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Discussion Paper No. 10

URBANIZATION AND MODERNIZATION IN TURKEY

- A Case Study -

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In Turkey, as in most of the developing world, the rapid urbanization of the nation brings not only the problems caused by a sudden crush of people in a limited space but a promise as well. Generally planners in Turkey have, if not actually equating urbanization with modernization, at least assumed that urbanization of the population will promote modernization. The official policy stated in the Second Five Year Plan was: (1) Urbanization will hasten industrialization through economies of scale and external economies. (2) Urbanization will transform labor from traditional self-sufficient production to production for the market. (3) Urbanization of the population will create values and attitudes that facilitate increased productivity and general modernity. (1)

For the extent of urban growth in Turkey, see Table 1.

Even a cursory examination of the actual situation leads to a questioning of this optimistic view of urbanization in Turkey. Indeed, the three metropolises and the larger cities in the western regions are modern, but they also seem engulfed by an over growth of gecekondu neighborhoods which appear a direct transplant of traditional life and economy from the countryside.

In the research on which this report is based, we examined the urbanization of a sample of migrants into Ankara, the nation's

capital and its largest and most rapidly growing urban center. Has urbanization resulted in modernization? Ankara is still only fourteenth in industrial production of Turkey's cities. Has the labor force been transformed from traditional sector to modern sector through urban living? Have the migrants become modern in their behaviors, attitudes and values? It is to these questions that the research was addressed.

In attempting to determine the extent to which urbanization transforms the labor force and results in modernization, we were constantly confronted with the fact of a dual economy and a dual society, the modern and the traditional, not only at the national level with its urban and rural dichotomy, but also within the urban socio-economic structures. It might be argued that the modern is the thrust of the future and the traditional merely a hold-over from the rural past and destined to disappear. Present day Ankara, however, is a new city; 70% of its residents were born outside its municipal boundaries. It has grown from a small city of 25,000 at the beginning of the Republic to over one million inhabitants in 1970. Whatever is traditional sector in the metropolitan area came in with the migrants, is sustained by them, and is certainly as much a reality in Ankara as is the modern sector.

The terms "modern" and "traditional" need clarification. For the purposes of this research, the description and analysis of the behavior of people moving from communities still rooted in a traditional

system into a modern city, we found it useful to distinguish between two basic aspects of behavior, that related to the economy and that related to private or family life. In economic terms, modern and traditional differ in several dimensions: the level of specialization, size and organization of the work unit, the market served. The second aspect we called, for want of a better term, the life style. It includes family roles and the nature of participation in the larger community, the extent to which the household is a unit of production for the goods it consumes, the nature of training and education of children for adult roles and responsibilities.

In the traditional economy, the work unit is small and the level of specialization is low. The market served is generally local or, at most, regional. In a craftsman's shop, for example, a master workman with a few apprentices produces each item from beginning to its completion and then possibly even markets his own products to families he personally knows. There are traveling merchants marketing over a region, but the scale is small compared with modern practices. As indicators of the modern sector we have taken not only technology and types of goods produced, but also these features of organization. A craftsman may produce chairs in a traditional manner, or with the same technology chairs may be mass produced for a distant market by many workmen each specialized in one operation.

TABLE 1
POPULATION CHANGES IN TURKEY
(IN THOUSANDS)

		1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970*
National Population	Number	17,821	18,799	20,947	24,065	27,755	31,391	35,867
	Index	100	105	117	135	156	176	200
Total Urban Population	Number	3,215	3,475	3,919	5,415	7,193	9,343	13,818
	Index	100	108	122	168	223	290	429
Urban places of 100,000 or more Population	Number	1,135	1,364	1,721	2,434	3,363	4,799	6,738
	Index	100	120	151	214	296	414	593
Urban places over 100,000 except Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir	Number	0	101	222	418	886	1,649	2,760
	Index	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Istanbul within Municipal Boundaries (W.M.B)	Number	794	861	983	1,269	1,467	1,743	2,248
	Index	100	108	123	159	184	219	283
Ankara (W.M.B.)	Number	157	227	289	451	650	906	1,209
	Index	100	144	184	287	414	577	770
Izmir (W.M.B.)	Number	184	193	227	296	360	411	521
	Index	100	107	123	160	195	223	283

* provisional figures

SOURCES: Tuğrul, Akçura, Ankara, Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Başkenti hakkında Demografik bir araştırma, O.D.T.Ü., 1970, p. 2-14

State Institute of Statistics, 25 Ekim 1970 Genel Nüfus Sayımı

The type of training required differs for modern sector skills than for traditional sector skills. In the traditional sector, the individual spends years in apprenticeship with master, not only acquiring skills but absorbing attitudes and values of patience, obedience and respect for authority. The classroom of the modern sector replaces the master with a teacher and students responsible for learning an ever-changing body of information.

