the city (Karpat, 1976: 78). Factors that affected the establishment of *Gecekondu* settlements in Nafibaba, Baltalimanı and Celalettin Paşa were "the availability of employment and the shortage of housing and high rents in the area," (Karpat, 1976: 78). These three settlements created their own economic and commercial life (Karpat, 1976: 82). Karpat (1976: 82) writes that there were a total of 11 grocery stores, 3 coffeehouses, 2 eating places, a barber shop, a soft drink stand and a hardware store which

were all privately owned and operated by owners themselves. "Migrating to Istanbul, building a house and finding a job in the city revolved around *akrabalık* (blood relationship) and *hemşehrilik* (common village-town origin)" (Karpat, 1976: 85). According to Karpat (1976: 86), *akrabalık* and *hemşehrilik* play an important role during migration and the subsequent settlement process in the city. Moreover, blood and community ties coming from *akrabalık* and *hemşehrilik* institutions are a source of mutual help and solidarity during migration and settlement in the city.

When we look at the characteristics of a *Gecekondu* dwelling, the house has usually one room. The house can later be expanded to 2 to 4 rooms (Karpat, 1976: 92). Among the house owners in *gecekondus*, 93% of men, 91% of women and 92% of unmarried stated that they built their own house; and the rest stated that they bought them (Karpat, 1976: 93).

The title of the fourth chapter is "The Social and Economic Structure of the *gecekondu*". Karpat starts this chapter by analyzing the family structure of three settlements chosen for the study. According to this chapter, family is at the center of social life in *gecekondus*. Squatters continue to follow village customs relating to marriage and family life (Karpat, 1976: 96). But family size in cities is smaller than in rural areas because of various limiting factors (Karpat, 1976: 97). "The nuclear family in these *gecekondus* was dominant, there was a definite trend toward marriages outside the group and closer interest in the children's education and professional training had a limiting effect on the size of the family," (Karpat, 1976: 98). Karpat (1976:98-100) looks into literacy rates among squatters. The literacy rate among the unmarried (94% of them know to read and write) and married men (84% of them know to read and write) is very high, but it's very low among married women (Just 31% of them know to read and write). "Women gave reasons for illiteracy as: the tradition that girls should be kept at home to remain wholesome, parents' ignorance and conservatism, the need for someone to take

care of orphan brothers and sisters, poverty of the family and the need to earn a living and migration to city," (Karpat, 1976: 99-100).

When we look at the economic and occupational structure of squatters, we see that 93% of male squatters are employed. Only 30% of women, on the other hand, are employed and 83% of them work as servants (Karpat, 1976: 100). Employment among unmarried is also relatively high (67% of them had jobs), and the rest were too young and/or going to school (Karpat, 1976: 100). The occupations of the male population were traditional professions such as crafts and services (Karpat, 1976: 101). Job mobility is high: 55% of male interviewees state that they change their jobs (Karpat, 1976: 105). Finally, we should state that most squatters were satisfied with their present life in the city, but still half of them complained that their needs were increasing and their income wasn't enough (Karpat, 1976: 111). When living conditions in *gecekondus* are compared with those in villages, we see that most of the interviewees thought that their conditions in city are good (61% of men, 64% of women and 57% of unmarried answered "good"; 5% of men, 6% of women and 7% of unmarried answered "worse") (Karpat, 1976: 106). Moreover, a noteworthy majority of interviewees thought that their children's future in the city will be better than their parents (92% of men, 93% of women and 91% of unmarried [when their children were born] answered in this way) (Karpat, 1976: 108). Squatters know, however, that the city requires them to adapt to urban culture; and consequently they find themselves as both uprooted villagers and unaccepted city dwellers (Karpat, 1976: 114). In order to move upward, squatters thought that they must develop their abilities and succeed through economic achievement. When they succeed, they face bureaucracy and opposition from the intellectual elite (Karpat, 1976: 114). In addition, increasing social position and income cannot come with the help of *hemşehris* or *akrabalık*, but by individual effort and achievement alone (Karpat, 1976: 114). But, if the squatter becomes a rich man, he is isolated from his village mates, who still continue to be simple workers (Karpat, 1976: 114).

The fifth chapter is "Association and Leadership in three *gecekondus*". Karpat (1976: 117) mentions three factors that affect leadership position in *gecekondus*. First, village background affects relations, values and behaviors. Secondly, "there was maintenance of order and security within the settlement," (Karpat, 1976: 118). Men who became successful for some reason within the settlement (who built the best house or who opened a shop etc. belonged to a group of leaders (Karpat, 1976. 118). Thirdly, connections with the city, the political parties and the government (Karpat, 1976: 118) could affect leadership status. In light of these factors, Karpat (1976: 118) states that "the most successful leader (in the settlement) was the one who could harmonize the old with the new."

Furthermore, "the squatters' cultural and group activities revolved around the community, which in turn represented religious and social identities," (Karpat, 1976: 118). Thus, *hemşehrilik* (coming from the same place origin) helped to establish modern types of organizations and determine political choices (Karpat, 1976: 119). When we look at the emergence of leadership within the settlement, we can give Karpat's sample of Nafibaba. "The leaders in Nafibaba emerged naturally as a consequence of their opinions and proposals expressed in informal meetings at the coffeehouse, work place or home…this was close to a form of traditional communal leadership brought over from the village," (Karpat, 1976: 121). The communal life provides a sense of belonging, security and group identity among the squatters (Karpat, 1976: 128).

Women hold an inferior position in *gecekondus*, in much the same way as they do in villages. This is a result of division of labor and hierarchy of values (1976: 130). Thus, women's participation and power in *gecekondu* affairs is nearly nonexistent (Karpat, 1976: 132).

Looking at the formal institutions and public opinion, Karpat (1976: 132) expresses that the coffeehouse is a type of social club where problems are discussed and decisions are taken. Every *gecekondu* district has its own

coffeehouses principally used by men. Moreover, *muhtarlık* (headman office), the *Gecekonduyu Güzelleştirme Derneği* (An association in the sample district for the study), trade unions and political parties are other important formal organizations (Karpat, 1976: 133). The *muhtar* has an important key position in *gecekondus* and affects the lives of squatters (Karpat, 1976: 134).

The sixth chapter is "The Urbanization of the *gecekondu*". According to Karpat (1976: 137), "the current (meaning1970s) urbanization in Turkey as elsewhere in the third world is a consequence of rural migration." In this chapter, Karpat (1976: 139-140) identifies four phases of urbanization. The first phase starts with the villager's decision to leave his community and settle in a *gecekondu* district in the city. The second phase is the migrant's use and sharing of city facilities such as water, electricity, markets and transportation. The third phase emerges with the squatter's willingness to establish relations with other city people. At that point, the squatter creates a new self-image, modeled on urban forms. The fourth and concluding phase is the squatter fully identifying with the city.

In general, 90% of men, 92% of women and 87% of the unmarried are very or reasonably satisfied with living in Istanbul (Karpat, 1976: 140). Men in general stated their satisfaction with living in the city and say it is better for employment and earning conditions, having a profession and/or a business of their own; and cities have better living, health and education conditions for themselves and their family (Karpat, 1976: 141). Women stated they were satisfied with living in the city because of easier living conditions, better security, and some freedom from interference by relatives and elders (Karpat, 1976: 141). The unmarried stated their satisfaction as educational facilities and social activities. On the other hand, the majority of interviewees (64% of men, 565 women and 67% of unmarried) responded that they did not yet consider themselves as city dwellers. They said that they didn't call themselves city dwellers because they didn't live like the established residents (Karpat, 1976.

