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Discussion Paper No. 1

MIGRATION AND URBAN SOCIAL STRUCTURES

By

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And
Hasan Gençaga**

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INTRODUCTION

The rapid urbanization of Turkey is an obvious and well documented fact. 1/ Because of migration from the countryside, urban population has increased during the past two decades at nearly twice the rate of the total population, and the two largest metropolitan centers experienced even more disproportionate rates of growth. See Table 1. Today, 70 percent of Ankara's inhabitants were born outside the city.

The official policy of the Turkish government, as stated in the Second Five Year Plan is that "urbanization can be considered a positive movement for Turkey 2/ Much can be said in favor of such a policy. Unemployment in the large urban centers does not seem to constitute an overwhelming problem for the state, and housing for the poorer migrants is managed by the people themselves. Public facilities, such as schools and health services, can be more intensively used in urban centers than in rural areas. The very fact of urban living promotes attitudes more compatible with modernization. 3/

Still, there are costs to rapid urbanization and whether planners will continue to favor such high rates of urbanization will undoubtedly depend upon evaluation of new conditions and of new information. This report is a first and partial presentation of research designed to provide information on certain basic questions concerning migration and urbanization: Who migrates and why? What happens to the migrants in the metropolis? What are the continuing relationships between the community of origin and its migrants? Hopefully the research will be of use to planners in making necessary policy decisions in regard to problems of urbanization, as the future structure of the labor force and the demand for public goods and services.

The research on which the report is based is somewhat novel in its approach. Specifically, it is a multidisciplinary effort, designed to explain the causes of migration from a small community, the process of migration, and the integration of the migrants into the recipient urban structure. The research is intended to be used as a complement to the more abundant survey data available. Rather than collecting data on migrants as individuals in a residential area or with particular occupation, incomes, or other selected criteria, we study the total migrant population moving into Ankara from one small town. By following one migrant stream, the causes of migration within the socio-economic system are identified; and moreover, the social organization among the migrants in the metropolis becomes visible. In essence, migrants are viewed as actors within and between social systems.

TABLE 1

Population Changes in Turkey
(In Thousands)

		<u>1935</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>
National Population	Number	16,158	17,821	18,790	20,947	24,065	27,755	31,391
	Index	100	111	116	130	149	172	194
Total Urban Population	Number	2,688	3,215	3,475	3,918	5,415	7,198	9,343
	Index	100	119	129	146	201	267	374
Urban Places of 100,000 or more Population	Number	1,035	1,135	1,364	1,721	2,434	3,363	4,709
	Index	100	110	134	155	226	325	456
Ankara, within Municipal Boundaries	Number	123	157	227	289	451	650	906
	Index	100	128	182	235	368	532	737
Istanbul, within Municipal Boundaries	Number	741	794	861	983	1,269	1,467	1,743
	Index	100	107	116	132	171	197	243

Source: Tugrul Akçura, Ankara, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti Hakkında Demografik Bir Araştırma, O.D.T.Ü., 1970, p. 2-14.

The advantages of the wholistic approach is that it provides a dynamic model of the causes and processes of migration. Crucial characteristics of migrants (and of those individuals who are not migrating) can be identified, such as level of training and education, point in family cycle, various aspects of integration into urban life, and related to causative factors. The time depth element inherent in the approach makes possible the discerning of trends in both the rate and character of migration.

A serious limitation of the approach is the case study nature of the research. Ideally, a sample of migrant streams from small urban settlements and from villages should be studied and compared. For the present research, attention has been given to how representative our town is of small urban places in Turkey and how representative the town migrants are of Ankara inhabitants.

Appendices I and II are addressed to the problem of comparing the town being researched with other communities in Turkey of its size and functional categories.

The town migrants into Ankara are not untypical of the metropolitan population. Appendix III explains the sample used for the questionnaire of the migrants. Also included is a comparison between the town migrant population in Ankara and the total city population.

The report is concerned with migration from two different perspectives, each requiring its own theoretical framework. The first focus, presented in Chapters 2 and 3, is on the socio-economic system from which the migration originates. Migration is analyzed as one aspect of the response occurring within the town, as a system, to modernization at the national level. The present structure of the town was shaped by the functional requirements of its position as a pre-industrial city within the Ottoman Empire. During those centuries it served as a crafts center producing for a regional market and as a market and administrative center for a village hinterland. In the twentieth century, with the growth of a modern technology and economy radiating from the metropolitan centers and with the gradual emergence of a national urban hierarchy, 4/ the town is losing its former functions and economic base.

Chapter II presents background and historical information on Iskilip, the town being studied. Chapter III examines migration as a response to the changes in the town's socio-economic system as traditional regional and local markets decline and as Iskilip adopts new roles within the central government administrative hierarchy and economically within the national urban hierarchy. The question of who is migrating from Iskilip is framed primarily in terms of the occupational background of the migrants, with

additional explanatory variables of income level and number of years of schooling.

Chapter IV follows the migrants into Ankara. The theoretical approach shifts because of the nature of the social reality. Iskilip can be analyzed as a socio-economic unit. If the same approach were applied to the much larger and more complex metropolitan system, the migrants from one town would be lost in the analysis. We focus instead on one element within the metropolitan social structure: the urban social organization created by the migrants. The metaphor of the network is used. The 1,100 families which have migrated from Iskilip into Ankara maintain among themselves a network of communications spatially across the residential areas of the city socially across class barriers. An individual with the town identity has access to other townsmen in the city. This network functions to facilitate the process of migration for the individual and to provide continuing psychological and material support. In fact, it takes on many functions, such as organizing the labor market, which are ordinarily assumed by the government. There has been organized by the townsmen in Ankara a formal voluntary association to serve and represent their migrants and the home community as well. The organization and its membership are discussed in Chapter IV and in Appendix III.

CHAPTER II

Our town of Iskilip is a sub-provincial center in the Çorum province, 306 kilometers northeast of Ankara. It has grown from its former size of about 9,000 inhabitants in the 1920's to a little over 16,000 in 1970. Set in a protected location between the Köroglu mountains and the Anatolian plain, it has served for centuries as an urban center to some one hundred villages in its area. The old natural unit of pre-industrial city and its village hinterland is now encompassed within the administrative division of the Iskilip sub-province, and possibly the neighboring Bayat sub-province as well. The present governmental and market roles of the town are a continuation of the traditional patterns.

In its former position as a small pre-industrial city ^{5/} Iskilip dominated a large number of villages for which it was a service and market center and from where the agricultural surplus was collected to support the elite, who themselves were responsible ultimately to the Sultan in Istanbul. A few extended families formed the elite of the city. They owned land in the villages and occupied the administrative positions of the local government. The men of this social stratum were literate and educated in the sacred literature, after the manner of such an elite. The women were, and still are, carefully excluded from public life or any contact with men outside the family.

Iskilip has always had a large number and variety of craftsmen: shoemakers and tailors, blacksmiths and other metal workers, carpenters, saddlemakers, leatherworkers, felt makers, and many others. They were organized into guilds which regulated production and marketing. Boys were trained for their life's work through an apprenticeship system in the work shops. Below the craftsmen was an underclass of unskilled laborers who hauled, carried, cleaned, and eked out a living however they could. Commercial functions were partly performed by minority groups no longer found in Iskilip.

Iskilip still has the appearance of an old community, with quiet, winding streets, men busy at their crafts, women with covered faces moving quietly from one house to another. A careful look at the town tells the viewer much about it. The land use pattern reflects its social structure, both past and present.

Iskilip is situated in a valley with two branches radiating northward along streams, and a third projection southward along the road to Çorum, forming a Y-shape. The center of the town is somewhat northwest of the junction of the two streams and is about ten hectares in area. The central market place is simply a cement paved open space defined by a slope on one side and cement paved streets on three sides. In this place grain is sold daily and the weekly pazar for all the villages is held. Along the three

streets are those shops that require large capital and availability to villagers coming to the pazar. These shops are the cloth stores, the animal feed sellers, stores for carpets and woven items, and ready-to-wear and shoe stores. The oldest mosque of the community stands adjacent to the pazar.

From this commercial center radiates to the east and northeast narrow cobble stone streets lined on both sides by the one-room workshops of craftsmen. Each craft is clustered together in its place: feltmakers, shoemakers, saddlemakers, and metal workers of various types. Unlike many pre-industrial cities, the workshops are separate from residences of the craftsmen, perhaps because of the dependence upon the gardening work of the women of the household.

Immediately to the southwest of the pazar is another area of about ten hectares of official buildings and a public park. The area has modern, cement paved streets. The public buildings include a lycee, two primary schools (three others are in residential areas), a vocational school, a police station, a court house, a local branch of the vilayet government. At the outer edge of this area is the animal market and slaughterhouse. Continuing south is the road to Corum. On this road, at the entrance of the town, are the leather processing shops, carpenters, and the state forestry depot.

Residences are located in every part of the town. Large homes have gardens and vineyards attached and at the outer margins of settled areas are other gardens and vineyards. The houses are substantial looking, being constructed of wood and stone or brick. Large houses are favored, with four to eight rooms and usually two stories. In the average and more affluent households, the first floor is for the cow and chickens and for processing of foods. The family occupies the second floor, and a third may be built for the storage of household processed foods. Houses are built large because of the need for a separate room for the women's social life and also in the expectation that when a soon marries he will bring his wife to that house.

Because of the gardening, Iskilip does not look like the poverty stricken community that the low money incomes, as discussed in Chapter III, might suggest. The description in the following Chapter of occupations and income, to be complete, should include the household production and processing of foods. Two-thirds of the families' own large gardens and vineyards. Gardens are at least one-half "dönüm" in size and generally are larger. Garden work is the responsibility of the women of the house. They plant, hoe, harvest, and process the foods, sometimes with the assistance of hired labor for the heavier work. Thirty percent of the families also have small land-holdings in the villages, which are worked under a sharecropping system with a village family. Wheat is obtained from this land or bought locally and milled in the town. Most families supply whatever protein foods they consume from their own chickens, the cow they keep, or occasional lambs fattened on the garden land. Even migrants to Ankara usually keep their

land and arrange with a member of the family to work their gardens during the year and then supply much of their food needs in Ankara from Iskilip.

The street pattern of the town is irregular and unplanned. Little social differentiation exists in the residential areas, except that the oldest and most prestigious homes are in the very center of town, between the streets of the craftsmen shops and the administrative buildings. These are the homes of the old elite families who now own the largest businesses in Iskilip. The poorest families cluster around the fortress that sits atop the steep hill overlooking the center of the town. Other poor, mostly villagers moving in, are at the extreme northern tips of the "Y". Consistent with the pattern in a non-motor vehicle community, the poor have homes at the more distant and inaccessible locations.

Iskilip may never have been a walled city; no history of a wall exists. The boundaries of the community, however, are socially sharply defined. All members of the Iskilip community, no matter what their position in the stratification system, feel a distinct identity from the peasants in the villages. The villages and the town form the larger socio-economic unit, but the townsman is dominant, and he expresses at best a patronizing attitude toward the peasant. In the past, even a wealthy peasant could be prevented from building a home and settling in the town.

Iskilip's political and administrative past is not as yet known to us. It was under the hegemony of Istanbul, either directly or, until the 14th century, through Kastamonu. We do know some details. A few of the elite families first gained their control over large landholding by a grant from Sultan Beyazit II; and a man from Iskilip was teacher to Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror. The Istanbul regime, however, never exerted its influence with sufficient force or consistency to draw Iskilip out of its local and regional roles. (See Appendix I)

The economy of Iskilip under the Ottoman Empire was based on control of the village hinterland and production of craft goods for a central Anatolian market. The elite, many of the decedents of which still hold an analogous social status today in the town, originally derived its wealth from ownership of large units of village land. The administrative offices of the local and central governments were filled by men from the elite families, and they had the right from the Sultan to tax all land.

Iskilip has been a regional trade center for at least six centuries. The elite held control over merchandizing, both through the selling of the agricultural surplus and provision of the need of the peasant population and through the marketing of Iskilip craft products in central and eastern Anatolia. In the sixteenth century, as crafts emerged as an important source of income, a few families extended their control over both the provision of raw materials to the craftsmen and the marketing of the finished product.

The control over crafts production by the elite came to an end in the 1950's. A full analysis will be presented in the final report, but at this point it will suffice to say that two factors played a role in this change. First, Iskilip was losing its competitive position in the national market. The other crafts centers of Konya, Bursa, and Isparta prospered, perhaps because of road layout, economies of scale, and changes in organization and technology of production in which they pioneered for Turkey. A second reason is that the leather processed in Iskilip became outdated as higher level technologies spread from the Marmara and Aegean regions, and consequently the demand for Iskilip products declined. The marketing services performed by the merchants were reduced and the craftsmen took over this function themselves. A money economy developed and the craftsmen began to operate on the basis of cash rather than barter or credit. The shifting into a modern economy was becoming evident.