In life style the shift is from the traditional joint household and extended family to the ideal of the nuclear family and household. With the individualism of modern sector life, women and young men find identities and activities outside the family circle. One of the new sources of identity is occupational or professional affiliation and, for the middle classes, membership in voluntary associations. Another indicator in the shift from traditional to modern is the increasing purchase of food and clothing from the market rather than production and processing within the household unit. In education, the modern style is to send children to school rather than apprenticeship and to prolong the period of childhood dependence before the individual enters the labor market or the marriage market.

The application of the dichotomy of traditional-modern to Ankara created problems. Level of specialization is difficult, if not impossible to measure; the size of the market served is distorted by Ankara's predominant employment in national administrative agencies and the minute fraction of the labor force in manufacturing

and, again, because of the large State employment the size of the work unit is difficult to measure. In Chapter II occupational changes among our migrants is analyzed using definitions of modern or traditional sector relevant to the city of Ankara. The question is whether men in the labor force undergo a period of reorientation and retraining after migration from the rural countryside into Ankara.

Modernization of life-style through migration is too subtle and complex a matter to be posed in its entirety in this research. Instead, in Chapter III, we examine an important indicator of the process: the type of housing, the manner in which the first residence is located, subsequent changes in residences, and visiting patterns within and between neighborhoods. Our migrants are proportionally represented in modern residential areas and in gecekondü areas. (2) Our research findings have highlighted the particular meanings and implications of traditional and modern styles of life in the city.

There exists then in Ankara two sectors in employment and two in life styles as reflected in types of residences. Ankara's system of stratification is relatively new and still in flux, but the outlines are already clear. In Chapter IV six class levels are defined. Because Ankara continues to expand, a relevant question becomes: What are the characteristics of families being recruited into each class level? Our migrants in Ankara are,

with one exception, representative of the general urban population and should therefore give a reasonably accurate picture of the process. They are representative in their distribution throughout the residential areas of the city, and in their occupational distribution, with the noted exception. Seventy percent of Ankara's inhabitants were born outside the municipal boundaries. Of these, seventy percent originate from within a 150 kilometer radius of Ankara and the communities of origin of our migrants are typical Anatolian towns and villages.

It should be emphasized that the town and the village are very different types of communities and the migrants from each differ significantly. Although in recent years the numbers of town migrants and village migrants into Ankara have been nearly equal, their progress in the urban society has been most unequal. They move into the system at different class levels and have differing rates of social mobility.

The research design of this study was discussed in the previous Discussion Paper. (3) Briefly, all the migrants into Ankara from one town, Iskilip of the Çorum il, and from a sample of the town's hinterland villages were located. Research on the town itself was addressed to the question of who is migrating and why.

There are from the town approximately 1100 heads of household with their families who are now residents of Ankara. Some 760 village families have migrated from the ilçe into Ankara. Among

town migrants in the city has emerged an informal social organization, a network of communication based on community identity. This network spans the urban area spatially and cuts paths across class barriers, providing the town migrant with access to others from his home community from whom he may receive assistance, advice, or simply sociability in the unfamiliar urban environment. The village migrant is at best marginal to the town social network.

CHAPTER II

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

THE TOWN MIGRANT AND THE ANKARA OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Prior to a discussion of the occupational changes among the migrants in Ankara, the Iskilip and village migrants are compared with the general Ankara occupational distribution. The comparison, presented in Table 2, indicates for what segment of the Ankara labor force the present analysis is valid. Inferences may be drawn for the city of Ankara as a whole on the basis of information gathered on the Iskilip migrants.