142). But adoption of urban habits continues. There is a high rate of literacy among the men and the unmarried (Karpat, 1976: 147).

APPENDIX B

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name : Coşkun, Çiçek
Nationality : Turkish (TC)
Place of Birth : Polatlı
e-mail : cicekcoskun@yahoo.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	Middle East Technical University, Middle Eastern Studies Program	2006
BS	Dokuz Eylul University, Faculty of Business Administration, Department of International Relations	2003
High School	Adnan Menderes Anatolian High School, Aydın	1999

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2008 – September 2014	Çankaya University, Department of Political Science and International Relations	PhD Scholar
2006-2007	Ankara Association for Cinema Culture	Program Coordinator
2002 July	Aegean Region Chamber of Industry, Press Department	Intern

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Basic Italian

TURKISH SUMMARY

İçerisinde kurgu barındıran bir dal olmasına rağmen, sanat da bilim dalları gibi hayatı anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu noktadan hareketle, Türkiye'de 1950 ile 1980 arasındaki sosyal değişim hakkındaki sosyolojik alan araştırmalarının ve Türk filmlerinin karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmesi bu çalışmanın ana eksenini oluşturmaktadır. Giriş bölümünde de belirttiğimiz üzere "sosyolojik tahayyül" ve "duygular sosyolojisi", sosyal meseleleri anlayabilmek ve çözümleyebilmek için, başka kaynakların yanı sıra sinema filmlerinin kullanılabileceğini söyler. İzleyici, sinema filmlerindeki karakterlerle özdeşlik kurar; anlatılan hikâyeyi görür ve hisseder. Böylece filmin yansıttığı sosyal gerçekliği ve konuları hızlı bir biçimde kavrar. Bu noktada, sosyolojik tahayyül ile duygular sosyolojisi'nin önerdiği şekilde sinema filmlerini kullanmanın, klasik ampirik araştırmalara bir alternatif/katkı sağlayabileceğini düşünüyoruz. Ayrıca sosyal meselelerin, konuyla ilişkili filmler yoluyla ampirik araştırmaların aktardığından daha hızlı ve etkili bir biçimde kavranabileceğini düşünüyoruz. Bunlar ışığında, seçtiğimiz alan araştırmaları ve Türk filmlerinde tartışılan kavramları karşılaştırılmalı olarak incelemeyi amaçladık. Türkiye'deki sosyal değişimi konu edinen beş alan araştırması ve sekiz Türk filmi seçtik. Buna göre, seçtiğimiz çalışmalardan ikisi kırsal değişime (*Turkish Village* ve Türkiye'de Azgelişmiş Kapitalizm ve Köylere Girişi/ *Underdeveloped Capitalism in Turkey and Its Access into Villages*), ikisi gecekondu, göç ve kentleşme meselesine (Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri/*Squatter Families in Ankara* ve *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization*) ve bir tanesi de bir kasabadaki sosyal değişime (Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası/ *Ereğli: A Coastal Town Before Heavy Industry*) odaklanmaktadır. Örneklem, anket ve mülakat

yöntemleri bu çalışmaların tümünde kullanılmıştır. Çalışma için seçtiğimiz filmlere bakarsak, *Kibar Feyzo*, *Züğürt Ağa* ve *Sürü* kırsal değişime odaklanmaktadır. *Gurbet Kuşları, Keşanlı Ali Destanı, Umut, Sultan ve Düttürü Dünya* ise gecekondu, göç ve kentleşme meselesine odaklanmaktadır. Seçtiğimiz alan araştırmaları arasında farklılıklar olmasına rağmen, katılımcılara sorulan sorular ve çalışmaların analiz edilişi biçimlerine genel olarak baktığımızda, sosyologların odaklandığı bazı genel kavramları belirlemenin mümkün olduğunu gördük. Bu noktadan hareketle, seçtiğimiz alan araştırmalarında sosyologların odaklandığı konulardan hareketle altı kavram belirledik ve bu kavramların alan araştırmalarındaki işlenişleriyle filmlerdeki işlenişlerilerini karşılaştırmaya çalıştık. Belirlediğimiz kavramlar "aile ve toplumsal cinsiyet", "göç, hemşehrilik ve şehirle bütünleşme", "ekonomik hayat", "otorite", "eğitim" ve "dünya görüşleri" şeklindedir.

Bütün bunlardan hareketle çalışmanın ilerleyişine bakalım. Öncelikle belirtmeliyiz ki, araştırma faaliyeti, sosyal bir meseleyi incelemenin önemli bir parçasıdır. Sosyoloji disiplini de araştırma faaliyetlerine ve araştırma yöntemlerine büyük önem vermektedir. Sosyoloji disiplininde farklı araştırma yöntemleri bulunmaktadır. Alan araştırmaları da sosyal değişim konusunu çalışırken vaka incelemesi, katılımcı gözlem ve/veya yaşam öyküsü gibi Türkiye'de tercih edilen bir yöntemdir.

1950 ile 1980 arasındaki dönem, bütün dünyada demokratikleşme meselesinin tartışıldığı, kültürün ve sinemanın yükselişe geçtiği, endüstrileşme ve ticaretle ile birlikte insan göçünün arttığı ve teknolojinin ilerlediği bir dönemdir. Türkiye'de, 1950'lerde Demokrat Parti Hükümetlerinin iktisat politikalarının etkisiyle hızlanan sosyal değişim, binlerce yıldır devam eden toprağa bağlı kırsal toplumu değiştirmiştir. Sosyal tabakalar, meslekler ve bütün insan ilişkileri bu değişimden etkilenmiş ve değişmiştir. Toprağa bağlı olan bir toplum, topraktan kopmaya başlamıştır (Kıray, 1991). Kırsal yapı değişmiş ve yeni üretim ilişkileri ve biçimleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Bütün bunların etkisi ile kırdan kente göç başlamıştır. Bu süreç şehirlerin de yapısını

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değiştirmiştir. Bu büyük ve etkili süreç elbette ki sosyologların dikkatinden kaçmamıştır. Türkiye'deki sosyal değişim, bir ilişkiler ağı olarak birçok sosyolog tarafından incelenmiştir.

Sosyolojik bir girişim için dört madde önerebiliriz: teori, metodoloji, araştırma faaliyeti ve sosyolojik tahayyül (Denzin, 2009: 5). Mills, "Sosyolojik Tahayyül" eserinde klasik sosyolojik çalışmaları ve ampirik araştırmaları eleştirir ve iyi bir çalışma yapılabilmesi için birçok iyi çalışmanın bir araya gelmesinin gerektiğini söyler (Mills, 1959). Bir sosyolog sosyal araştırma yaparken "sosyolojik tahayyül" bilgisine ve yeteneğine sahip olmalıdır. Sosyolojik tahayyül sosyal olayların incelenmesinde tümevarım ya da tümdengelim yaparken sosyologun işini kolaylaştıracaktır. Diyebiliriz ki sosyolojik tahayyül, "bir birey kendi biyografisi ile 'kamusal' veya 'nesnel' denilen daha büyük sorunların örtüştüğünü görselleştirmeyi başarabilir ve 'tahayyül edebilir' hale geldiği zaman ortaya çıkar," (Baker, 2010: 125).