The town of Iskilip today, in its spatial and social order, is still dominated by a social structure inherited from the past, but changes are occurring. The present may be viewed as a period of transition from a socio-economic system no longer viable into an as yet undetermined position within the national economy and hierarchy of urban settlements.

CHAPTER III

People leave their homes and seek a life elsewhere for a variety of reasons. They may be pushed from the home community or pulled toward the metropolis. In the present analysis, causes of migration will be sought in the response of the town's socio-economic system to its changing markets. An analysis of the town as an economic unit producing for a number of markets explains much of the present socio-economic structure and out migration from the system.

". . . Economic activities within communities may be divided into two classes which are different both with respect to the forces which activate them and with respect to the contributions which they make to the urban economy. The first group is composed of 'base' or 'town building' activities which, according to the theory, are industries which export goods beyond the boundaries of the urban center. The second class is composed of the service or 'town filling' activities which are purely local in nature. They complement the base and react to changes in it. The forces of change according to the theory, develop in the base industries, and therefore for purposes of analysis, the base industries are the more significant." 6/

As in any other urban center Iskilip performs functions for markets at three levels: 1) the activities that serve the urban center itself, sometimes referred to as service activities. 2) The activities that serve the agricultural hinterland of the urban center, and 3) the activities that are oriented to the regional or national markets. The relative proportion of the three groups of activities depend upon the degree of specialization in the society, available resources in that location and the location of that center in reference to the other urban centers.

The relation between the levels of markets and the activity being a "town building" or "town filling" one is obvious. The town building activities of Iskilip are carried on at two different levels. These are activities that serve the dependent agricultural population and those that are national market oriented. Of these two categories the changes in the proportion of national market oriented activities have determined the size of the town and the relative prosperity of the town as compared with the centers (Kirikkale and Ankara) to which the migrants had the option to migrate.

Data for a detailed market analysis are not yet available, but preliminary investigations based on information derived from our Iskilip Household Questionnaire enable us to make approximations. According to these data: 1) 57 percent of the labor force in Iskilip serves the town itself. Some of these occupations are shopkeepers who sell to the towns'

people, primary school teachers, policemen, service workers, Imams, unskilled workers. 2) 21 percent of the total labor force serve the agricultural hinterland of the town. Approximately one-third of this is government generated by the sub-provincial administration. Thus, 7 percent of the total town employment is directly from the central government. The remaining employment in Iskilip that serves the villages is in traditional activities such as selling of cloth, shoe-making, tin stove making, provision of the basic necessities of sugar, tea, soap, etc. A small fraction of employment in this group is directed toward agricultural production, with provision of services such as motor repair and handicraft and repair of horse carts and plows.

3) The third group of activities, national market oriented activities, employs 21 percent of the total labor force. These are activities such as shoemaking, feltmaking, and provision of metal products (hammer heads, hoes, parts of the horse saddle, door handles) that Iskilip has traditionally provided to national markets. From interviews we know that merchants still come from Erzurum, Trabzon, and various other provinces to buy in Iskilip and sell to villagers through displays in their weekly bazaars. This traditional export sector has been losing employment very rapidly. Marginal businesses for export, like roasting leblebi or the shelling and packaging of walnuts, continues. 7/

As is evident, the town building activities are in serious decline and new town export earning activities are not developing. The primary earners, the craftsmen, can no longer compete effectively in national markets. Iskilip boys continue to be trained as shoemakers or blacksmiths through the old apprenticeship system, but modern production of shoes and metal goods is centered in the Istanbul and Bursa areas.

Service to the village hinterland is an area of possible growth for Iskilip. Iskilip's position as an administrative center in the central government hierarchy directly creates about 7 percent of its employment. (See Appendix II) The incomes of the managerial level of the professionals, the filing clerks, and the salaried unskilled workers, since paid by the central government, should be considered import earnings. The farmers of Group I below may be added to this group because of the nature of their main source of income; market prices and purchase of basic crops (wheat, barley, oats) are government controlled and stable.

Marketing is one of the town activities at the level of service to the hinterland. Villagers exchange their agricultural products for urban industrial products through the merchants, who own the large retail stores and control the wholesaling of wheat, other grains, and vegetables. 8/ Even in this activity of marketing, Iskilip may be losing, as villagers are exposed to the outside. The average village family owns only 15 decars of land per person and is limited by resources to marketing in Iskilip. The peasant brings his produce to town on the back of a mule or

by horse drawn cart and sells and buys in small amounts. A more prosperous farmer, with a tractor or truck, can by-pass the local town and deal in the larger centers of Çorum or Ankara. 2/

A certain proportion of the craftsmen's production serves the agricultural hinterland. The blacksmiths make and repair simple agricultural equipment. A number of crafts, such as the shoeing of horses and donkeys and mules and the making of saddles, are still necessary for maintaining work animals. Felt capes are made for the shepards. There is the production and marketing of simpler and less expensive shoes in the villages, but even in this, factory-made plastic substitutes are encroaching on the town's markets.

The remaining labor force, 57 percent of the workers, serve the town itself. A careful examination of this market level will undoubtedly reveal considerable disguised unemployment and a withdrawal into a subsistence economy of the gardens and vineyards.

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN ISKILIP

Before discussing the changes occurring in the town's socio-economic system and migration as one aspect of the change, the occupational categories and the income distribution should be discussed. For purposes of the present analysis, occupations have been divided into 8 categories. The data is from a household questionnaire administered in Iskilip in late 1970 and from official sources such as the population census.

1. Professional 3.4% of the labor force

This includes university graduates, school teachers, and white collar workers who occupy key positions in the government administration. Sixty percent of the employees in this group are from Iskilip and most are members of the top social strata.

2. Filing Clerks 8.3%

This includes every white collar employee who is below the managerial level but above a servant status. Examples are clerks, health technicians, police. They are salaried workers employed by the central government or the municipal government. Seventy percent are Iskilip born. (See Appendix II)

3. Merchants 9.1%

Merchants have clothshops and other shops that provide goods for the villagers and others who buy in Iskilip. They also do the wholesaling of wheat, vegetables and other crops and control the marketing in the town of urban industrial products. The specialization and large capital requirements

of the shops limits this activity to one group of wealthy local families.

4. Shopkeepers 12.5%

The shopkeepers are the small businessmen. Their businesses require little capital or specialized knowledge. The businesses are coffeeshops, fruit sellers, vegetable sellers, butchers, restaurant owners.

5. Craftsmen 31.3%

Tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, tinworkers, leatherworkers, saddle makers, horseshoeing, feltmakers, and other crafts are included in this category. Shoemaking has been an especially important craft. The training is through the traditional guild system. The apprentice begins in the occupation at seven to ten years old, part-time if he is in school. The apprenticeship continues for six to seven years, and then the boy becomes a journeyman for four to five years. A master is a craftsman with his own shop.

According to the Halk Bank there are more than 500 workshops in Iskilip. Our investigations show that there are 2.41 persons working per workshop, of whom 1.03 are apprentices. 10/

6. Farmers 8.3%

Farmers should be divided into two groups. Group I, about one-fourth of the total, have incomes over 25,000 TL a year. Their farming is mechanized and managed according to modern methods. Group II, or most of the farmers, own small plots of land, 20 to 30 "dönüm"s, and use traditional implements and methods of agriculture.

The primary crop is wheat. The farm land is away from the town, in the villages, and a sharecropping system with villagers is common.

7. Unskilled Wage Workers 12.5%

These men work about 100-150 days a year. Many are villagers who have recently moved into Iskilip and live at the outskirts of the town.

8. Other Service Workers 14.2%

Included are messengers and doormen known as "kapici" and "odaci", about half of whom are government paid. Others have small jobs that are obviously disguised unemployment. A typical case is a man who has a scale situated in front of an office building and charges some small amount to passersby who wish to weight themselves.

INCOME DISTRIBUTION

The income distribution is shown in Tables II and III, and IV. The lowest household incomes are around 2000 TL per year. The distribution approximates a normal curve up to annual incomes of 15,000 TL. From 20,000 TL there is a break and then a clustering around 40,000 TL annually.

Three broad strata may be identified. At the top is the 7 percent of the population which receives 37.4 percent of the total income of the town. This group constitutes a small and cohesive elite group of families. Presently, the men from these families are the owners of large land holdings; they hold the top white collar jobs; and they own the specialized shops and those businesses in the modern sector: provisions of modern agricultural equipment, fertilizers, gasoline, and household appliances for the townspeople and villagers.

At the other extreme of the income pyramid is a number of households with annual incomes of between 2,000 TL and 5,000 TL. They are 47.4 percent of the families and receive 15.7 percent of the town's income. Forty-four percent of the craftsmen are in this stratum. The others are unskilled wage earners and the other service workers. These households do not differ from the larger population in the age of the head of household, but the households are smaller (two persons per household as compared with four and one-half for the town as a whole). One-third of this stratum is of village origin. Nearly all of the approximately 280 village families in Iskilip are poor and unskilled. 11/

Just over 45 percent of the households are in the middle stratum. This category cuts across a wide range of activities and includes craftsmen, shopkeepers, filing clerks, and many of the professionals.

OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE

The occupational changes between 1960 and 1970 reveal the pressure on Iskilip for functional changes. The occupations that have gained in employment and those which have clearly lost demonstrate this. There is a contraction in the national market-oriented activities and activities that indicate the town's prosperity, such as merchants. Employment in other categories increases artificially because of lack of alternative employment and the difficulties involved in immediate relocation of population through migration.

The occupations that have gained in employment between 1960 and 1970 are farmers (by 19.4%), unskilled workers (by 26.4%) and other service workers (by 10%). The employment for professionals and filing clerks has increased steadily through government expansion. Another category which

has absorbed adult labor force (over 15 years old) is the number of young men, in their teens, who are still unemployed. This is partially due to schooling and partially due to the increasing number of men who do not enter craft training and thus have no stated occupation. 12/

The occupations that have lost employment during the same period (1960 and 1970) are merchants (by 56%), craftsmen (by 22%), and shopkeepers (by 47%). The occupations that have gained in employment are those that serve the town as a market. Generally, these occupations require no skills and movement of labor into them is relatively easy.

The stated high proportion of farmers in the 1960 census is possibly due to a number of people who were basically involved in production for self consumption with occasional wage earnings, but who are essentially unemployed. More detailed information about the 1970 occupations will probably enable us to include these people with the unskilled workers and other service workers.

WHO IS MIGRATING?

Given the present occupational structure and income distribution and the dynamics of the town economy, who is migrating from Iskilip? Table IV shows both the distribution of occupations in Iskilip and the occupational background of migrants to Ankara.

The migration from top occupational and income groups is low in proportion to their numbers in the town's population. They are under no socially derived pressure to move, although they are more likely to educate sons who go to the city for an education and then return only for holiday visits. The migration from the upper income families is through schooling that over-trains men for employment in Iskilip. There is also some migration by job transfer. Iskilip men who hold central government jobs in Iskilip may request transfer to Ankara after some years of service.

At the other extreme, the unskilled do not migrate in numbers proportional to their numbers in the town. Perhaps they have less information on possibilities for employment in Ankara and fewer contacts to assist them in the migration process.

The high proportion from the craftsmen category is dramatic. It is the craftsman who is directly affected by the loss of a regional market for the town and by the incursions of modern industrial products into the local area. For this man a number of alternative responses to the declining demand for his skills are possible. He may continue practicing his craft in the town at a low income, while retreating into a subsistence gardening supplemented by occasional wage labor. If he has capital, which is unlikely, he may become a merchant or shopkeeper. Finally, he may migrate.

TABLE II

The Distribution of Annual Household Incomes With
 Regard to Occupational Groups

	<u>Group I</u>	<u>Group II</u>	<u>Group III</u>	
	Annual Household Incomes <u>Over 25000 TL</u>	Annual Household Incomes Between <u>500 to 25000</u>	Annual Household Incomes Below <u>5000 TL</u>	<u>Total %</u>
1. Professionals	1	5	-	100
2. Filing clerks	-	10	1	100
3. Merchants	6	1	-	100
4. Shopkeepers	-	13	6	100
5. Craftsmen	-	23	18	100
6. Farmers (Group I)	3	-	-	100
(Group II)	-	8	2	
7. Unskilled wage earners	-	-	19	100
8. Other service workers	-	-	17	100

TABLE III

Data For Lorenz Curve

<u>Income Groups</u>	<u>Number Of Families</u>	<u>Cumulative Frequency</u>	<u>% Of Families</u>	<u>Class Marks</u>	<u>Total Income Of Groups</u>	<u>Cum. Freq. Of Families', Income</u>	<u>% Of Cum.</u>
0 - 2000	15	15	11.36	1000.5	15007.5	15007.5	1.24
2001 - 4000	33	48	36.36	3000.5	99106.5	114024	9.47
4001 - 6000	30	78	57.09	5000.5	150015	264039	21.49
6001 - 8000	12	90	68.19	7000.5	84006	348045	28.92
8001 - 10000	12	102	77.27	9000.5	108006	456051	39.90
10001- 12000	6	108	81.82	11000.5	66003	522054	43.39
12001- 14000	4	112	84.85	13000.5	52002	574056	47.71
14001- 16000	7	119	90.15	15000.5	105003.5	674059.5	56.44
16001- 18000	1	120	90.91	17000.5	17000.5	696060	57.85
18001- 20000	3	123	93.18	19000.5	57001.5	753061.5	62.59
more than 20000	9	132	100.00	50000	450000	1203061.5	100.0

NOTE: The figure given is income per household and includes income from all sources: from the primary occupation, from other earners in the household, from farming and market gardening, rents, interests, money received from people working outside Iskilip, etc.