It would seem that Iskilip migrants have been consistently underrepresented in certain occupational groups and over-represented in others. The Iskilip migrants are under-represented in top government administrative posts and in highly specialized self employed professionals. (1) The relatively small proportion of the Iskilip migrants in this first group should not lead to the conclusion that the absolute number of Iskilip born in that category is below the average of other communities giving migration to Ankara. Rather, the relatively lower proportion is due to the proximity of the town to the metropolis and thus the large number of migrants from it.

Table 2: The occupational distribution of Ankara household heads and the present jobs held by Iskilip immigrants in Ankara*

	Ankara General		Iskilip townsmen immigrants		Iskilip village migrants	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1. Specialized Technical Personnel and Liberal Occupations (doctors, peofs., lawyers), administrators, inspectors, generals, entrepreneurs, importers, exporters, etc.	549	18.32	5	3.10	-	-
2. Less specialized Technical Personnel and Liberal occupations (nurses, teachers, etc.), clerks in public and private sector, and those in specialized services (important tailors, polis commissairs etc.)	730	24.36	36	22.36	1	1.4
3. Petty mercharts, the owners of important shops	124	4.13	4	2.50	-	-
4. Shop keepers, sales clerks and craftsmen	430	14.35	44	27.33	9	12.7
5. Construction, quarry and metal workers and unqualified workers	258	8.61	15	9.32	23	32.4
6. Factory workers and those in transportation and communication (drivers, PTT distributors etc.)	345	11.51	21	13.00	1	1.4
7. Unspecialized service workers such as servants, cooks, doormen, shoe shiners, watchmen and water salers.	428	14.28	36	22.36	37	52.1
8. Farmer and related to farming	14	0.46	-	-	-	-
9. Retired people, students, those living on pension and others	118	3.93	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	2996	100.0	161	100.0	71	100.00

* Source: Akçura, Tuğrul, and Ankara immigrant questionnaires

No research has been published specifically on the origins of particular occupational groups or social classes in Ankara, but a casual knowledge of top level professionals, bureaucrats, and businessmen gives the definite impression that most are from Istanbul and Izmir, with some from the larger provincial cities. The old urban elites are disproportionately moving into the upper reaches of the occupational structure in the nation's capital.

Ankara is predominantly a city of migrants, with 70% of its residents born outside the municipal boundaries. With 10% of these migrants coming from within a radius of 150 kilometers, it is also an Anatolian city. The well-explored variable of distance in relation to migration plays a more important role for those migrants who move to the bottom or middle of the urban social system⁽²⁾ The nearby poor or ordinary family can manage the move. As the metropolis grows, it pulls in more and more of the ordinary citizens in the immediate vicinity as it imposes structural changes in the traditional village and urban communities in its influence area. As the original occupational structures of the small communities give way, the townsmen and villagers move to the center in increasing numbers. Once the process begins, established paths of communication ease the later migration into the metropolitan center from its influence area.

The same process also explains the over representation of Iskilip migrants in 4,5, and 7 (Table 2.) (The differences between the town and village migrants will be discussed in another context.)

The Iskilip townsmen migrants seem to be proportionally represented in the second group of Table 2 but the situation requires further exploration. Of forty townsmen in that category, fourteen (35%) have primary school education, two (5%) have university education, and the remaining 60% have middle school (sixteen in number) or lise education (eight in number.)⁽³⁾

Detailed data is not available on the educational level of the Ankara population by given occupational groups, but there is evidence that the second category has, on the average, a much higher level of schooling than do our Iskilip men in that group. The same difference is true with regard to the proportion of category two Iskilip migrants who live in gecekondu areas.

THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIGRANTS

Migration from rural areas and traditional small urban centers to the metropolis transforms, it is assumed, the labor force from the traditional to the modern sector of the society. The distinction, however, between traditional sector and modern sector is often vague. Employment in Ankara is predominantly with the government or created by the government. When faced with the problem of whether to designate all government employment as modern, we at first hesitated but finally decided to do so. Clearly, the higher level officials are modern in their schooling and in their activities. Other employment categories, such as errand runners and doormen, seem a retention from a medieval past; and the overstaffing of all government bureaucracies is political

rather than economic in its rationality. Still, government employment does bring employees into the modern sector by requiring increasingly higher levels of schooling and gradual upgrading of personnel, by employing modern technology and procedures, and by using the State as a mechanism for modernization of the economy.