"Duygular Sosyolojisi" de klasik sosyolojiyi eleştirir. Duygular; bedenimiz, zihnimiz, sezgilerimiz ve hislerimizle ilişkilidir. Duygular teorisi de konuya bir üst düzlemden bakarak, politika, sosyal hayat ve estetikle ilgilenir. Duygular sosyolojisine baktığımızda ise, onun hislerin ve sezgilerin sosyolojisi olduğunu söyleyebiliriz (Baker, 2002: 11-19, 32). Baker, günümüz sosyolojisinin, insanların zihinlerinde hâlihazırda bulunan kanaatleri topladığını belirtir (Baker, 2002: 42). Günümüz sosyolojisi, bu kanaatleri "katılımcı gözlem", "anketler", "vaka incelemesi" ya da "alan araştırması" gibi araştırma yöntemlerini kullanarak toplar. Bu noktada Baker, daha etkili bir sosyoloji için "duygular sosyolojisi"ni önerir. Çünkü duygular sosyolojisi, hislerin ve sezgilerin sosyolojisi olduğu için dış faktörler tarafından etkilenemez ve oluşturulamaz (Baker, 2002: 11-19, 32).

"Sosyal tip yaratımı" ise, duygular sosyolojisinin temelinde oturmaktadır. Bir sosyal tip kendiliğinden duygusaldır ve gerçekten var olan psikolojik bir insanı temsil eder (Baker, 2002: 58). Simmel'in "yoksul"u ve "yabancı"sı, Marx'ın "lümpen proleterya"sı, Foucault'un "deliler"i, Mills'in

"beyaz yakalılar"ı sosyal bilimlerdeki sosyal tiplere; Moliere'in "Cimri"si, Balzac'ın *Pere Grandet*'i ve Chaplin'in "Şarlo"su edebiyat ve sinemadaki sosyal tiplere örnektir (Baker, 2002: 52-71).

Hem sosyolojik tahayyül, hem de duygular sosyolojisi sinema ile sıkı bir ilişki içindedir. "Kendinden-belge" olma özelliğine sahip olan sinema, gerçek hayatı ve sosyal tipleri temsil eder. Tıpkı romanlar gibi filmler de duyguların ve hislerin görselleştirilmesi yoluyla sosyal tipleri yaratabilir (Baker, 2002: 3). Bu nedenle filmler bize, temsil ettikleri sosyal tiplerin, öykünün ve dönemin bir okumasını yaparak sosyolojik tahayyülü ve duygular sosyolojisini kullanma imkânı verir. Ayrıca, hem sosyolojik tahayyül, hem de duygular sosyolojisi klasik anlamdaki ampirik sosyolojik çalışmaları eleştirmektedir. Bu durum bize alan araştırmalarını ve sinema filmlerini karşılaştırma imkânını sunmaktadır. Bütün bunlardan yola çıkarak, ana argümanımızı desteklemek için Türkiye'de 1950 ve 1980 yılları arasındaki sosyal değişimi konu edinen alan araştırmalarını ve sinema filmleri karşılaştırmalı olarak inceledik.

Çalışmanın ilerleyişini daha ayrıntılı biçimde belirtelim. Öncelikle 1950 ile 1980 yılları arasındaki sosyo-politik ve ekonomik gelişmeleri gözden geçirdik. Zürcher'in dönem kavramlaştırmasına göre modern Türkiye tarihinde Jön Türkler dönemi, 1950 yılında Demokrat Parti'nin iktidarıyla kapanır (Zürcher, 2004: 93-132). 1946'dan sonra çok partili sisteme geçilir ve Demokrat Parti'nin ana özelliği kırsala dayanması olur. Demokrat Parti hem asıl popülist söylemini hem de oylarını kırsal alanlardan alır. Böylece, kırsal alanlarda yaşayan halk, ilk defa siyasetin öznesi haline gelir. Bu karşılıklı ilişki "anti-elitizm"e dayanmaktadır. Başka bir şekilde ifade edersek, Mardin'in meşhur kavramsallaştırmasında açıklanan merkez-çevre değişimi başlar (Mardin, 1973).

Öte yandan, bu dönemde NATO'ya (North Atlantic Treaty Organization/ Kuzey Atlantik Antlaşması Örgütü) ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne (ABD) bir yönelim vardır. Bu yönelim, Türkiye'nin modern bir

tarım ülkesi olma hedefini hızlandırır. Böylece tarımda mekanizasyon dönemi başlar. Bunun sonucunda kırsal alanların etkisi ve önemi artar; ancak bu etki kendini elbette ki yoksul köylüler üzerinde değil, zengin toprak sahipleri üzerinde gösterecektir. Tarıma traktörün gelmesiyle birlikte, pek çok köylü işinden olur. İşsizliğin bir sonucu olarak, köyden kente göç başlar.

1950'lerin ikinci yarısında gecekondulaşmaya dayalı bir şehirleşme başlar. Fakat köylerden şehirlere göç eden bu nüfus ilk aşamada şehirli/kentli olamaz. Dolayısıyla, şehirde yaşayan tüm nüfusun şehirli olduğunu söylemek mümkün değildir. Göç edenler, kendi gecekondu semtlerini kurar ve kendi toplum kültürlerini oluştururlar. Ayrıca, şehrin işçi sınıfını da göçmenler oluşturur. Fakat ilk kuşak göçmenler için şehir hayatına uyum oldukça zor olur. Buna rağmen çocuklarının eğitimi ve daha iyi yaşam koşullarını elde edebilmek için şehirde yaşamaktan çoğunlukla memnundurlar. Şehre adapte olabilenler ikinci nesil göçmenler olur. Bu ikinci nesil gençler 1960'ların ve 1970'lerin siyasi mücadelelerinde önemli bir rol oynayacaklardır. Modernleşme sürecinden hem maddi hem manevi olarak yararlanamayan bu nesil zamanla politik tepkisini göstermeye başlar.

1960 ile 1980 yılları arasındaki dönem, Türkiye'de toplumsal muhalefetin etkin olduğu bir dönemdir. Bu dönemde sendikalaşma, işçi muhalefeti, Kürt muhalefeti ve öğrenci muhalefeti artar ve tüm ülkede çok etkili olur. İşçiler, 15-16 Haziran Direnişi ile bir "sınıf" olduklarını gösterirler. Daha eğitimli ve bilinçli bir toplumsal kesim olan öğrenciler ise bu muhalefetin ön saflarında yer alırlar.

12 Mart Muhtırası ile birlikte bu dönem kapanır. Fakat bu durum ülkenin her yanında daha büyük bir etki yaratır. 1970'lerin sonunda Türkiye'de ciddi bir karmaşa dönemi vardır. Gündelik hayat iyice politik hale gelir ve sokaklarda silahlı çatışmalar yaşanır. Ülkede siyasi kaosun yanında ekonomik kaos da vardır. Temel tüketim maddeleri karaborsaya düşmüştür; bakkalların önünde uzun kuyruklar oluşmaktadır. Hükümet, 24 Ocak Kararları'nı alır ancak uygulamaya koyamaz. Hayatın her alanında kriz yaşanmaktadır. Bu

dönemde kırdan şehre göç de devam etmektedir. Bütün bunlar nedeniyle, 1960 ve 1980 arasındaki bu dönemi toplumun ülke gerçeklerini ve siyasetini belirlediği bir dönem olarak tanımlayabiliriz.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde Türkiye'de sosyolojinin ve alan araştırmalarının gelişimini gözden geçirdik. Sosyoloji, diğer çoğu sosyal bilim gibi akademik meşruiyetini 19. yüzyılda kazanmıştır. Ahmet Rıza, Paris'e gidip Comte'un düşünceleri ile geri döndüğünde, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu da sosyoloji ile tanışmış olur (Berkes, 1936: 241). Fakat Türk sosyolojisinin kurucusu Ziya Gökalp'tir (Akşit, 1998:7, Berkes, 1936: 242). Durkheim'ın metodolojik görüşlerini benimseyen Gökalp, ülkedeki ilk sosyoloji bölümünü de kurmuştur. Özellikle Cumhuriyetin ilk döneminde yeni bir toplum ve kimlik inşası için gerekli görülen sosyoloji, uzun süre siyasi etki altında kalmıştır.