TABLE IV

Lorenz Curve For Iskilip Income Distribution

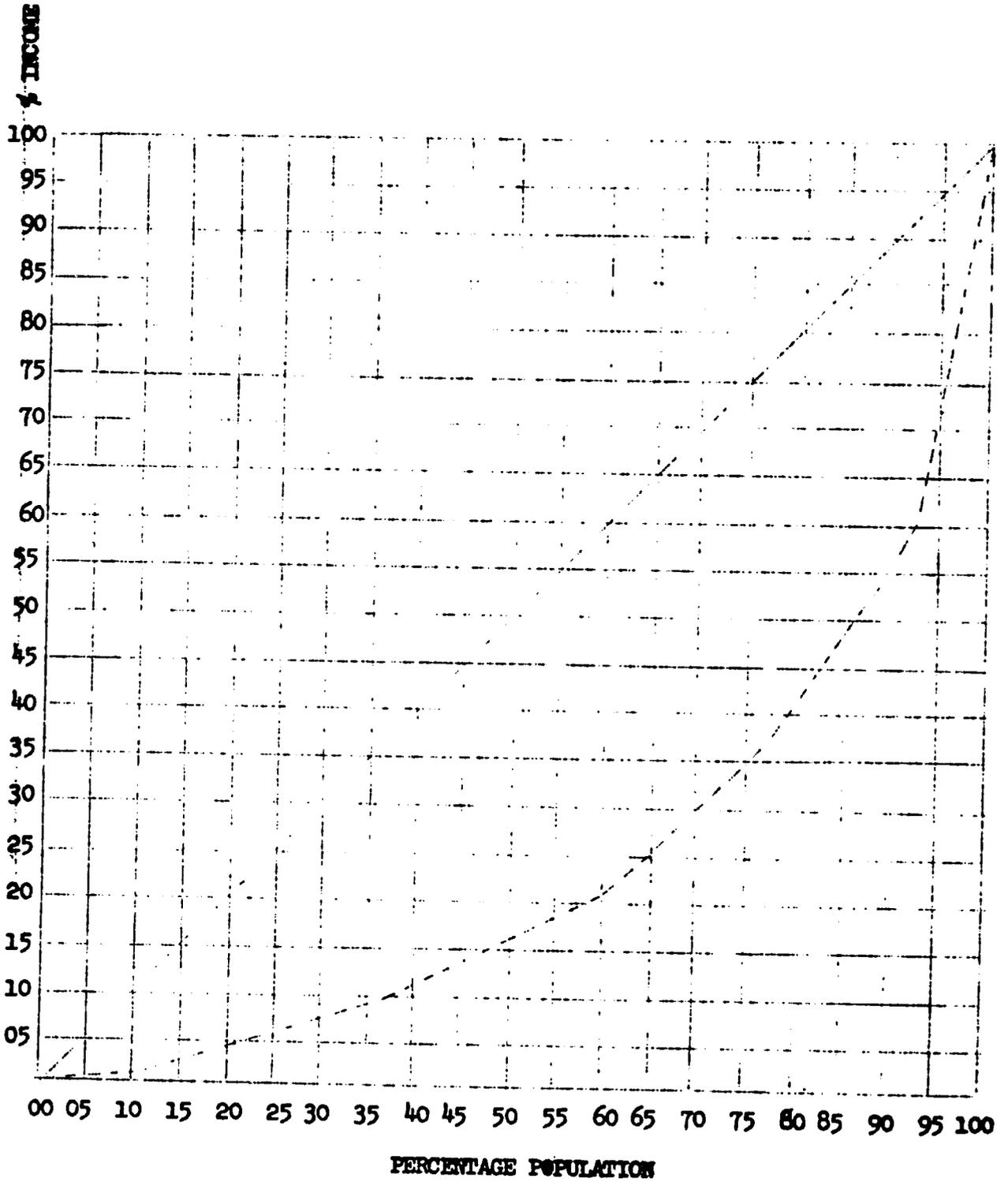


TABLE V

Occupational Distribution and Employment Status in Iskilip

	Total Labor Force		Self-Employment		Salaried	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1. Professional White-collar workers	6	3.4	2	33.3	4	66.7
2. Filing Clerks	15	8.3	-	-	15	100.0
3. Merchants	16	9.1	16	100.0	-	-
4. Shop Keepers	22	12.5	21	95.4	1	4.6
5. Craftsmen	55	31.3	49	89.1	6	10.9
6. Farmers	15	8.3	15	100.0	-	-
7. Unskilled wage earners	22	12.5	19	86.4	3	13.7
8. Other Service Workers	25	14.2	13	52.0	12	48.0

Source: The Iskilip Household Questionnaire.

TABLE VI

The Occupational Distribution in Iskilip And The
Iskilip Occupations of Ankara Immigrants

	Iskilip <u>%</u>	Iskilip Immigrants In Ankara <u>%</u>	Index of Concentration <u>%</u>
1. Professionals	3.4	2.3	0.67
2. Filing Clerks	8.3	3.8	0.46
3. Merchants	9.1	3.0	0.33
4. Shopkeepers	12.5	7.1	0.58
5. Craftsmen	31.3	67.9	2.17
6. Farmers	8.3	-	-
7. Unskilled Wage Earners	12.5	7.2	0.58
8. Other Service Workers	14.2	8.7	0.61

Sources: Iskilip Household Questionnaire
Ankara Migrant Questionnaire

The Index of Concentration is calculated by taking in each occupational category the percentage of Iskilip migrants and dividing the present percentage of the Iskilip labor force in each category. In other words, the second column is divided by the first column.

Another factor other than occupation in migration is educational level. The educational selectivity for migration is demonstrated through comparing the level of schooling of Ankara immigrants with that of the Iskilip male population. Thirty-eight percent of Iskilip male residents over twenty are primary school graduates and three percent have middle school education or more. For Iskilipians in Ankara a tentative figure based on a sub-sample of 50 household heads was found to be 36.6 percent for primary school graduates and 20 percent for middle school or more. The tendency toward selection of people with more than a primary school education to migrate is strong, a pull factor.

The pattern will be investigated in detail at a later stage of the research, but certain conclusions are reasonable. The categories giving the least migration, those with higher capital and higher incomes (merchants, shopkeepers, filing clerks, prosperous craftsmen, and prosperous farmers) are educating their sons through primary school and not sending them out. If, however, a young man from this group does acquire more schooling, he migrates. The sons of poorer families are less likely to complete primary school; but if they do, they are more likely to leave the town. For the town as a whole, the number of primary school graduates left behind is approximately the same as the number migrating.

OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCING MIGRATION

Social systems and social forces do not solely determine individual behavior; people do make efforts to control their lives. Pressure to migrate is not translated immediately nor automatically into movement out of the town. Various responses serve as an interim adjustment for the individual.

One "buffer mechanism" is reflected in the increase in the categories of unskilled workers and other service workers. A large proportion of these men are former craftsmen who have withdrawn into self subsistence farming and occasional wages for their ever decreasing cash expenditures. During this transition period of a few years the migration is planned and necessary arrangements are made in Ankara, as is evident in the short period of job seeking in Ankara.

The migration from the craftsmen group is necessarily delayed by a variety of factors. The completion of learning craft skills continues into the early twenties. Until that age the possibility of earning a full living is postponed through role definitions; that is, the apprentice and even the journeyman is viewed as a student and full adult status is delayed until army service is completed even though the man may be married.

After the army service half of the craftsmen remain in Iskilip either as a worker in the family workshop or as a wage earning journeyman. The remaining half prepare themselves for migration. From a sub-sample of our sample, we know the age at migration is usually in the early twenties. A

crucial event with regard to out migration from all occupational categories is the establishment by the young man and his wife of a household separate from that of the husband's parents. This move takes usually place when the man is in his mid-twenties.

An element that eases the impact of change and prolongs the onset of migration is the joint household. Thirty-two percent of the Iskilip households have more than one income earner. There is a very high correlation between the type of the household (number of income earners) and out-migration. ^{14/} Table VII presents the number of workers in each occupational category and out-migration. The most prestigious and most affluent families in Iskilip are more likely to have two incomes. A possible reason is that these families educate their sons well enough to become teachers and other low-paid but respected white collar workers, and these same families have access to employment opportunities so as to place their own kin as jobs become available. The younger men live in the parental home and share expenses.

It is not clear whether the large household is formed in order to resist the pressures for migration or whether its prior existence was simply an additional factor resisting change. The joint household is favored by the culture and it is also more economically efficient to share expenses between two income earners.

Another "buffer mechanism" impeding the volume of migration is the government credit distribution. Since its establishment in 1964, Halk Bank has distributed an average credit of 5,900 TL per person to 251 craftsmen. The total value of a craftsman's workshop, including the equipment and raw materials, is around 2,000 TL. The Bank's credit has been distributed very evenly, without altering the technology or organization of craft production. It is evident from the difference between the two figures (5,900 - 2,000 = 3,900) and from the nature of the work unit that the credit is not being used in productive activity, but for household expenditure. In this way the household's annual expenditures are met by the government and the craftsmen's migration may be delayed for a few years.

In summary, Iskilip has been analyzed a socio-economic system in transition, with migration as one aspect of the process of change. Traditionally Iskilip served as an administrative, crafts, and market center for surrounding villages and it also produced goods marketed throughout Anatolia. As Iskilip's share in the national markets changed and is changing, activity patterns within the town alter.

The occupational categories most directly affected are those in basic activities. Nearly 68 percent of the migrants in Ankara were trained as craftsmen, although they constitute approximately 31 percent of Iskilip's labor force. From the merchants and white collar worker categories, migration is low in proportion to their numbers in the society. The same is true for unskilled workers. For all categories, young men with above average schooling for their particular social strata show a higher probability to migrate.

TABLE VII

	<u>Index of Concentration In Migration</u>	<u>Ratio of the Income Earners in the Household</u>
1. Merchants	0.34	0.52
2. Filing Clerks	0.46	0.72
3. Shopkeepers	0.57	1.28
4. Unskilled Wage Earners	0.58	1.60
5. Other Service Workers	0.61	1.78
6. Professionals	0.67	0.64
7. Craftsmen	2.17	1.10

The Ratio of Income Earners in the Household is calculated by taking the total number of households in each occupational category (the occupation of the head of household is taken as the criteria) and dividing this by the total number of income earners in that occupational category. The lower the ratio, the higher is the percentage of households with more than one income.

The response of the individual to pressures for migration is not immediate nor automatic. Buffer mechanisms exist to allow the individual to control and adjust the timing of his eventual move to Ankara.

CHAPTER IV

THE TOWNSMEN NETWORK IN ANKARA

Our migrants from Iskilip are moving into a remarkably safe and stable city. A sheer listing of statistics concerning Ankara could lead one to expect of it classic symptoms of urban unrest and social disorganization. Nearly 70 percent of the city's residents are in-migrants; 70 percent live in "gece kondu"s; 15/ the rate of unemployment is unknown but employment in the productive sector is very limited. 16/ Welfare services by the government are virtually non-existent. Yet, Ankara is not wracked by a high crime rate, gangs of youths prowling the streets, general political unrest, beggars everywhere, or other distressing evidences of underlying social disorders.

The social stability in the urban area may be attributed at least partly to the series of informal social networks that bring new population into the city in an orderly manner. (The network as a social organization is discussed below.) In the case of the Iskilip migrants, a network provides necessary material assistance and psychological support during and after the migration period.

Adjustment by a migrant to city life is both a process of urbanization and a conservation of certain traditional behaviors, attitudes, and values. Although individuals coming from Iskilip are integrated into urban work groups, schools, or neighborhood groups and adapt their behavior accordingly, the world view and basic values of the individual remains relatively unchanged from what he learned in the town. Nothing in the Ankara urban experience assaults this traditionally derived cognitive system and value system with sufficient force to require the migrant to re-evaluate. As will be discussed below, the migrant is assisted at crucial moments by his townsmen. He also has set before him, through the townsmen, models for behavior that confirm his sense of rightness, and righteousness, about the manner in which he conducts his life. The Ankara-born children are not, as yet, openly questioning these values and perceptions, but the generational break may be just over the horizon.