1933 Üniversite Reformu ve Alman akademisyenlerin üniversiteye kabulü ile yeni bir sürece giren Türkiye sosyolojisi, 1936 yılında Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi'nin kurulması ile güçlenmiştir. Behice Boran ve Niyazi Berkes gibi önemli sosyologlar, bu fakültede ders vermeye başlamış ve burada önemli çalışmalar yapmışlardır. Bu dönemdeki başka bir sosyoloji okulu, İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde, Hilmi Ziya Ülken başkanlığındadır. Fakat yaklaşık on yıl sonra, sol görüşlü akademisyenlerin görüşleri tehdit olarak görülür ve Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi'nde bir tasfiye yapılır. Birçok akademisyen yurt dışına çıkmak zorunda kalır. Bu nedenle 1950 ve 1960 dönemi Türkiye sosyolojisi açısından verimsiz bir dönem olarak görülür (Kongar, 2003).

1960'ların gelişi ile birlikte, üniversitelerde yeni sosyoloji bölümleri (Örneğin Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi'nde ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi'nde), devlet kurumları (Örneğin Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı ve TÜBİTAK/Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırmalar Kurumu) ve Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği kuruldu. 1960'lı yıllar aynı zamanda Türkiye'deki sosyal değişim üzerine birçok çalışmanın yapıldığı bir dönemdir. Başlangıcı 1940'larda olan bu

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dönemde sosyoloji felsefi ve teorik bir yapıdan, ampirik ve analitik bir yapıya kavuşmuştur.

12 Mart Muhtırası ile Türkiye sosyal bilimleri bir darbe daha almıştır. Ankara'da yaşayan bazı sosyal bilimciler İstanbul'a ya da yurt dışına gitmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Fakat 1970 sonrası dönem sosyal bilimler açısından, 1950 sonrasındaki dönem gibi durağan ve verimsiz bir dönem olmamıştır. 1970'den 1980'e kadar birçok sosyal bilimci ampirik araştırmalar yapmıştır. Bu araştırmalar sosyal bilimlere bir verimlilik getirse de, bu durum aynı zamanda yeterince uzmanlaşamamanın da bir göstergesidir (Akşit, 1998: 16).

Bu noktada ampirik alan araştırmalarının gelişimine bakalım. Auguste Comte, 1830'da sosyolojinin pozitif bir bilim olması gerektiğini belirttiği günden beri, Spencer'dan Quetelet'e, LePlay'den Booth'a kadar birçok sosyal bilimci ampirik araştırmalar üzerine çalışmıştır. Ayrıca, Weber ve Durkheim ünlü metot kitaplarını (Weber/Sosyal Bilimlerin Metodolojisi ve Durkheim/Sosyolojik Yöntemin Kuralları) yazmıştır ve Simmel yorumlayıcı sosyal bilim üzerine makalelerini yazmıştır.

Türkiye'de ise, sosyal olgu üzerine ilk makaleyi Ziya Gökalp yazmıştır (Kıray, 1999: 18). 1940'lardan sonra ve ardından 1960'lardan sonra, Niyazi Berkes, Behice Boran, Mübeccel B. Kıray, Paul Stirling, İbrahim Yasa, Nermin Abadan-Unat, Tansı Şenyapılı, Önder Şenyapılı, Kemal Karpat ve Bahattin Akşit gibi birçok sosyal bilimci ampirik araştırmalar üzerine çalışmıştır.

Çalışmanın dördüncü bölümünde, 1950 ve 1980 arasında Türk sinemasının gelişimine ve Türk filmlerinin anlatı yapısına ve filmlerdeki karakterlerin sosyal tipleri temsil etmeleri açısından önemlerine odaklandık. Genel olarak baktığımızda, Türk görsel sanatları geleneksel Türk tiyatrosuna dayanır. Karagöz, Orta Oyunu, Meddah, Tuluat gibi sanatlar, Türk sinemasının kaynakları arasındadır. Bütün bu sanatların temelinde toplumdaki "tip"leri temsil etme bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle, Türk sinemasının "tip"lere dayalı bir sanat kökeni olduğunu söyleyebiliriz.

Türk sinemasının başlangıcı, L'umiere Kardeşler'in filmlerinin gösterimlerinin yapıldığı 1896 yılına kadar gider. Fakat ilk Türk filmi, 1914'de Ali Fuat Uzkınay tarafından çekilen "Ayos Stefanos'taki Bir Rus Abidesinin Yıkılışı"dır. Bu nedenle de Türk sinemasının başlangıç tarihi olarak 1914 kabul edilmektedir. 1915 yılında Merkez Ordu Sinema Dairesi kurulur ve Enver Paşa'nın emriyle Uzkınay ve Weinberg dairenin başına getirilir. Bu birimin çalışmaları 1918 yılında durdurulur ve sinema ekipmanları Malulin-i Guzat-i Askeriye Muavenet Cemiyeti'ne verilir. Cemiyet, bu ekipmanlarla farklı filmler çeker. Dönemin ünlü tiyatro yönetmeni Muhsin Ertuğrul, 1922'de sinemaya girer. Bu dönem, "Tiyatrocular Dönemi" olarak adlandırılacaktır.

1948 yılında, hükümet filmler için vergi indirimi yapar. Bu yeni bir dönemin başlangıcı olur ve film sektörü ciddi bir atılım yapar. Bunların yanı sıra, 1950'deki hükümet değişikliği sosyo-ekonomik politikaların yanı sıra kültür politikalarında da önemli değişikliklere neden olur. Sosyal değişim ve göç, sinemayı Anadolu'ya tanıtır. Film endüstrisi, Anadolu'da büyük bir pazar bulur. Seyircinin beğenisi ve isteklerini göz önüne alan filmler çekilir. Bu dönemi Türk sinemasının "altın yılları" ya da "Yeşilçam Dönemi" olarak adlandırılan dönem takip eder. 1970'lerin ortalarına kadar yıllık üretilen film sayısı artarak ilerler. Bu dönemdeki ana film türleri melodram, dram ve komedidir.

Toplumda gözlenen bu sosyal değişim ve ülkede yaşanan sorunlar elbette ki sinemayı da etkiler. Daha önce belirttiğimiz gibi, sosyal değişim üzerine birçok film yapılır. Geleneksel hayatın değişmeye başladığı, modern hayatın ve sorunlarının etkili olduğu bu dönemde, filmlerdeki karakterler de sosyal, ekonomik ve kimlik sorunları ile yüz yüze gelir. Bu nedenle, dönemin filmlerinde kır-kent çatışmasının etkili biçimde görüldüğünü söyleyebiliriz. Filmin hikâyesi ister zengin kız-fakir oğlan üzerine olsun, ister şehre göç eden bir aile hakkında olsun, ya da isterse intikam almak isteyen bir adam hakkında olsun; bu filmlerde bir şekilde kır-kent çatışmasını izleriz. Bu çalışmada Ankara ve Adana'da geçen filmler de seçmiş olmamıza rağmen, çoğu Türk

filminde kır-kent çatışmasının ana mekânının İstanbul olduğunu da belirtmeliyiz. .