THE TOWNSMEN NETWORK AND THE "CEMIYET"

People from Iskilip living in Ankara obviously form some sort of social collectivity, but they do not constitute a separate community or sub-community as they might if they had gathered into a ghetto or concentrated within an area in the manner of present day West African rural-urban migrants or previous generation ethnic enclaves in U.S. cities. Although there may be some tendency toward concentration in particular neighborhoods in Ankara, occupational, income, class, and other factors act as centrifugal

forces that distribute the new residents throughout the urban area.

Neither do the townsmen form a group in the sociological meaning of the concept. Although individuals interact on the basis of their common town identity, there is no bounded social entity. A better conceptualization of the social collectivity is the analogy of a network, 17/ with each townsman a unit having links of communication with other townsmen, spatially across the residential areas and socially across class barriers. The individual may use his town identity, if he so wishes, as an entree into desired relationships or in seeking assistance of various sorts.

The network of communications is informal and flexible. Out of this network based on the identity of the town of origin a formally organized group has developed. This organization is a voluntary association ("cemiyet" in Turkish) intended to serve and represent Iskilip townsmen in Ankara. The characteristics of its membership is discussed below. Also see Appendix III.

THE TOWNSMEN NETWORK

In the network of communications based on town identity, there are different types of participants. The criteria for the typology presented below are: 1) present position within the Ankara income and occupational structure and 2) position within the Iskilip system before migration. The types are: the ordinary man, the area contact man, the middle merchant, the wealthy merchant, and the educated man. Each of these types or categories of individuals interact in the network at various intensities, contribute differently to the functions of the network, and expect different rewards from it.

The Ordinary Man

The ordinary man moving into Ankara from Iskilip is a craftsman who makes his initial move at the age of twenty-five, after he is married. He comes alone and stays for a time in the home of a kinsmen or townsman. Within a month or two he has a job that pays sufficiently for him to rent a few rooms and to bring his wife and children to Ankara. After some time he is likely to change this job for one more satisfactory to his need. 18/

The ordinary man lives in the "gece-kondu"s or in low-income regular housing areas. Seventy-four percent of Iskilip families live in "gece-kondu"s, which is about average for Ankara as a whole. The men of this type work as craftsmen, technicians, drivers, factory workers, service workers, and unskilled workers. The distributions are shown in Table X in Appendix III. The average income of the ordinary man is 900 TL per month.

THE AREA CONTACT MAN

An important nodal point in the townsman network is a man we call the Area Contact Man because he lives in a "gece-kondu" and acts as a center for Iskilip families in that area. He is a craftsman with shop or a small merchant. He knows the Iskilip families and all about them and their situation, and possibly does small favors for them as the need arises. When a person from outside wishes to contact Iskilip people in a "gece-kondu", usually this central man in the area is approached.

There are about ten of these men throughout the city. The average monthly income is about 2,500 TL. The Area Contact Man's position in the network depends upon his knowledge of the townsmen in his area, his somewhat higher economic status, and his access to important Iskilip men outside the "gece-kondu".

THE MIDDLE MERCHANT

There are about twenty-five men from Iskilip in Ankara who have succeeded as merchants.

The Middle Merchant left Iskilip at about the age of twenty-seven, after five years of working and making a living in his craft. He had a primary school education and twelve years of craft training and experience behind him. In Ankara he continued in his own craft, eventually becoming a businessman as well. If he was a tailor, he now has a shop with several assistants; if he was a shoemaker, he now owns a shoestore. His success builds on and is a continuation of his skills. The income he earns is well above average, between 2,000 TL and 3,000 TL a month, a sharp contrast with the 400 TL a month wages in Iskilip.

The social life of the Middle Merchant is still primarily with townsmen, mostly other merchants. Most have a few white collar friends, whose relatively low salaries must further emphasize his success of the merchant. He visits Iskilip about twice a year and retains ties with family there. His garden and vineyard in Iskilip is managed by someone in the family.

The Middle Merchant carries a special significance for the ordinary man. The middle merchant has achieved conspicuous success in the city while adhering to traditional values and expectations for behavior. He did as the society dictated and did well. The average man can observe and approve and be confirmed in his own adherence to the social norms of his home community.

When questioned in our interviews about whom they visit most frequently, most Iskilip men mentioned Iskilip families of their own social rank, but the Ordinary Man also said he visits with an Iskilip man in Ankara more highly placed than himself. Generally this contact is with Middle Merchant, although links to a wealthy merchant or one of the educated may exist through kinship, friendship, or a dependent client relationship. The Middle Merchant is most accessible to the Ordinary Man, and it may be asserted that this is an important reference group for many ordinary Iskilipians. Any man may keep in touch with the Middle Merchant simply by stepping into his shop to chat, since the shop location is generally in Ulus, near the low income housing areas and on transportation routes to these areas

Because this type of merchant has his residence in a middle income area and away from the business district, visits between the lower income families and the middle merchant families are not casual. There is evidence, however, that "gece-kondu" families do make periodic social calls on more prosperous Iskilip families and maintain their social ties. 19/

THE WEALTHY MERCHANT 20/

Some few Iskilip merchants and businessmen have prospered in Ankara to such an extent that they may be considered wealthy. They own large retail and wholesale businesses, as well as apartment houses, and earn about 10,000 TL a month. These men differ in their personal histories from both the Ordinary Man and from the Middle Merchant. In comparison with the Middle Merchant, the wealthy are somewhat older and have been in Ankara longer. The Wealthy Merchant is in his late forties and has been in Ankara about twenty-seven years, whereas the Middle Merchant is some ten years younger and came to Ankara twelve years ago. However, time in the city is not the only difference between them.

The Wealthy Merchant is an atypical personality for the town. His upward mobility in the city is somewhat dramatic, since his family was at the lower end of the stratification system in Iskilip. He finished primary school but left the town unmarried. Of the seven, five left while still in their middle teen-years and found jobs in Ankara. The Wealthy Merchant tried a variety of skills or jobs before becoming successful in his present business.

Although all these men eventually married Iskilip girls, ties with Iskilip are weakened by the migration of all their kin to Ankara. Being from a poor family originally the wealthy merchant has inherited no property in the town, nor has he purchased any since becoming prosperous.

The few Wealthy Merchants are possibly less accessible to the ordinary man than is the Middle Merchant, but he is still in the townsmen network. The men list as the families they visit most frequently their relatives in

Ankara and townsmen from diverse occupational backgrounds. Their homes are in the higher income areas.

THE EDUCATED MAN

The educated are those men with lycee or university education who hold high salaried positions in the government bureaucracies. 21/ They derive from the elite and upper middle levels of Iskilip society. A few held government positions in Iskilip and requested transfer to Ankara, but most were over trained by their schooling for any employment in Iskilip. They left as students and remained in Ankara, but their ties to the home community are strong. They visit Iskilip about twice a year and have family and property there. The university students from Iskilip in Ankara are in frequent contact with this type of man.

The educated group have their homes in the solid middle class areas of Ankara. 22/ Their friendships are with one another and encompass the wealthy merchants, but their social life is somewhat more diversified. One out of four of the families they visit are non-Iskilipians. 23/

The contact of the Educated Man with the Ordinary Man is indirect, but he still accepts welfare responsibility for townsmen. One high government official claims to have placed 250 Iskilip workers in jobs over the years. Another said he helped thirty Iskilip men to find work. Such favors are not corruption nor dishonesty but simply the channeling of information in one direction rather than in another. The man at the higher levels in the system can also advise the less knowledgeable about where and how to seek professional services such as medical care or perhaps smooth the way through bureaucracies with a letter of introduction. The Educated Man is in the position to render many small favors.

THE PATRON-CLIENT ROLES

The townsmen network operates primarily because the participants share a culture and certain role definitions.

Iskilip men, with few exceptions, marry girls from the town. Even those who came as children with their parents returned ten to fifteen years later to Iskilip for a wife. 24/ The style of family life is retained as nearly as possible. The women's educational level is low; they lack experience in the working world of men; they are further isolated by the prohibition against a woman having any conversation with a man from outside the family. Only gradually will the wives alter the patterns they inherited. The homes in Ankara continue the basic style of the homes in Iskilip, though modified by the layout of rooms in the city apartments, with more expensive

furnishings, and the addition of luxury items such a television or shelves of books. The physical and psychological environment for family life in the city is not a radical break from the past, and any Iskilip person entering the home of an affluent townsmen must feel that all is comfortable and familiar. 25/

The continuity of style and of those unspoken agreements we call culture is more profound than simply in the details of home decoration. The manner learned in Iskilip for behaving toward equals, subordinates, or those more highly placed than oneself continues to be appropriate in dealing with Iskilip townsmen in Ankara. The behaviors, attitudes, and values that are instilled in the individual through the socialization process in the household and family system, the old guild system in the stratification system, these are brought intact and unchallenged into Ankara.

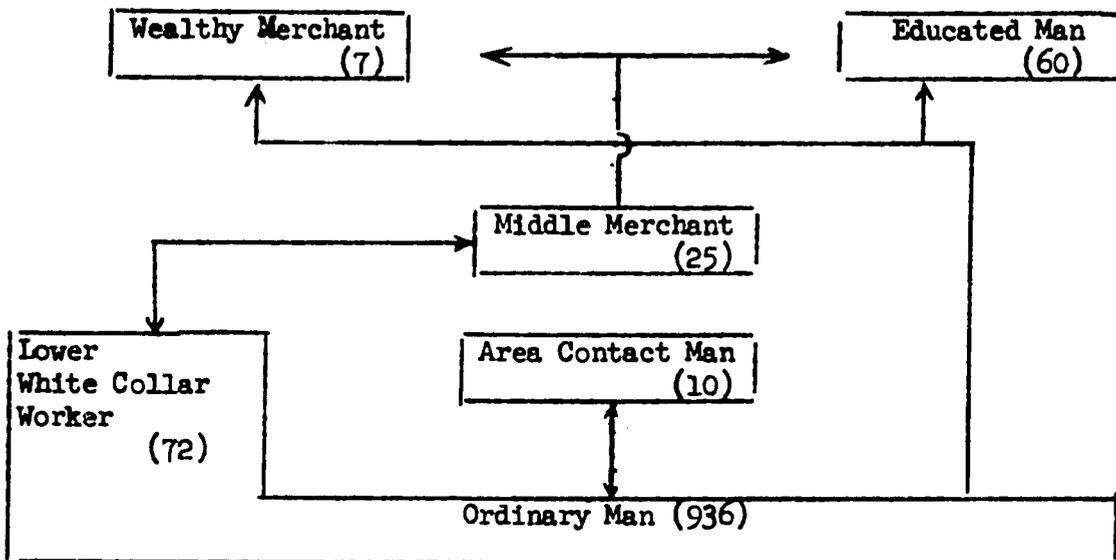
The institution of craft training is the clearest prototype of the socialization process. Normally a boy in Iskilip becomes an apprentice when he reaches his seventh year. If he also attends school, (about one-third finish primary school) he works part time, gradually over the years becoming full time. As an apprentice his responsibilities are to observe, to assist, to obey. There is a tendency on the part of the master in whose shop he is working to prolong this period because the boy's labor is free. In the apprentice-master relationship the boy may never question the master and, without a set schedule as in a formal school, the pace at which they boy receives knowledge is totally controlled by the master. The boy learns to obey and to wait for long periods, doing nothing but being available in case the master needs him. The next step is for the boy to become a journeyman, which generally happens at the age of 16 to 18. By this time he earns a wage and has gained a sense of belonging to a valued occupation, in which one day he may become a master with a shop of his own.

The apprentice-master relationship does not differ in quality from other subordinate-supraordinate relationships. The boy has already learned in the home a similar pattern of behaviors and attitudes toward his father; and in the school, toward his teachers. When he approaches public officials or others in positions of authority and power, the same attitude of patient obedience and respect is tendered. He is the unschooled, or nearly unschooled, manual worker before the educated, urbane superior. If the boy, and later the man, is to get anything out of life, it will be because some superior individual will agree to promote him, to be his patron. Even in Ankara, the patron-client roles continue with the more successful men accepting the obligations of the patron to less fortunate townsmen.

Without the unquestioning assumption that one operates within these role definitions, the network would fall apart.

The perpetuation of the net work beyond the Iskilip born generation remains in question. The Ankara born children are acquainted with Iskilip

people, but because the network is primarily maintained between men, it is difficult to imagine that the children will be much committed to it. The children and the women are probably more integrated into their neighborhoods and experience the urban life differently from the adult men of the household. The network will probably function as an instrument for the generation that makes the move from the town and not beyond that generation.



The arrows suggest the direction from which communication and interaction is initiated.

The total number of Iskilip households in Ankara is 1100.

THE NETWORK AND ITS FUNCTIONS

The network functions differently for the different types of participants. For the Ordinary Man the network means assistance in solving the immediate problems of living in a new locale. Either through the family or other townsmen, 23.3 percent of the Iskilip migrants had a job, and housing as well, before moving into Ankara. Another 26.6 percent found a job immediately, either with a relative or townsman, or through one. Twenty percent looked for a job for one week. It took the remaining thirty percent an average of two months to find work.

A problem that will be investigated in the next phase of the research is how many men, and with what particular characteristics, come to Ankara with the intention of migrating but fail to find a job or what they consider a suitable job. Informal interviewing and the data from the subsample on which this report is based suggests men who find no employment within a few months in Ankara return to the town rather than join a reserve labor pool of urban unemployed.

We have no quantifiable data as yet on the process through which people locate residentially but informal conversations indicate that advice and assistance on housing is sought from townsmen. The same is the source for emergency aid and security.

Friendship for the Ordinary Man is primarily with townsmen in the neighborhood. Four of five friends visited are fellow townsmen, and longer residence in Ankara does not diminish the number of contacts with Iskilip people. The network also provides the average man with a bridge across class barriers, to prosperous businessmen, high bureaucrats, and professional men. He may call upon them socially in their homes or gain entree to their offices and business establishments. The shared townsman identity gives him the confidence to ask for favors for himself and his children.

The Area Contact Men are few but their strategic location in the "gecekondus" make them important socially to Iskilipians. The most significant categories, however, for the Ordinary Man, are the merchants. These men provide some employment and assistance, but primarily they are the reference group for the majority.

The merchants are the living embodiment of success through traditional means. For the old urban elite of Turkey who dominate the larger society, occupations in commerce and profit-making carry lower prestige than salaried government employment, but for the craftsman and the peasant, combining craft and business is the honorable and most obvious path to success. The values shared by the merchant and the migrant derive from a guild ethic: loyalty to one another and mutual aid, hard work and material success, practicality and present orientation over abstract and theoretical concerns, property is important and sacred, religiousity, obedience to authority and traditional morality. Through the network perhaps half of the men under fifty are in direct contact with the merchants. If the relationship is not close, the Ordinary Man still knows about the successful merchants and speaks of them with awe and respect.

The Educated Man is less dependent upon the network and possibly contributes more to it than he gains. As with the merchants, the gains are psychological, in status validation and in friendship. We may speculate that the Educated Man, by the socialization experiences of the classroom and exposure to the national culture, differs in his personality structure

from the other townsmen. His job and his future are secure, if not very glamorous. Few if any material rewards could be forthcoming from the network, yet they nevertheless are active within it. Their participation will be examined in the context of "cemiyet" membership.

Of the 4,500 individuals in the network, no one person comprehends its unity and not all actively interact within it, but the fact of Iskilip identity provides the potential. For the poor, it is their shield against utter helplessness, and for the more fortunate it is a factor in maintaining a balance between earning a living in the modern economy and yet preserving in the home a traditional sub-culture that is a continuation of town-derived values and behaviors.

THE NETWORK AND "CEMIYET" MEMBERS

The "cemiyet" is a formal voluntary association but with rather informal operating procedures. Meetings are held irregularly and membership is fluid. Members pay dues, participate in yearly election of officers, and help organize the yearly fund raising dinner.

"Cemiyet" members are primarily from a small number of interrelated groups of friends and whoever from their families or clients comes into organized activities with them. Leadership of the organization passes around among the members of these sets, with one man at a time assuming most responsibilities and benefiting from the backup support of his friends. Formal offices tend to be held by men from the educated category and the financial or material support comes from the merchants.

A central element in the cohesion of the "cemiyet" is the presence of Iskilip students living in Ankara in a dormitory. By living together and sharing common problems, these young men form a core around which concern and identity with Iskilip can be expressed. The students are an enthusiastic and idealistic group, deeply involved with their home town. Among the many projects they have initiated for the betterment of Iskilip is a bimonthly newspaper for the town. For the yearly Iskilip dinner they assist in the organization and actual work. When the Iskilip dormitory in Ankara is constructed, the management of such a large enterprise will formalize the focus on students and institutionalize the channels of communications between the town and townsmen in the city.

"Cemiyet" members differ in many characteristics from the non-"cemiyet" members within the total Iskilip population in Ankara. See Table VIII. About one hundred men identify themselves as "cemiyet" members. Seventy percent of the members are either prosperous merchants or high managerial government functionaries, as compared with nine percent in the total townsmen population. The remaining thirty percent of the members derive from a middle stratum of white collar workers and merchant-craftsmen, and none are from the lower stratum.

TABLE VIII

The Distribution of Iskilip Immigrants In
Ankara by Social Group

		Iskilip Migrants In Ankara (General) (%)	"Cemiyet" Members (%)	Non-Cemiyet Members (%)
High (1) More 3000 TL Monthly	Salaried	74.0	42.0	76.0
	Self-employed	26.0	58.0	24.0
	Total in That Group	9.3	70.0	9.1
Medium (1) 1500 TL to 3000 TL Monthly	Salaried	61.0	55.0	62.0
	Self-employed	39.0	45.0	38.0
	Total in That Group	61.8	30.0	61.7
Low (1) Less than 1500 TL Monthly	Salaried	65.0	-	64.0
	Self-employed	35.0	-	36.0
	Total in That group	28.9	-	29.2

The question of how the "cemiyet" members differ from those Iskilipians in Ankara of equal social status but who are not in the "cemiyet" must wait until a later report. Perhaps the educated and prosperous men better integrated into the larger urban community, originally from lower strata in Iskilip, and with no family or property in Iskilip are not in the network or the "cemiyet."

The thirty most active members of the "cemiyet" were compared with a subsample of the non-"cemiyet" population on eleven selected variables from the questionnaire: income, schooling, length of residence in Ankara, percent of Iskilip friends, age of the head of the household, family size, age at migration, number of times at Iskilip annual dinner, employment status, number of jobs held in Ankara, family social rank at the time of migration. The "cemiyet" members' income is 3.7 times higher and schooling is twice as high as that of non-"cemiyet" members. "Cemiyet" members are either high income merchantss with primary school education, or comfortably salaried white collar workers with lycee or university schooling. The number of members with intermediary education is negligible.

Another difference between the members and non-members is the social rank to which they assign their families in Iskilip. The "cemiyet" members said on the questionnaire that they were in the middle strata before migration (the few wealthy merchants are the exception), whereas the average migrant ranks his family below average in status. The question of differential social mobility is a complex matter and will be fully explored in thenext report, when all questionnaires are completed and analyzed.

The matrix of correlations of the eleven selected variables is presented in Table IX. Of the variables two could be considered as directly relevent to the involvement of townsmen in the network: percentage of Iskilip friends and presence at the Iskilip dinner. Since participation for the "cemiyet" members is prima facia, the analysis will be confined to the thirty non-"cemiyet" members.

From Table IX, network participation is very highly correlated with income and schooling. The lowest income families interact, or say they do, more frequently with family and townsmen than do the more prosperous families. For the poor and those of little schooling, most visiting is within the residential area and among relatives. Families from the lower social strata in Iskilip also interact more frequently with townsmen. Attendance at the Iskilip dinner is not significantly related to any of the other ten variables.

The "cemiyet" membership, then, is composed of a series of inter-related groups of friends who have known one another since boyhood and who share common experiences in Ankara. They have been upwardly mobile either through education or business. Through the formal organization of the

TABLE IX

Matrix Of Correlation (Non-cemiyet Members)

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}	X_{11}
X_1	1.00	0.64	-0.14	-0.70	-0.33	0.50	-0.10	0.03	-0.18	0.17	-0.30
X_2		1.00	-0.12	-0.74	-0.37	0.21	-0.02	0.19	-0.23	0.17	-0.47
X_3			1.00	0.16	0.73	0.04	-0.08	0.15	-0.14	0.58	0.06
X_4				1.00	0.27	-0.21	0.03	-0.00	0.28	-0.04	0.28
X_5					1.00	-0.14	-0.07	0.02	0.09	0.44	0.37
X_6						1.00	-0.24	-0.10	0.03	0.16	-0.10
X_7							1.00	0.15	0.11	0.03	-0.15
X_8								1.00	0.16	0.25	-0.12
X_9									1.00	-0.01	0.10
X_{10}										1.00	-0.02
X_{11}											1.00

Variables

X_1	Monthly Income in TL	X_7	Age at First Marriage in years.
X_2	Years of Schooling	X_8	Number of Times at Iskilip night
X_3	Months in Ankara	X_9	Employment Status Index
X_4	Percent of Iskilip Friends	X_{10}	Number of Jobs in Ankara
X_5	Age of Head of Household in Years	X_{11}	Family Wealth Index
X_6	Number in Family		

"cemiyet" these men serve their community and validate their new status.

In summary, the migration process and subsequent urbanization of the migrants is facilitated by a network of communications based on the town identity. Various types of participants in the network may be identified.

Most of the 1,100 migrants and their families from Iskilip live in "gece-kondu" areas. In each "gece-kondu" is one Iskilip merchant who lives in the area and serves as a central contact person for Iskilip people there. The twenty-five prosperous merchants and seven wealthy merchants in the city are an important reference group for the ordinary man. There are approximately sixty high level white color workers in the network. These men and the merchants maintain a voluntary association, the Iskilip Welfare Association, which presently has as its formal goal the building of a dormitory for Iskilip boys attending school in Ankara.

SUMMARY

This report is the first from research designed to describe and analyze migration into Ankara from a town in central Anatolia. The migration is approached from two perspectives: 1) who migrates from the town and why, and 2) the structure of the social organization that emerges among migrants in the recipient urban milieu.

The town of Iskilip, as a socio-economic system, was shaped by the requirements of a pre-industrial era. Formally Iskilip produced craft goods for a large regional market, was a service center for a village hinterland, and exercised administrative control over its dependent villages.

With the growth of a modern economy and society in Turkey and as Iskilip has come into the Ankara metropolitan influence area, the town is moving from a previous equilibrium into an as yet undetermined adjustment within a national hierarchy of urban centers. Iskilip's basic activities are in decline (only 21% of the labor force is employed in national market oriented activities) as the markets for traditional craft products either disappear or are supplied by factory made goods. The town's administrative role continues in a modified form with its present position in the central administrative hierarchy. Traditional service to the village hinterland continues (21% of the total labor force serves the agricultural hinterland) largely because the villages have not as yet modernized.

Migration is one aspect of the total pattern of change. Sixty-eight percent of the migrants in Ankara were craftsmen in Iskilip, although they constitute 31.3 percent of the town's labor force. This would indicate that as the town's markets are lost, that sector of the labor force directly employed in production for town export must seek a livelihood elsewhere. Some craftsmen delay or avoid a move from their homes by retreating into a subsistence household economy with occasional wage labor. The average migrant from the middle social strata, which includes most craftsmen, is a married man in his early twenties and he has had more schooling than is usual for his social rank.

The wealthiest families, the merchants, send out the fewest sons. Migration from the families of white collar workers is much lower than their proportion in the population, but they are most subject to pull factors of better employment in Ankara. Migrants from this top level are likely to leave as students and not return for employment in the town. In the higher income and more prestigious occupational categories, the joint household with more than one income earner is a buffer against pressure to migrate.

The unskilled workers, about one-third of the labor force, sends out about 16 percent of the migrants from the town.

More than four thousand migrants from Iskilip live in Ankara. Among these families has emerged a network of communication based on townsmen

identity. This network links individuals spatially across the urban area and socially across class barriers. Townsmen extend to one another various forms of assistance during and after the migration process and most depend upon other townsmen for friendship and sociability in the city. A formal voluntary association, composed mostly of higher white collar workers and merchants, has been organized to serve and represent the Iskilip people in Ankara.

Even from these preliminary findings of the research, it is evident that a metropolitan center and the smaller communities in its influence area form a system, within which the flow of people, information, and goods and services is patterned and predictable. The migration is largely a pushing out of the town of people trained in skills presently employable in centers higher in the urban hierarchy. This is true of the craftsmen and of people educated for white collar jobs. The metropolis is receiving these individuals who are in their most productive years, who have the best training the town offers, and who have the longest years of schooling. Migration is organized, albeit informally, and is supported by the town and townsmen in the city. Ankara's migrants locate employment, housing, and receive assistance with no cost to formally constituted authorities.

A P P E N D I C E S

HOW TYPICAL IS ISKILIP OF THE TURKISH TOWNS GIVING MIGRATION TO ANKARA?

Appendix I presents a brief outline of the urban settlement pattern in pre-twentieth century Turkey and of the nature of urban settlements today.

As is true of most urban settlements in Turkey, Iskilip functions as a center in the central government administrative hierarchy. In Appendix II the hierarchy is described and detail is given on Çorum and Iskilip.