Bütün bunlar ışığında, sosyolojik tahayyül ve duygular sosyolojisi üzerinden seçtiğimiz alan araştırmaları ve filmler arasındaki ilişkiye baktığımızda, öncelikle filmlerin anlatı yapısını, hikâyenin işleniş ve sosyal tiplerin karakterler üzerinden temsil ediliş biçimini incelememiz gerektiğini düşündük.

Öncelikle, bir anlatıdaki farkı yaratanın, "ne" anlatıldığından ziyade, "nasıl" anlatıldığı olduğunu belirtmeliyiz. Türk filmleri çoğunlukla klasik anlatı yapısını kullanır. Klasik anlatı yapısının üç unsuru olan giriş, gelişme ve sonuç yapısı, Türk filmlerinde de bulunmaktadır. Klasik film anlatısı bize lineer öykü yapısını kolayca anlama olanağı verir. Ayrıca, karakterler de klasik film anlatısında öykünün ana unsuru olduğu için, karakterleri de kolayca tanıyıp kavrayabiliriz (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson, 1988: 2). Böylece izleyici, karakterlerin temsil ettiği sosyal tiplerle kendini özdeşleştirebilir. Bu özdeşleşme bize, sezgileri ve hisleri kullanma olanağını verir. Bu da bizi duygular sosyolojisine götürür. Bunların yanı sıra filmlerde gerçek hayatı temsil eden karakter ve öyküler, sosyolojik tahayyülü kullanırsak, bize sosyal gerçekliğin olgularını ve sorunlarını anlama olanağı verir.

Bir filmin karakterleri, gerçek hayattaki insanları temsil eder. Bu gerçeklik bağlantısı nedeniyle, Baker'ın da belirttiği gibi filmlerde yer alan karakterlerin sosyal tipleri temsil ettiğini söyleyebiliriz (Baker, 2002 ve 2011) Bu noktada kurgusal hikâyeler ile sosyal tipler arasında bir bağlantı bulabiliriz. Bir sosyal tip, bir toplumda yer alan bir bireyi temsil eder. Simmel'in "yabancı"sını ya da Chaplin'in "Şarlo"sunu bir kere daha düşünelim. Bir filmde yer alan bir karakter de aynı zamanda toplumda yer alan bir bireyi temsil eder. Bu nedenle bir filmde yer alan karakterleri izlerken, aynı zamanda sosyal tipleri görebilir ve hissedebiliriz. Eğer sosyolojik tahayyül yeteneğimizi kullanırsak, bu karakterlerin etrafında anlatılan hikâye, gerçek hayatın dinamiklerini anlamamıza yardımcı olur. Ayrıca, filmlerdeki karakterlerin iç

dünyalarını ve kişiliklerini öğreniriz. Onların umutları, kaygıları ve arzuları da filmlerdeki hikâyelerde yer bulur. Bu durum, sosyal tipin kendisi "duygusal" olduğu için, onları duygular sosyolojisinin penceresinden görmemizi sağlar.

Bunlar ışığında, seçtiğimiz alan araştırmalarını ve filmleri nasıl karşılaştırdığımıza bakalım. 'Aile ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet' bölümünde, aile tipleri, aile üyeleri arasındaki ilişkiler, kadınlar arasındaki ilişkiler, ataerkil aile yapısı, evlilik, başlık parası, çok eşlilik, şehre göç etmiş kadınlar, kadınların kimlik gelişimi, kadınların çalışma sektörüne katılımı konularını inceledik. Ayrıca, erkekler arasındaki akrabalık ilişkileri, itibar, erkekler arasındaki namus ve otorite ilişkileri konularına odaklandık. 'Göç, Hemşehrilik ve Şehirle Bütünleşme' bölümünde, şehre göçün ardındaki sebepleri, göç edilen şehirdeki hemşehrilik ilişkilerini ve göçmenlerin şehir hayatına bütünleşme sürecini inceledik. 'Ekonomik Hayat' bölümünde, kırsal ve kentsel alanlardaki geçim kaynaklarına değindik. Bu bölümde ayrıca bir kez daha kırsal değişim ve göç sürecine odaklandık. 'Otorite' bölümünde, otorite konusundaki ana teorileri inceledikten sonra, siyasi, liderlik, muhtar, ağa ve baba otorite tiplerini inceledik. 'Eğitim' bölümünde, kırsal alanlarda yaşayan ve şehre göç etmiş olan insanların eğitim hakkındaki görüşlerini, özellikle de çocuklarının eğitimi hakkındaki görüşlerini inceledik. 'Dünya Görüşleri' bölümünde, kırsal alanlarda yaşayan ve şehre göç etmiş olan insanların modern dünya ile ilişkilerine ve onların dünya görüşlerine odaklandık.

Aile ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet kavramının seçtiğimiz alan araştırmaları ve filmlerde incelenişlerine baktığımızda, alan araştırmalarında daha tarafsız ve analitik bir dil kullanılırken, filmlerde olay örgüsü ve karakterler üzerinden daha canlı ve detaylı bir anlatım kullanıldığını görürüz. Seçtiğimiz alan araştırmalarına genel olarak baktığımızda, hemen hemen hepsinde kırsal değişimin etkisi ile geniş aile yapısının çözülmeye başladığını, başlık parası, çok eşlilik meselelerinin de değişime uğradığını görürüz. Evlilik hala kırsal yaşamın en önemli unsurlarından birisini oluşturmaktadır. Şehre göç eden kadınlar çocuklarının daha iyi eğitim alabileceklerini, kendilerinin de çalışma

sektörüne katılabileceklerini düşünmektedirler. Fakat kadınların çalışma sektörüne katılımları konusundaki literatüre baktığımızda, çalışma sektörünün kadınlar açısından adil bir yapı olmadığını görürüz. Şehre göç eden ve gecekondularda yaşayan kadınlardan çalışmakta olanlar hizmetçilik ya da gündelikçilik yapmaktadırlar. Kadınların bu şekilde iş gücüne katılımları seçtiğimiz filmlerden Sultan ve Düttürü Dünya'da oldukça canlı biçimde işlenmiştir. Çalışmayan kadınlar ev kadını olarak emeklerini ücretsiz olarak hane halkına sunmakta; özel hayatlarında da evden, akrabaları ve komşularıyla yaşadıkları kapalı hayatın dışına çıkamamaktadırlar. Erkeklerin aile ve toplumsal cinsiyet kavramı içerisinde konumlanışlarına bakıldığında, hem kırsal alanlarda hem de şehirde akrabalık ilişkilerinin çok önemli olduğunu, erkekler arasında itibar ve otorite meselesinin de ilişkileri açısından büyük önem taşıdığını görürüz. Örneğin, Gurbet Kuşları ve Sürü filmlerindeki baba karakterleri aile içerisindeki otorite nedeniyle oğulları ile çatışmaya girmektedirler. Fakat en önemli nokta, ataerkil düzenin her yerde devam etmekte oluşudur. Namus meselesi önemli bir toplumsal konu olarak kadınlar üzerinden değerlendirilmeye devam etmektedir ve bu eşitsiz ilişkide kadınlar hem kırsal alanlarda hem de şehre göç ettikten sonra dezavantajlı konumda kalmaya devam etmektedirler. Bu çerçeve içinde seçtiğimiz filmlere baktığımızda, bu konulara filmlerde de detaylı biçimde odaklanıldığını görmekteyiz. Yukarıda da belirttiğimiz üzere, filmler yapıları gereği hikâyeyi görsel biçimde ve karakterler üzerinden aktarabildikleri için, izleyen kişi anlatılan hikaye ve karakterlerle özdeşlik kurabilir ve anlatılan sosyal meseleyi hızlıca kavrayabilir. Bu yapı bize aynı zamanda, sosyal meseleleri analiz etmek istediğimizde, sosyolojik tahayyül ve duygular sosyolojisini kullanarak filmi bir görsel kaynak olarak kullanma ve detaylı bir analiz yapma imkânı verir.