APPENDIX I

The present day character of Turkish towns and cities and the relationship between the village and the urban center are at least partly a consequence of the unique history of Anatolia. From the Seljuk period to the Republican period, three types of urban centers could be identified: the cities of the trade routes, cities that were control and supply centers for the Sultan, and cities that served as local urban centers. These did not form a hierarchy or grow organically one out of another but were parallel, disconnected aspects of the socio-economic structure of the Empire.

Some of the cities on the intercontinental caravan and shipping routes were Antep, Maraş, Nigde, Kayseri, Afyon, Bursa, Istanbul; or alternatively, there was the Erzurum, Trabzon, Sinop, Istanbul route. From this trade the Sultan drew much of his revenue.

The cities of Maraş, Isparta, Malatya, and Ankara served the needs of the central administration. From these centers the Sultan's army and administrative personnel were supplied with equipment such as felt, saddles, horse-shoes and nails, and various other items produced by craftsmen.

Urban centers that existed in relationship to an immediate hinterland were not related through a movement of goods or people to the great trade cities. Interregional trade was almost forbidden by the State; and with the exception of certain crops that depend upon extraordinary climate, such as cotton, silk, or tobacco, regional specialization was discouraged. Each region was self-sufficient and isolated from other regions but connected to the center in Istanbul as an administrative outpost.

The size of local centers in Anatolia was thus limited. In economic activity and urban growth, Anatolia remained a flat plain with the one peak of Istanbul. All sectors of the population were under the hegemony of a group in Istanbul who controlled commerce, the army, and the administration. Those in power in the local centers exercised little autonomy from Istanbul and had virtually no interaction horizontally with other local centers. A strong local merchant class never emerged. A united national hereditary nobility, rooted in land ownership as in Europe never quite developed because the Sultan owned all land and collected rents through a "sipahi" (a man given tax collection rights over an area). The peasantry was tied irrevocably to the land, forbidden to flee to the city ("çift bozma"). 26/

This was the nature of the urban settlement pattern inherited by the Republican government. Three great cities of the caravan routes declined, beginning in the 17th century, through the shift of trade from the Mediterranean to the oceans and to India around the Cape of Good Hope. These old cities are now in middle range category discussed below. The regional cities and the central administration cities of the past are now towns or small cities.

The administrative policies of the Republican regime have not radically altered the inherited settlement pattern. Most urban centers, regardless of size, perform almost identical functions. These functions are provision of simple agricultural equipment to their village hinterland, serving as an exchange center for the products of the region, providing a base for the ever-expanding administrative functions that are imposed on the existing traditional functions. The fact that there is no basic structural difference between the Turkish town of ten or one hundred thousand population is clearly demonstrated in an article by Akçura. 27/

In his article "Optimum City Size and Turkish Cities," Akçura identifies three categories of urban settlements in Turkey which are homogeneous with regard to certain key criteria:

1. Small and medium size towns and cities. This category encompasses a wide range, from a few thousand to 30,000 or 40,000. For certain indicators, cities up to 100,000 population would be included. Some 45 percent of the urban population is contained in this category.

2. Cities between 100,000 and 200,000. The category is between the first and the three metropolises.

3. The metropolises. Istanbul, with 2,000,000 inhabitants; Ankara, with 1,000,000; and Izmir, with 600,000 (1965 census).

Akçura continues with a discussion of types of activities in each of the three categories. For an activity to take place, there must exist services and materials; the labor force must be of the type employed in the activity; there must be necessary capital and decision makers to establish the activity. Some requirements are direct, such as raw materials or semi-finished inputs, and others are indirect, such as social services and the general social environment. The towns and small cities, those of the first category, do not provide favorable conditions for industry, for specialized modern services and commerce, or for high level social and cultural activities. Rather, in the small urban settlement the environment is suitable for the traditional activities of marketing products from its hinterland and providing commercial and craft services to the hinterland. Apparent exceptions are due to location relative to metropolitan centers, of which they have become a part.

Low population density in Turkey is a factor in the tendency toward concentration of modern activities into a few centers. The hinterlands of urban settlements are too small for the development of manufacturing. Moreover, agricultural development is generally slow and, consequently, services to the hinterland, such as marketing agricultural products, are losing relative importance. Handicrafts, a town activity, decline as they compete with the industrial products of the developed economy. Low purchasing power is a further constraint on development of activities in the town.

The low rate of specialized and non-traditional activities is demonstrated by the following indicators:

a. Only 9 percent of the nation's joint stock companies (anonim şirket) are located in the category one towns and cities, although 45 percent of Turkey's total urban population lives in these settlements. The capital involved is 669 million TL, of which 52 million TL is in Zonguldak and belongs to the government. Etibank and Sümerbank have large proportions of the remainder. Three of the most advanced towns (Kocaeli, Manisa, and İzmit) are part of metropolitan complexes and by including the three in this category, even the small figure of 9 percent becomes an inflated one.

b. Money saved in banks in category one is .2 percent of total bank savings in Turkey.

c. Specialized workers are few. For example, only 16.2 percent of Turkey's architects practice in these urban places; and most are in Zonguldak, the Trabzon Faculty of Architecture, or in the military. Among doctors, only 11 percent are in small towns and cities, and these primarily because of military service.

d. Industries found in towns and small cities are those that do not require large capital, skilled labor and do not have serious problems of external economies: flour mills, cotton oil presses and other presses, brick factories, and simple agricultural equipment. Specialized industries related to agriculture do not locate in towns, but where there are other industries on which they are dependent.

e. Universities are difficult to establish in towns and small cities even if they are strongly supported by the central government, and do not flourish once begun. Most of these settlements have a lycee and "orta okul", but this is a central government decision and then there are problems of finding good teachers and maintaining standards. The hospitals in this group have difficulties finding doctors and nurses.

Thus, it is clear that the small urban settlements of Turkey are not sharing in the economic growth of the larger economy. Even central government investment does not foster development. The cities of the second size category, those between 100,000 and 200,000, are somewhat more dynamic in economic growth than the small cities but still far behind the three metropolises.

İskilip is clearly typical of the small and medium sized urban settlements of Turkey. It has no modern industry and is losing those handicraft industries that formerly were town exports to the nation. Activities serving an agricultural hinterland have not developed as they might. Moreover, the schools, hospitals, and other social infrastructure and specialized personnel are supported by the central government.

APPENDIX II

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY

Every community in Turkey is linked, at least nominally, to the central government in Ankara through a pyramid of administrative centers. For nearly all internal governmental functions, the sixty-seven provinces of Turkey are the largest administrative units in this hierarchy. Each province, or vilayet (il) has as its center a city (il merkezi) which usually carries the same name as the vilayet. The vilayet is divided into an average of eight or nine sub-provinces, or kaza (ilçe), each with a town of the same name as the "kaza" at its center. (Ilçe merkezi) A number of "kaza"s have a yet lower level of administration, the "nahiye" (bucak). 28/ Each village is within the area of one of these centers. The villages immediately adjacent to a "vilayet" center are within the jurisdiction of that city; those further away relate to a "kaza" center or to a "nahiye" center as an intermediary to the "kaza" center.

There are about 35,000 village governments in Turkey, but the number of actual small settlements amount to 60,000 or more. 29/ "Kaza" centers, the towns, listed in the 1970 census are 572 in number with an average population of about 10,500.

The following central government functions and personnel are located in the "vilayet" city center, the "kaza" center, the "kaza" center, and the "nahiye" center (il, ilçe, nahiye):

1. The "vilayet" center (il merkezi)

The main administrative unit for all central government activities is the "vilayet." Different technical services are provided through the "vilayet" and every Ministry has its representative appointed from the center.

The "Vali" is the chief administrative and political officer in the "vilayet." According to the Provincial Administrative Law, he is not only the representative of the Ministry of the Interior but also of each Ministry in the province. All officials of the other Ministries who are employed in the "vilayet" are responsible to him. He coordinates the activities of the various agencies, agriculture, public works, finance, etc., and all requests for technical and accounting information must go through him. All budget requests to the Government must first go to the "Vali." He supervises the work of all the "kaymakam"s in his territory.

The "Vali" is assisted by the Provincial Administrative Board (il Idare Kurulu), a committee composed of the major administrative officers in the "vilayet," namely, the "Vali," the Finance Officer, and the Directors of Legal Affairs, Public Works, Health, Agriculture and Veterinary Services. The committee has the power to make administrative decisions as well as serving as an advisory body.

As discussed in the section on local governmental units, the "vilayet" is a local self-governmental unit as well as a branch of the central government.

2. The "Kaza" (Ilce)

The "kaza" is the administrative sub-division of the "vilayet." It is not an incorporated body. Its head, the "kaymakam," is centrally appointed. He maintains his office and home in the town which is the "kaza" center. He supervises the administrative agencies in the "kaza", which are, in the main, similar to those in the "vilayet." As the chief administrative officer in the "kaza," the "kaymakam" is the link between the "Vali" and village officials.

The "Kaymakam" has the assistance of an administrative board (Ilçe Idare Kurulu) in the administration of the "kaza." As in the "vilayet," but with somewhat more limited personnel, the members of this council are the clerical assistant, the finance officer, the government doctor, and the heads of such services as education, agriculture, and veterinary.

All formal lines of communication within the "vilayet" lead to the "Vali" and he is responsible for most central governmental functions, but the "kaymakam" in the "kaza" center is the point where the small communities, the towns and villages, connect into the system. The crucial events of birth, death, and marriage are registered there. The villager comes to the "kaza" for the draft board, records of property ownership and transfer, schooling beyond the primary school level, first contact with the law and courts. Most "kaza"s even have a prison.

3. The "Nahiye" (Bucak)

Some "kaza"s are further subdivided into smaller jurisdictional units, the "nahiye." The "nahiye" is an area with common geography, economic interests, and local problems. Although they are not corporate bodies, have no property, and adopt no budgets, they do have advisory council (Bucal Meclisi) similar to that of the "kaza" which is composed of the "kaymakam," certain administrative officer ex-officio, and an elected representative from each village Council of Elders and each municipal council in the "nahiye." The administrative head of the "nahiye" is responsible to the "kaymakam." His main function is to serve as the liaison between the "kaymakam" and the village "muhtar" in his district. His role is quite limited and subject to complete supervision by the "kaymakam."

The central administrative hierarchy carries importance beyond its governmental functions. Because urban settlements are just beginning to develop around manufacturing and other modern sector, the governmental activities are still the primary determinants of urbanization. The existing pattern will continue for some time into the future. The road

pattern, for example, follows the administrative hierarchy. To enter a "vilayet", a vehicle is lead by the paved roads first to the city at the center and then to the "kaza" centers. To travel by vehicle from one village to another, one must go into the "kaza" center and out again. The same is true for travelling from "kaza" to "kaza", that is, the usual route is into the center town and out again. Although travel and communications are not completely determined by the central administrative hierarchy, the hierarchy is a primary influence.

For purposes of illustration of the type and number of officials in each center, the "vilayet" of Çorum serves as a reasonably representative case. In the "vilayet" center, the city of Çorum, fifty senior officials of the central government administration are stationed, as well as eighteen judges and other judicial functionaries. For every such senior official, there will be approximately five or six subordinates appointed and paid by the central government. Besides serving as the "vilayet" center, Çorum also functions as a "kaza" center directly for 130 villages and indirectly for 74 villages through 3 attached "nahiye."

Iskilip as a "kaza" center has 68 villages directly under its jurisdiction and 18 more through a "nahiye." For these 87 small communities in the Iskilip "kaza" all roads, literally and administratively, lead to the town of Iskilip. The role of the government in the town and in the "kaza" can be illuminated by a simple listing of the number and type of government employees. The relative importance of the central government is to be compared with the lack of any activity other than handicrafts and retail activities in the town.

Central Government Employees:

Schools (Primary, lycee, vocational):	teachers and clerks	68
	odaci 30/	11
Imam (religious functionaries)		22
Post, telegraph and telephone	clerks and postmen	13
Agricultural technicians and staff		5
Agricultural bank	clerks	10
	odaci	3
Courts	judges	5
	clerks	10
	odaci	3

Forestry Processing Directory	clerks and workers	35
	odaci	3
Tax Bureau	clerks	16
	odaci	2
Local Branch of the Vilayet Government	clerks	7
	odaci	1
Malaria Control	clerks and technicians	13
	odaci	1
Land Deeds and Licencing Bureau	clerks	11
	odaci	2
Population Bureau	clerks	3
	odaci	1
Kaymakam's Office	clerks	2
	odaci	1
Veterinarian Office	clerks and technicians	2
	odaci	1
Government Doctors and Health	clerks and medical	6
	odaci	1
Hospital	technicians	11
	odaci	2
Licencing Bureau	clerks	4
	odaci	1
Government Monopolies Office	clerks	7
	odaci	1

Halk Bank	clerks	7
	odaci	3
Soil Products Office	clerks	4
	odaci	2
Girls Night Vocational School	teachers	3
	odaci	1
Chamber of Agriculture	clerks	3
	odaci	2
Shopkeepers' Security Cooperative	clerk	1
	odaci	1
Library	clerk	1
	odaci	1
İş Bank	clerks	5
	odaci	1
Police Functionaries		11
Municipality employees	clerks	28
	guards workers (street cleaning fire etc.)	33 14
		<hr/> 406

These employees comprise about one-eighth of Iskilip's working population. Only the top governmental functionaries, the "Kaymakam," the judges, the doctors, etc., are from outside the town; 70 percent of the salaried workers are from the town itself.