Göç, Hemşehrilik ve Şehirle bütünleşme bölümüne baktığımızda, şehre göç edildikten sonra hemşehrilik kavramının büyük önem kazandığını görmekteyiz. Bu konudaki literatür de benzer şekilde ilerlemektedir. Şehre göç edildikten sonra, göçmenlerin kendi kültürlerini devam ettirerek yaşadıkları

gecekondu mahallelerine taşıdıklarını, hemşehrilerin aynı mahallelerde yaşadıklarını ve gecekondu mahallelerinde yaşayanların çeşitli dernekler, muhtarlar vasıtasıyla kendi içlerinde otorite ve örgütlenme formları oluşturduklarını görmekteyiz. Bütün bu yapılar, kişilerin şehirde yaşamalarını kolaylaştırmakta ve şehre adaptasyonlarını hızlandırmaktadır. Yine de, incelediğimiz çalışmalarda, katılımcıların bir kısmı kendini şehirli hissettiğini söylerken, büyük bir kısmı da kendini şehirli hissetmediğini belirtmektedir. Bu kavramları, hemşehrilik ilişkilerini ve kişilerin yaşadıkları aidiyet problemlerini filmlerde de detaylı biçimde görmekteyiz.

Ekonomik Hayat sosyal değişimin en önemli göstergelerinden birisidir. Kırsal alanda tarıma dayalı ekonomik hayat hala devam etse de, teknolojinin gelişi ile birlikte geleneksel tarım yöntemleri değişmiştir. Aynı zamanda yeni ekonomik ilişkiler de gelişmiştir. Artık pazara dayalı üretim biçimi gelmiştir ve bu nedenle ekilmekte olan ürünlerin türünden, bunların işlenişlerine; tarımsal üretime yardımcı olan aile bireylerinden, üretilen ürünlerin pazarda satılışlarına kadar her şey farklıdır. Bütün bunlar tarımsal üretimi arttırırken, köylüler arasında gelir eşitsizliği ortaya çıktı ve bazı köylüler topraklarını kaybettiler. Fakirleşenler ve topraklarını kaybedenler şehre göç ettiler. Bu dönemde "Kapitalist Dönüşüm Tezi" sosyal bilimciler tarafından kırsal alanlardaki değişimleri anlayabilmek için üzerinde çalıştıkları bir konu olmuştur. Şehre göç ettikten sonra da gelir eşitsizliği en önemli konulardan birisi olmaya devam etti. Kırsal alanlarda yaşarken tarımla uğraşanlar, şehre göç ettikten sonra, şoförlük, zanaatkârlık, küçük iş yeri sahipliği, tamircilik, fabrika işçiliği gibi işler yapmaya başladılar. Kadınlar da çoğunlukla hizmetçilik, gündelikçilik gibi işler yapmaya başladılar. Bu noktada, özellikle kadınların iş gücüne katılımları ve ataerkil sistemde ekonomik olarak da eşitsizliğe maruz kalmaları önemli bir konu olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Otorite teorilerine genel olarak baktığımızda, bütün bu kavramların Türkiye'de de etkili olduğunu görürüz. Bu noktada Türkiye için bir genelleme yaparsak, siyasi otorite, ağa, muhtar, öğretmen, patron, baba gibi otorite

figüleri ortaya çıkar. Çalışmada bu figürleri siyasi otorite, liderlik otoritesi, muhtar otoritesi, ağa otoritesi ve baba otoritesi alt başlıkları altında inceledik. Sonuçta bütün bu otorite figürlerinden seçtiğimiz alan araştırmalarında bahsedildiğini ve sosyologların bu konuyu analiz ettiklerini görürüz. Seçtiğimiz filmlerde ise, genel olarak yine bütün bu otorite figürlerinin kullanıldığını; otorite kavramının gerek baba, gerek ağa, gerek siyasi otorite şeklinde gösterilerek gerçekçi sahnelerle canlandırıldığını görmekteyiz. Özellikle baba otoritesi toplumsal hayatta ve aile içinde büyük önem tutar. Baba otoritesinden kaynaklanan çatışmalar, seçtiğimiz filmlerde kurucu unsurlardan birisi olarak kullanılmaktadır.

Eğitim meselesine gelince, genel olarak baktığımızda bir toplumda eğitim, ekonomik büyümeye ve bireylerin gelirleri ve yaşam düzeylerindeki artışa göre ölçülür (Akkoyunlu-Wigley ve Wigley, 2008: 271). Türkiye'de Cumhuriyetin kurulmasının ardından, eğitim en önemli politikalardan birisi haline gelmiştir. "Muassır Medeniyetler" seviyesine ulaşmak için eğitim en önemli unsurlardan birisi olarak görülmekteydi. Bu nedenle, eğitim sisteminin kurulması ve geliştirilmesi, Türkiye modernleşmesinin temel parçalarından birisini oluşturmaktadır. İncelediğimiz alan araştırmalarında ve filmlerde ortaya çıkan duruma baktığımızda, kişilerin çocuklarının iyi bir eğitim almasını istediklerini ve eğitim şehre göçün ardındaki en önemli sebeplerden birisi olduğunu görmekteyiz. Kişiler, çocuklarının iyi bir eğitim almasını çocukların "kendilerini kurtarmaları" ve toplumda saygın bir yer edinmeleri için istediklerini belirtmektediler. Bu meseleyi filmlerde oldukça etkili bir biçimde örneklendirmemiz mümkündür. Örneğin, *Gurbet Kuşları* filminde kendini kurtarabilen tek aile bireyi, eğitim alabilmiş olan Kemal'dir. Eğitim alabilen birey modern hayata ve onun gerekliliklerine uyum sağlayabilen kişi olarak gösterilmektedir. Bu nedenle eğitim konusu pek çok Türk filminde bir kırılma noktası olarak kullanılmaktadır. Son olarak, Türk toplumunda eğitimli kişiye büyük saygı gösterildiğini ve bu durumun filmlerde de kullanıldığını belirtelim.

Dünya Görüşü modern hayat algısını ölçmek ve anlamak için son derece önemli bir kavramdır. Kişinin modern ölçü ve iletişim araçlarını kullanması, modern bir zaman algısına sahip olması sosyal değişimin ve modern hayata uyum sağlamanın en önemli göstergelerinden birisidir. Bu noktada kişinin modern/laik ya da dini/batıl inanç algısı daha önemli bir biçimde ortaya çıkar. İncelediğimiz alan araştırmalarına baktığımızda, kişilerin çok büyük çoğunluğunun modern ölçü ve iletişim araçlarını kullandığını, aynı zamanda modern zaman algısına sahip olduklarını görmekteyiz. Fakat, buna ters bir biçimde, dini/batıl inançlar hala kişiler üzerindeki etkilerini sürdürmektedirler. Bu dini/batıl inançlar ve modern/laik yaklaşımın yarattığı çatışma, incelediğimiz filmlerde etkin bir biçimde kullanılmaktadır. Filmlerde dini/batıl inançlar biraz da abartılarak, modern hayat ile bir çatışma yaratılmakta, olay örgüsü de buradan ilerlemektedir. Biz de izleyici olarak bu çatışmayı net bir biçimde görebilmekteyiz.