The next step from the "kaza" center lower in the administrative hierarchy is the "nahiye." In this small center the one central government employee is the head of the "nahiye." At the base of the pyramid is the muhtar in the village or in the urban city wards (mahalle) As a

functionary in both the central government hierarchy and in the local government, and as the intermediary between the citizen and the state, he forms one nodal point in the formal system. The "kaymakam" is the end point of the formal channels with which the citizens have direct contact. The "Vali" deals with subordinate functionaries, and with citizens through them, and upward to the federal government.

FORMS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Turkish local administration has two categories of local self-government: the municipality (belediye) and the village (köy) 31/

1. The Municipality

The municipality is the local governmental form for communities of more than 2,000 inhabitants. If a community has less than 2,000 inhabitants but is a provincial or sub-provincial center (il ve ilçe), it may be established as a municipality. Localities identified as municipalities have certain advantages over villages. They are exempt from "salma" (a local rate levied on villages) and from "imece" (work done for the community by a whole village). A municipality receives 25 to 30 TL a year per capita together with additional aid from the Iller Bank Fund designed for this purpose. 32/

The Mayor (belediye Başkanı) is the executive head of the municipality, elected directly by popular vote for a four year term. Members of a Municipal Council (Belediye Meclisi) are elected for four-year terms. A Standing Committee acts both in an advisory capacity to the Mayor and as an executive body. Presided over by the Mayor, it is composed of the heads of various municipal departments, ex-officio members, and a member elected by the Council. The functions performed by the municipality concern public health, social welfare, control over public places, and construction. The right to tax is very limited.

The municipality is divided into sub-units (mahalle), each of which has its elected head (muhtar). Although this office has the same formal responsibilities as the "muhtar" in a village, the town "muhtar" is one government official among many and hence not so important as in the village.

2. Village Administration

The village is established as a legal corporate body. The Village Association (Köy Derneği), which includes the entire population of the village, elects for four-year terms a Council of Elders (İhtiyar Meclisi) composed of 8 to 12 members, depending on whether the village is under or over 1,000 inhabitants. A chairman (muhtar) is elected and serves as a representative of the central government as well as the head of the local administration. The Meclis (the National Assembly) has assigned

many functions to the Council, including construction of roads and water channels, disease prevention, maintaining public facilities, and settling of minor disputes.

Literally hundreds of responsibilities are assigned by the legislature to the village "Muhtar." Any problems of community development or maintenance are brought to him. Possibly the most direct duties involve giving certification of births, marriages, and deaths in the village to the officials in the sub-provincial center and in bringing young men to the draft board, which is also located in the "kaza." A village guard (bekci) is appointed to assist the "Muhtar" and to look after village property.

The position of the "muhtar" is one of great responsibility and, probably, limited rewards.

There are 1,056 municipalities in Turkey. Nearly 70 percent are "kaza" or "vilayet" centers, reflecting the lack of economic growth in the countryside. The number of village governments is more than 34,800. 33/

In the Çorum vilayet, twelve communities have the municipal form of government, which is just a little below the average for "vilayets" in the country. Çorum city, with a population of 41,500 is a municipality, as are the eight "kaza" centers. The range of population for these towns is: Iskilip and Sungurlu are close to 13,000 in size; two others have approximately 8,000 inhabitants; and of the remaining four, one has 6,000 inhabitants and three have some 2,000 each. The three municipalities that are not governmental centers are between 2,000 and 3,000 in size.

The number of villages in Çorum vilayet is 750, with an average population of 600 people. 34/

APPENDIX III

HOW REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ANKARA POPULATION ARE ISKILIP'S MIGRANTS?

As is true of most metropolitan centers, Ankara's growth in population has been mostly through migration. However, because it draws primarily from within its provincial boundaries and from neighboring provinces, the central Anatolian character of the urban area is preserved. Thirty percent of Ankara's inhabitants were born in the city. Another thirty percent are from the nearby provinces of Çankiri, Çorum, Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri, Kirşehir, Konya, Nevşehir and Niğde. Iskilip, being in the Çorum province, would be included within this 60 percent.

Another way of looking at the migrants is from the perspective of types of communities of origin, whether villages or small urban centers. Fifty-seven percent of Ankara's migrants are, like Iskilipians, from sub-provincial centers or other urban places. Forty-three percent are from villages. ^{35/} It is possible that some of the town migrants in Ankara may be villagers who moved to towns as a first step in migration, but our data from the Iskilip situation suggests that migration is directly to the metropolis, without an intermediate step to a smaller urban center.

How do Iskilip migrants compare with the general Ankara population in occupational distribution and residential distribution?

For the purposes of our research, the Iskilip population in Ankara was divided into eight occupational categories. The categories devised are meaningful for describing and analyzing the process of migration from the Iskilip social system into the Ankara occupational structure and townsmen network. They place men as nearly as possible in groupings homogenous with regard to education or training, occupational position while in Iskilip, prestige of occupation in Ankara, and income and job security. These 8 categories are:

a) High Level White Collar Workers. This level derives primarily from the Iskilip above average and elite families and is overtrained by education or long training for jobs in Iskilip. This is the "educated" among the network participants.

b) Low Level White Collar Workers. This level includes lower level white color workers or clerks in government offices and in the private sector, as well as government employees of an equal occupational rank, such as policemen and postmen. It is distinguished from lower categories by prestige, stability of employment, security in old age, but not necessarily by income.

Analysis of the data shows that the older men in this category are primary school, or at the most, middle school graduates. Directly or indirectly, 60 percent of the employment in Ankara is generated by the government. Rapid expansion in government white collar employment and a scarcity of educated men resulted previously in a situation where primary school graduates found jobs now filled by university graduates.

This category is more similar to other categories than to the higher white collar worker in motivations for migration. They come from the upper levels of the craftsmen in Iskilip for the older men and, possibly, white collar backgrounds for the younger men now finishing school.

c) Shopkeepers and merchants. They represent a wide range in income and life style, from the wealthy to the very poor and are widely distributed residentially.

d) Technicians and craftsmen. The craftsmen are trained in traditional skills: shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmith, butcher. The technicians are craftsmen who retrain and are part of the modern sector.

e) Drivers and vehicle owners. Drivers may be government employed or in the private sector. The latter do not have a good income, but a driver with a government job is secure and well paid. Buying a vehicle and becoming an entrepreneur reflects the value on self-employment over wage work.

f) Factory Workers. Most Iskilip factory workers are in the Makina Kimya Endustrisi of Ankara. Factories workers are a separate category because of their good pay and security of employment.

g) Other Workers. These include porters, workers in small establishments (less than five employees), and construction workers.

h) Service Workers. Half of the service workers in our population are "odaci" and "kapici" with the government and 10 percent work in private dwelling units. The work provides steady employment but is low in prestige. Unlike other categories of low rank, the service workers are in daily contact with the middle class and there may be implications for upward mobility for the children of the workers.

Tables X and XI compare Iskilip migrants in Ankara with the occupational distribution in Iskilip and with the percentage of the general Ankara working force in each of our eight categories. Table XI uses categories employed in the analysis of the Iskilip occupational structure and migration. As is evident, the largest increase for the Iskilip migrants has been in the number of filing clerks, which also includes police and postmen.

TABLE X

Occupation Distribution: Iskilip Migrants And Ankara General

	High White Collar		Low White Collar		Shop keeper & Merchant		Tech-nicians & Craftsmen		Drivers		Factory Workers		Other Workers		Odaci & Kapici	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Iskilip Migrants In Ankara	67	6.8	223	22.7	65	6.66	213	21.7	91	9.3	57	5.8	118	12.0	146	15.0
General Ankara Employment	25678	6.7	67073	17.6	44922	11.7	55032	14.5	16238	5.3	7760	2.0	68051	17.9	67189	17.6
	Büyük Memur		Küçük Memur		Esnaf ve Tüccar		Teknis-yen ve Zenaatkar		Şoför		Fabrika İşçi		Diger İşçiler		Odaci Kapici	

TABLE XI

Occupational Distribution, In Percentages, In Iskilip,
Iskilip Occupations of Migrants, Iskilip Migrants in Ankara, and Ankara General

	<u>Iskilip General</u>	<u>Occupation In Iskilip of Migrants</u>	<u>Index</u>	<u>Occupations In Ankara of Iskilip Migrants</u>	<u>Occupational Distribution of Ankara's Labor Force</u>
Professionals	3.4	2.3	.67	6.8	6.7
Filing Clerks	8.3	3.8	.46	22.7	17.6
Merchants	9.1	3.1	.34	2.0	10.0
Shopkeepers	12.5	7.2	.57	4.7	13.5
Craftsmen	31.3	67.9	2.17	31.0	18.8
Farmers	8.3	--	--	--	7.6
Unskilled Workers	12.5	7.2	.58	12.0	6.1
Other Service Workers	14.2	8.7	.61	15.0	17.6
Factory Workers	--	--	--	5.8	22.0

Table X compares occupational distribution, using categories developed for the Ankara Iskilip "community" occupational structure. The Iskilip migrants are somewhat over represented in the lower white collar jobs, in craft and technical work, and in factory employment. They are under-represented in commerce. An explanation for the distribution will be made after the interviewing and analysis is completed. Perhaps when the Iskilip kaza village migrants are considered along with the town migrants, the occupational distribution will be more representative of the total Ankara labor force.

Residentially, the Iskilip migrants are widely distributed over the city. Except for the very poorest and the most expensive housing districts, Iskilipians are found everywhere in Ankara, with a pattern of a few areas of moderate concentration and otherwise of considerable scattering.

We may assert that Iskilip migrants are not atypical of the Ankara population, whether considered on the basis of origins of the metropolitan population or on occupational and residential distribution.

Are networks among migrants in Ankara a common phenomena or is this type of social organization peculiar to Iskilip migrants?

The network of communications based on town or village identity is probably a common phenomena not given serious academic attention because it is less structured and less obvious than sociological groups in the city. Since the people involved live in widely scattered areas, have such diverse occupational identities, and do not come together as a collectivity at any one time, the network is difficult to identify and trace.

In this research the "cemiyet" has been conceptualized as the formal expression of the informal social organization of the network. If this is an accurate representation of the reality, then the number of such small town welfare associations in Ankara should give some indication of just how common the networks really are. 36/

There were 5,800 voluntary associations registered at the Police General Headquarters (Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü) in Ankara as of September, 1970, of which approximately 430 were townsmen welfare associations. They represented communities from all areas of Turkey, excepting the Aegean and Marmara. The distribution of home communities of the "cemiyet"s reflects the geographical pattern of origins for migrants into Ankara.

These associations are of interest to the municipal government because the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare gives monetary grants to welfare organizations and there has been some concern about the authenticity of the various "cemiyet"s. The question is whether these are simply a few men working for their own benefit or whether they actually have a membership which represents and serves their townsmen in the city.

It has not been possible within the scope of this study to sample the numerous organizations and systematically interview the leadership for a comparison with the Iskilip "cemiyet." Occasionally one hears of a town association yearly dinner, a town's sports club, or an activity of that type; one sees numerous dormitories with town names over the entrance. Still, little is known and nothing published on the "cemiyet"s. Some people are inclined to dismiss these organizations as unimportant because of their informality and relative lack of structure. Yet from a detailed knowledge of the Iskilip "cemiyet" and fragmentary information on other such groups, it would seem that these small town welfare associations perform limited but important functions in the urban social system, and they are legitimate.

The Iskilip "cemiyet" was begun in 1957. The original members were nearly one hundred in number. More than half were in their thirties and ten were younger, and their average length of residence in Ankara was eighteen years. Of the early membership, approximately half held white collar jobs or were professional or businessmen; the other half were skilled workers such as carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, or drivers. The men who took the initiative in organizing the club were all high level government employees.

At the first formal meeting a speech was given on the purpose of the "cemiyet," that of bringing Iskilip men together. The emphasis on ties with Iskilip was expressed in the suggestion that a branch of the "cemiyet" be organized in Iskilip. Eventually this was accomplished, as well as organizing a student group in Ankara and a student and alumnae group in Istanbul. These organizations meet infrequently but do continue to function.

The initial overt goal of the "cemiyet" was to help poor students in Ankara and other needy people from Iskilip. Welfare work on a small scale was done for a number of years. Meetings were infrequent, but an annual dinner was held at which attendance was high.