Bütün bunlar ışığında, seçtiğimiz filmlerde karakterlerin yapısına, bu karakterler üzerinden odaklanılan kavramlara ve meselelere genel olarak bir göz atalım. Daha önce defalarca kere belirttiğimiz gibi, klasik anlatı yapısındaki bir filmde anlatılan sosyal meseleyi sosyolojik tahayüül kullanarak gerçek hayatta var olan daha büyük sosyal meseleler ile ilişkilendirmemiz mümkündür. Aynı şekilde, duygular sosyolojisini kullanarak, filmlerdeki karakterlerin temsil ettikleri sosyal tipleri görebilir ve bu sosyal tipler üzerinden modern hayatın ve sosyal değişimin bir okumasını yapabiliriz.

Buna göre, *Kibar Feyzo* filmindeki Feyzo karakteri, kentteki modern yaşamı gördükten sonra bilinçlenen ve köydeki feodal düzene karşı gelen yoksul bir köylüyü temsil eder. Filmde feodal düzen, başlık parası ve cinsiyet ayrımcılığı, büyük başarıyla eleştirilmektedir. Feyzo karakteri sayesinde kırsaldaki değişimin kaçınılmaz olduğunu anlarız. Feyzo karakteri aracılığıyla anlatılan kır-kent çatışmasında "şehir"; değişimi, modernliği ve insanların kendi hakları için organize olarak mücadele ettiği bir dünyayı temsil

etmektedir. Bu kavramlara kırsal hayatta rastlanmaz. Feyzo, bu kavramları köydekilere tanıtır ve bir değişim başlatır.

Züğürt Ağa da komedi unsurlarının çok başarılı biçimde kullanıldığı bir filmdir. Filmin ana karakteri Züğürt Ağa, köylüler bütün buğdayı satıp İstanbul'a kaçınca her şeyini kaybeder. Kendisi de İstanbul'a göç etmek zorunda kalır ama bu süreçte bütün otoritesinive parasını kaybeder. Büyük şehirde büyük bir yabancılaşma ve kimlik krizi yaşar. En sonunda şehirde yaşamayı başarır ama artık bir ağa değildir. Züğürt Ağa karakteri üzerinden klasik anlatı yapısında izlediğimiz filmde yine kır-kent çatışması görülmektedir. Şehir bu defa herkesi eşitleyen ve kırsal otorite kodlarını yerle bir eden bir yer olarak gösterilmektedir. Züğürt Ağa, hayatta kalabilmek için şehrin bu koşullarına uyum sağlamak zorundadır.

Sürü'de, konar-göçer bir ailenin hayatta kalma mücadelesini izleriz. Ailenin reisi Hamo, eski güzel günleri özleyen ve ailesine karşı otoritesini korumaya çabalayan bir karakter olarak temsil edilir. Hamo karakteri üzerinden, baba otoritesinin ve eski kırsal hayatın kaybını izleriz. Filmin ilerleyen bölümlerinde Hamo ve oğulları, besledikleri koyun sürüsünü Ankara'ya götürmek için trene binerler. Sürü ve tren, kır ve kent arasındaki bağlantıyı/ilişkiyi sembolize etmektedir. Yolculukları sırasında modernleşen Türkiye'den sahneler ve karakterler izleriz. Ankara'ya vardıklarında, kendi çaresizlikleri içinde şehrin zorluklarını görürler. Şehir de bir çare değildir onlar için. Şivan ve Berivan'ın evine gittikleri hemşehrilerinin oğlu bu gerçeği bir kere daha dillendirir. Şehir farklı değildir, sorun sistemin kendisidir.

Gurbet Kuşları'nda neredeyse bütün karakterler, toplumdan bir sosyal tipi temsil ederler. Örneğin, baba karakteri oğullarına karşı otoritesini korumak ve şehirde başarılı olmak isteyen göçmen köylü tipini başarıyla temsil eder. Burada da *Sürü* filminde olduğu gibi modern yaşam kodları hayatlarına girince, baba otoritesinin kayboluşunu izleriz. Murat karakteri, büyük şehirde başarılı olmak için büyük bir hırsla yanıp tutuşan bitirim bir taksi şoförünü temsil eder. Fatma karakteri, ataerkil baskı altında bunalmış, daha özgür olmak isteyen ev

kızıdır. Kemal, karakteri ise filmi okuyuş şeklimize göre merkezde oturmaktadır. Kemal kır ve kent arasında bir arabulucudur. Ailenin diğer üyeleri şehir hayatında tökezlerken; Kemal, ailenin eğitimli tek üyesi olarak şehre adapte olmayı başarır. Zaten filmin sonunda gerçek anlamda ayakta kalmayı başaran tek kişi de o olacaktır. Eğitim, bu noktada kişiyi 'kurtaran' ve modern hayata uyum sağlamasına yardım eden bir unsur olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Keşanlı Ali Destanı'nda da benzer bir yapı görürüz. Film komedi türünde olmasına ve karakterlerin bu nedenle abartılarak yansıtılmasına rağmen, o dönemdeki gecekondu hayatını tamamıyla yansıtır. Filmin çekildiği yerler, gerçek gecekondu mahalleleridir ve gerçekten gecekonduda yaşayan insanlar filmde yer almışlardır. Gurbet Kuşları filmindeki Fatma karakterine benzer şekilde, bu filmdeki Zilha karakteri de gecekonduda yaşayan, yaşlanmadan önce zengin ve mutlu olmak isteyen genç kızı çok iyi temsil eder. Şehir bir özgürlük alanı olarak görülür ve çoğu Türk filmindeki kadın karakterler için bir kurtuluş seçeneğidir. Zilha da Fatma da şehirde daha iyi ve daha özgür bir yaşamın hayalini kurarlar. Ama gerçekler farklıdır. Her ikisinin de ataerkil otorite tarafından onlar adına tanımlanmış bir hayatı yaşamaları gerekmektedir. Diğer yandan Keşanlı Ali karakteri, şehirdeki zor hayat şartlarında ayakta kalmaya çalışan, becerikli bir gencin temsilidir. Şehirdeki hayatın erkekler için de hiç kolay olmadığını görürüz. Bunun yanı sıra filmde, gecekondu mahallesindeki gündelik yaşamı, bu bölgedeki otorite sistemini ve bu sistem yoluyla mahallelinin şehirle olan ilişkisini izleriz.

Umut, ismiyle tezat oluşturan bir biçimde bir umutsuzluk filmidir. Filmde 1970'lerdeki Adana'yı ve oradaki hayatın ritmini izleriz. Her gün farklı yolcular istasyona gelir, Cabbar faytonunda uyur, şehrin sokakları bir tanker tarafından yıkanır ve Cabbar'ın karısı hep temizlik yapar (Arslan, 2007:463). Bu ritim içinde devam eden tek şey fakirliktir. Büyük bir şehirde yaşamaya çalışan köylü bir ailenin fakirliğini izleriz. Cabbar karakteri yaşamaya, ailesine bakmaya ve fakirlikten bir çıkış bulmaya çalışan fakir bir köylünün temsilidir.