By 1968, the stated goals of the organization had narrowed to one clear focus: to build and maintain a dormitory for Iskilip boy studying in Ankara. Toward this ambitious goal, considerable money has been raised through the annual dinner, sale of a yearly booklet on Iskilip, money from an Iskilip newspaper put out by students in Ankara, and small donations from the Ankara city government. A man from Iskilip has donated land in Ankara for the dormitory. It will probably be a number of years before the dormitory can be constructed, but the managing committee of the "cemiyet" continues to work toward this end.

FOOTNOTES

- 1/ For information on Turkey the reader is referred to the following bibliographies:

Selim Ilkin, et. al., Türkiye Ekonomi Bibliografyası, Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Administrative Sciences, Ankara 1969, Publication No. 13.

Gül Ergil, Türk Köylünde Modernleşme Eğilimleri Araştırması Rapor - II, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, Araştırma Şubesi, Toplum Araştırma Grubu, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1971.

Dr. Brian W. Beeley, Rural Turkey: A Bibliographic Introduction, Hacettepe University Publications, No. 10 Ankara, 1969.

- 2/ Second Five-Year Development Plan, 1968-1972, published by the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey, State Planning Organization 752, Ankara 1969, p. 62.

- 3/ Schnalberg, Allan, "Rural-Urban Residence and Modernization: A Study of Ankara Province, Turkey," in Demography, Vol. 7, No. 1 February, 1970, pp. 71-85. Data from the Ankara Family Study, in which 1138 married women living in Ankara city and four selected villages in Ankara Province were interviewed in 1965-66, were used to study the impact of the amount and timing of urban residential experience on six dimensions of modernism in attitudes and behavior. Scores on the modernisms indexes were higher for the women with urban residential experience.

- 4/ The Turkish Second Five Year Development Plan and the annual planning programs place considerable importance on the emergence of a hierarchy of urban centers in Turkey. "The main target is to achieve a settlement pattern characterized by a hierarchy of urban centers. . ." (State Planning Organization, 1971 Yılı Programı, Ankara, p. 692). At the top of this hierarchy will be a number of regional centers. Each regional center will regulate the interaction of the region with the other regions of the country. The centers lower in the hierarchy will develop ties with the rural areas so as to make them an integral part of the entire system. (Ibid., p.1)

The stated differences in the specialization of these centers will be accompanied by size differentiation. The centers higher in the hierarchy will provide all of the functions of the centers in the lower levels of the hierarchy as well as the additional specialized

functions. Consequently the center that has specialized functions will be of a size larger than the centers that do not have these functions.

- 5/ Gideon Sjoberg, "The Preindustrial City," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 60 (March, 1955), pp. 438-445.

The city in a pre-industrial society, as characterized by Sjoberg, was an urban community dominated by a small literate elite which controlled the political, military, religious, and educational institutions and derived its income from large landholdings and taxation of other classes. Trade and direct dealing in money were low status activities, often relegated to out-caste or foreign ethnic groups. Work involving physical labor held low prestige. Craftsmen organized into guilds for protections, forming endogamous, multifunctional subcommunities. The lack of mechanical sources of energy and the continual surplus of people in relation to production condemned the majority of urban dwellers to an existence as an underclass of menial laborers or servants. Spatially the center of the city was dominated by religious and political structures and by the residences of the elite. The poor lived near or outside the city walls. Of the total society, less than ten percent of the population lived in the city. Most people were peasants in small village communities dispersed throughout the countryside. Villages were culturally and structurally different from the urban center from which they were dominated.

- 6/ James Gillies and William Grigsby, "Classification Errors in Base-Ratio Analysis," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Winter, 1956, p. 17.
- 7/ It is difficult to identify government employment in terms of "townbuilding" or "town filling" group as far as income is concerned. In this report government employment is treated in accordance with their service areas: i.e., an "Imam" who works in a mosque within Iskilip is included in the service sector, although income may be considered as an export earning. The approach is adapted due to lack of data on taxes paid and government generated expenditures in the town.
- 8/ The relationship between the merchant and the villager or poor townsman is more complex than simply the sale or purchase of goods. For example, poor townsmen and villagers often deposit their small occasional surpluses of money with a merchant rather than in the impersonal and socially distant local bank.
- 9/ Even with the relatively small volume of business, the merchants are in the highest income category. The specialization and larger

capital requirements of the shops limit this activity to one group of wealthy families. The extended family form provides them with a means of avoiding the fractionalization of their capital, as well as diversifying their income sources. Thirty-six and one-half percent of these families own property in agricultural land units of over 100 "dönüm"s and in rented shops.

- 10/ The large migration from this group and its continuing high proportion of the labor force can be understood by a simple calculation. Given the fact that it takes seven to ten years to train a craftsman in the guild system and then the man practices his trade for forty years, the number of shop owners would at least triple in forty years. There is evidence that the proportion of craftsmen and the number of workshops was even higher in the past.
- 11/ The sources for information on village families in Iskilip are interviews and our Household Questionnaire.
- 12/ The number of males over fifteen in the town with no previous jobs has increased in the past decade. Girls over primary school age are listed simply as "women in the house" and not considered as unemployed. The unemployment of the young men must be due partly to the changing attitude toward crafts training plus the inability of poor families to meet school expenses. The lack of any prospects in craftwork and a lack of schooling creates a category of young men who wait for any job that requires no skills. It is likely that a considerable amount of this labor accompanies the female labor in the gardens.
- 13/ For a discussion of buffer mechanisms, see: Kiray, Mübeccel, Eregli, Karayollari Matbaasi, Ankara, 1964 (Devlet Planlama Teskilati).
- 14/ One distinct deviation from the pattern is the professionals. As educated men with government positions, they migrate through job transfer.
- 15/ In Ankara, residential areas are either "regular housing" or "gece-kondu". Structures in the "regular housing" areas are built according to municipal and national specifications. This housing usually is multi-dwelling unit and occupied by middle or upper social class families. With automobile ownership still low, such housing tends to be on main transportation routes. It is equipped with plumbing and electricity, but not always with central heating. Because the "mod cons" are so expensive to install, single detached houses for upper income families are extremely rare.

The word "gece-kondu" has at least two meanings. As a legal entity, the second article of the law 775 defines "gecekondu" as "a structure

built on land owned by someone else without the landowner's permission, without conforming to the rules that regulate construction and reconstruction."

Given the fact that almost all of the "gecekondu"s are built on State land, this legal definition encompasses residential areas that vary greatly in quality. There are "gecekondu" districts that fit the given definition and in which the quality of housing is better than in some regular housing areas.

Another definition of "gecekondu" is given by those who are concerned with the environmental aspect of the problem. The "gece-kondu"s are defined as structures with one or two rooms, built close to one another, with very little open space. The areas that are dominated by such structures are densely populated, with up to 1,000 persons per hectare, and have inadequate infrastructure.

The "gecekondu"s areas which conform to the second definition comprise less than half of the total "gecekondu" areas. Several studies on "gecekondu"s concentrated on the central "gece-kondu" areas that are comparatively old and in which the environment is the most deteriorated, but it would be mistaken to consider "gecekondu" and "slum" as synonymous terms. Most "gecekondu" houses are decent working class or lower middle class homes.

For the proportion of Ankara inhabitants in "gece-kondu"s, see: Dr. Turhan Yörükkan, Gecekondu ve Gecekondu Bölgelerinin Sosyo-Kültürel Özellikleri, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, 1968.

- 16/ Unemployment in Ankara in 1966 was 7.2 percent. Labor Force Survey in Selected Main Cities, August, 1966, State Institute of Statistics, Publication No. 538.
- 17/ Network analysis is gaining increasing currency among anthropologists and sociologists studying behavior in large urban communities. In the modern urban setting the familiar models of social behavior are not sufficient. Much of the interaction between individuals is not within bounded groups or the institutional framework of the society. To analyze only those relationships within and between groups is to ignore a major portion of human behavior. The interpenetration of institutional structure and network could be used to study the urbanization process. In urban institutions--occupational, school, recreational--the individual performs in terms of particular role behaviors and in reference to particular values. Familiarity with the institutionalized urban role behaviors and internalization of the urban values may be transmitted from actors within those systems to non-actors through various networks, among which are the townsmen networks.

See: J. Clyde Mitchell, "The Concept and Uses of Social Network" in Social Networks in Urban Situations. Manchester, Manchester University Press for Institute of Social Research, Zambia, 1969, and Alvin W. Wolfe, "On Structural Comparisons of Networks" forthcoming article in Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 1970.

- 18/ The number of jobs held by the average man in the lower income category is 1.8.
- 19/ The homes of the Middle Merchant are in Keçiören, Yenimahalle, Enekk Mahallesi, the regular housing areas of Cebeci, and a few in Mamak. The Ordinary Man's families are primarily in the "gece-kondu"s around Ulus, in Mamak, and in Dikmen.
- 20/ There are 65 shopkeepers and merchants in the population. About 25 fit into the Middle Merchant category and 7 are Wealthy Merchants. Among the latter category, five are two sets of brothers.
- 21/ About 72 lower white collar workers in our population live in the regular housing areas. Detailed data on this category will be presented in a later report, but at the present we can say that these are men in their late thirties or older and have primary school education. The type of jobs they hold are currently being filled by lycee or even university graduates as younger men with more schooling enter the labor force.
- 22/ Yenimahalle, Cebeci, Ayrancı, Bahçelievler.
- 23/ None regard professional colleagues as close to them in friendship as the townsmen. Those at high governmental managerial level and professionals who have moved frequently during their careers have broader social contacts, but even they respond to the townsmen identity. An outsider or foreigner in Turkey is impressed with the lack of personal identity derived from profession. Closest ties are with family, with friends with whom one went to school, and with townsmen. In the smaller community these basic groups overlap in personnel and are thus further intensified in significance for the individual.
- 24/ Ten percent of the men marry from outside Iskilip, with 7 percent from within the Çorum "vilayet" and 3 percent from outside the "vilayet."
- 25/ Iskilip people enjoy one another's company for obvious reasons. They have an interest in their community of origin and in its history. Hours may be spent comparing various explanations of how Iskilip customs came into existence. They feel that Iskilip is distinct from and superior to all other communities in their area. Also, when Iskilip people come together they discuss mutually known events and people.

A continuous stream of visitors into Ankara and back from Ankara keeps the news and gossip circuit alive. It is rather like belonging to an extension of an extended family. When two Iskilipians meet, they first establish whom they know in common and any possible kin in common. With social identities and relative status thus established, social interaction can proceed more comfortably in accordance with a shared set of definitions of the situation. It is a familiar social island in the somewhat alien metropolitan milieu.

- 26/ Halil Inalcik, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kurulu' ve İnkişafı Devrinde Türkiye'nin İktisadi Vaziyeti Üzerinde bir Tetkik Münasebetiyle" *Bulleten, Cilt, XV, Sayı 6, (Ekim 1951), Den Aynı Basın, Türk Tarihi Kurumu Basımevi, 1952, pp. 664-665.*
- 27/ Tugrul Akçura, "Optimal Şehir Blyüklüğü ve Türk Şehirleri," pp. 63-94, in *Dokuzuncu İskan ve Şehircilik, Konferansları, Ankara Üniversitesi, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, No. 284, İskan ve Şehircilik Enstitüsü, Enstitü Yayınları No. 12, 1968.*
- 28/ Most people refer to these government entities as "vilayet," "kaza", and "nahiye," but the official terms recently introduced as pure Turkish are "il," "ilçe," and "bucak."
- 29/ Arslan Başarır, "Basic Features of the Turkish Local Government and National Development," *Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Middle East, Ankara, 1968, p. 156.*
- 30/ This type of employee is a man who performs personal services for the white collar worker, such as bringing tea or running errands. It is an example of disguised unemployment.
- 31/ The province is a local self governmental unit as well as a branch of the central government. An executive assembly has members elected from each district within the "vilayet." This body elects a standing committee of four from among its members in order to carry out the work of the assembly when it is not in session. The Governor is the chairman of this committee. Most functions at this level of government, however, are performed through the central administrative hierarchy and not by the elected assembly.
- 33/ Dr. Ruşen Keleş, "The Existing Trends Toward Development" in Local Government and National Development, published by the Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Middle East, Ankara, 1966, p. 75.
- 34/ Çorum İl Yıllığı 1967, İçişleri Bakanlığı.
- 35/ Tugrul Akçura, Ankara, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti Hakkında Monografik Bir Araştırma, *Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1970 pp. 2 - 15 and 2 - 16.*

36/ "At Istanbul University the students tend to bunch together in groups according to the provinces from which they came. . .Just as an obvious special camaraderie exists in later life between person who have received lycee or university training in the same school, there also tends to be a special bond between persons from the same "memleket," or place of origin, even though they have nothing else in common. . . Moreover, in Turkey's largest cities there usually are formal associations of persons from various other provinces--associations designed to maintain ties with the original "memleket"and to aid it where possible."

Frederick W. Frey, The Turkish Political Elite, The M.I.T. Press, Massachussetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. 1965, p. 90.