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Eğitim bile, karakterler eğitimlerine devam edemedikleri için, fakirliğe bir çözüm değildir. Gurbet Kuşları'ndaki Kemal karakterinin tersine, Cemile sınavlarını geçemez. Evde çalışmak için uygun koşullar yoktur. Hatta giyecek ayakkabısı bile yoktur. Seçtiğimiz diğer filmler gibi Umut'ta da şehirde süregelen fakirliği görürüz. Şehre göç ettikten sonra fakirlik devam etmiştir.

Sultan filminde Sultan karakteri, gecekondu mahallesinde dört çocuğuna bakmaya çalışan yalnız bir kadın karakteri temsil eder. Sultan karakterinin gerçek hayatta bir yansımasını bulmak çok da zor değildir. Sultan, zengin ailelerin evinde hizmetçi olarak çalışır ve güçlü bir kişiliği vardır. Ama hala çocukları için bir baba arayışındadır. Ayrıca diğer seçtiğimiz filmlerde de olduğu gibi, filmin diğer karakterleri yoluyla da komşuluk ilişkilerini ve şehre göç edenlerin birbirlerine olan sıkı desteğini izleriz.

Düttürü Dünya'da ise göçten sonraki aşamayı izleriz. Karakterler şehre göç edeli yıllar olmuştur. Artık köye dönmek ihtimali ortadan kalkmıştır. Gecekondular kiralıktır ve çok da pahalıdır. Yakacak odun bile bulmak çok zordur. Filmde Dütdüt Mehmet ve ailesi, Ankara'nın gerçek gecekondu mahalleleri arasında gezinirler. Ankara'nın gündüz ve gece yaşamını filmde izleriz. Bir yanda pek çok memurun olduğu bir başkent vardır, diğer yanda ise gecekondular ve pavyonlar. Günün birinde meşhur bir besteci olma hayalleri kuran Dütdüt Mehmet, ek işler bularak ve bir pavyonda klarnet çalarak ailesine bakmaya çalışır. Düttürü Dünya da dâhil pek çok filmde, şehre göçün bir çözüm olmadığını gözleriz. Gerçek hayatta şüphesiz şehre göç ettikten sonra mutlu olan insanlar vardır. Ama sinema çoğunlukla güçsüz ve mağlup karakterlerin bakış açısından hayata bakmayı tercih eder.

Genel olarak baktığımızda, seçtiğimiz filmlerde yer alan hemen hemen bütün ana karakterlerin bir sosyal tipi yansıttığını söylemek mümkündür. Bu karakterleri izlerken sadece onların etrafında olan olayları değil, aynı zamanda iç dünyaları ve kişilikleri hakkında bilgi sahibi oluruz. Bu durum karakterleri algılamamıza ve sezmemize yardımcı olur. Algılarımız ve sezgilerimiz, filmlerde temsil edilen sosyal hayatı da daha iyi anlamamızı sağlar. Eğer bu

filmleri eleştirel bir gözle izlersek, Türkiye'de meydana gelen sosyal değişimi ve bu süreçte ortaya çıkan sorunları kavrayabiliriz. Bu toplumsal gerçekliği anlamamamızı sağlayan sosyolojik tahayyül yeteneğidir.

Duygu (affect) dediğimiz kavram, fark edip gördüğümüz şeylerle algılarımız, duygularımız ve sezgilerimizi kapsar. Bu noktada duygu kavramına, bir kere daha sosyal tipler üzerinden bakalım. Filmlerde gördüğümüz karakterleri ve dolayısıyla onların temsil ettiği sosyal tipleri görür, hisseder ve anlarız. Hatta çoğu karakterle özdeşlik kurarız. Bunları yapınca da, izlemekte olduğumuz hikâyenin gerçek hayattaki karşılığını daha iyi kavrarız. Bu anlamda sinema bize bir 'duygusal araç' sunar.

Örneğin, Umut filmindeki Cabbar karakteri, köyden kente göçmüş fakir, geçinmek için arabacılık yapan bir köylü tipini temsil eder. Cabbar'ın gerçek hayattaki benzerini bulmak zor değildir (ki zaten Yılmaz Güney, filmde babasının hikâyesini anlatmaktadır). Cabbar'ın temsil ettiği sosyal tipi görerek, ondan etkilenerek ve/veya onunla özdeşleşerek bu tipin yaşamakta olduğu hayatın içindeki kavramları ve sorunları daha iyi kavramak mümkündür. Duygular sosyolojisinin önerdiği şey de budur.

Sosyolojik tahayyül'ü de bu çözümlemeye ekleyelim. Bir filmde anlatılan hikâyeyi, orada kurgulanan gerçekliği ve karakterleri (izlediğimiz filmin kurgu olduğunu biliyor olmamıza rağmen) izlerken, bütün bunların aslında daha büyük bir sosyal gerçekliğin parçası olduğunu sosyolojik tahayyül ile kavrayabiliriz. Bu da bizi konuya uygun filmler izleyerek, sosyal olayları, kavramları ve değişimleri anlayabileceğimiz fikrine götürür. Bu çalışmanın çıkış noktasında, sinema filmlerini kullanma sebebimiz de duygular sosyolojisinin ve sosyolojik tahayyülün bu özellikleridir.

Öte yandan, yukarıda yazdıklarımızdan da anlaşılabileceği gibi, duygular sosyolojisinin ve sosyolojik tahayyülün filmleri kullanarak gerçek hayata bakışı ile alan araştırmalarının gerçek hayata bakışı arasında hiyerarşik bir ilişki yoktur.

Özetle, sosyolojik tahayyül ve duygular sosyolojisi bize sosyal gerçekliğin farklı bir okumasını sunarlar. Bu okumayı yaparken de görsellikten yararlanılabileceğini söylerler (Biz de bu çalışmada filmleri görsel kaynak olarak kullandık). Öte yandan, yukarıda belirttiğimiz gibi, her iki alan da ampirik sosyolojiyi eleştirirler. Bütün bunların ışığında, alan araştırmaları ve sinema filmlerinin içeriklerini karşılaştırarak, duygular sosyolojisi ve sosyolojik tahayyül üzerinden okunurlarsa filmlerin bazı unsurları alan araştırmalarından daha hızlı ve etkili biçimde ortaya koyabileceği sonucuna vardık. Öncelikle, filmlerde karakterlerin bireyler olarak duyguları, kişilikleri ve hisleri detaylı biçimde yansıtılabilmektedir. Ayrıca, konuya sosyal değişim, modernleşme ve kır-kent çatışması üzerinden bakarsak, filmlerin bu konuların tespitini ve temsilini sosyolojik bir okuma ile daha hızlı yapabildiklerini söyleyebiliriz. Son olarak, sinema yapısı gereği etkisini izleyiciye çok daha hızlı ve etkili biçimde geçirir. İzleyici filmlerdeki karakterler özdeşleşebildiği için, hikâyenin içine de hızlıca girebilmekte, dolayısıyla anlatılan meseleyi hızlıca kavrayabilmektedir. Sinema bunu görüntünün güçlü etkileme yeteneği ile yapabilmektedir. Alan araştırmaları yapıları gereği tarafsız ve analitik bir dille yapılmak ve yazılmak zorunda oldukları için, böyle bir etki yaratmaları mümkün olmamaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, sosyolojik tahayyül ve duygular sosyolojisinin klasik ampirik çalışmalara bir alternatif/katkı olabileceğini düşünüyoruz. Ayrıca, konuya ilişkin filmlerin, sosyolojik tahayyül ve duygular sosyolojisi üzerinden bir okuması yapılırsa, sosyal meselelerin aktarımında klasik ampirik araştırmalardan daha etkili olabilecekleri kanaatindeyiz.