With merchants and shopkeepers and service people, the criteria we used for modern sector or traditional was the type of customer they served. If they serve the modern with modern goods and services, they are to that measure modern, at least in occupation. Also modern are workmen skilled in the use of modern machines.

The categories are:

Modern

1. Professionals and all government employees, including the unskilled.
2. Merchants, shopkeepers, and service personnel catering to modern sector families
3. Technicians and drivers
4. Factory workers

Traditional

1. Shopkeepers, merchants, peddlers, petty traders, and service personnel catering to traditional sector families
2. Craftsmen
3. Unskilled workers, such as porters, in the traditional sector.

The occupational groups given in Table 2 imply a distinction as to whether the employment is in the modern or traditional sector, and

the categories in Tables 4 and 5 are devised specifically for making the distinction.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF LABOR FROM TRADITIONAL SECTOR TO MODERN SECTOR.

It was our working hypothesis that the transformation effects of migration (i.e. the shifting of labor from traditional small-unit handicraft to modern large scale industrial and specialized service sector) would not be significant between the last job in Iskilip and the first job in Ankara. Logically, such change, involving retraining and reorientation should take place during the first few years in Ankara and be reflected in the second and later jobs held by the migrant. The crucial factor in the urbanization and modernization process is not simply spatial relocation but a subsequent series of behavioral and attitudinal changes accompanied by shifts in occupations.

To test this hypothesis, we divided the changes in occupations into two periods: 1. The comparison of the last job in Iskilip with the first job in Ankara, and 2. the first job in Ankara to the present job. We expected the shift into modern sector employment during the latter period to be more significant than the former.

One measure of the change in the quality of the labor force is the change in the proportion of the occupational groups, which were devised on the basis of level of specialization, size of the market served, and size of the work unit. Unfortunately, there is considerable

internal variation within each occupational group; the groups are not homogenous with regard to productivity, size of work unit, employment security, and markets served. Despite these handicaps the changes in the proportions of the occupational groups are highly informative.

Another significant indicator of the transformation of the labor force is the overall changes in the employment status, that is, whether a man works for an employer or is self-employed. An important carrier to the creation of large scale production units with differentiated units producing different components of the final product is the value associated with being the owner and manager of one's own shop. The dominance of the owner-operated work unit in the traditional crafts, and the guild as a system of organization, have important consequences for attitudes, values, and the intergenerational occupational mobility as may be required by changing market demands. In cases where the shop is owned; the business is transferred to the son, and there is a struggle to perpetuate the father's occupation even after migration to Ankara.

Occupational Changes Between Iskilip and Ankara

The occupational distribution of the Iskilip migrant before migration in comparison with the first job in Ankara is set forth in Table 4; and Table 5 shows the occupational changes which have taken place after migration into Ankara. The average length of stay for the migrant in Ankara is 18.6 years.

Of the 161 heads of household interviewed in Ankara, 124 held a job in Iskilip before migration to Ankara. The comparisons between

the Iskilip occupations and the first occupations in Ankara show that 46% of the migrants remained in the same craft or type of work as in Iskilip.

From Table 4, we see that the most dramatic decrease is in the proportion of craftsmen. The craftsmen such as weavers of sackcloth, saddlemakers, blacksmiths, or tinplaters are becoming outdated even in Iskilip, and it is this type of craftsmen who changed occupations. A high proportion (81%) of the shoe makers (now shoe repairmen) and tailors continued practicing in the same crafts as in Iskilip.

The occupational group "unskilled wage earners and other un-specialized service workers" increased from 13.7% in Iskilip to 33.5% in Ankara, though with an important change in the composition of the category. In Iskilip this category consists almost exclusively of "amele", an unskilled worker who is on the labor market every day for whatever work is available. Such a worker earns, on the average, for only one hundred days in a year. In Ankara, however, the shift is away from "amele" to "odaci" (doorman and errand runner in an office). As "odaci" the man has a secure income with the government and certainly finds the work much less laborious than as "amele".

Employment status (whether a worker is self-employed or salaried) of the labor force changes with migration into the metropolis. Seventy percent of labor force in Iskilip town center and all of the Iskilip villagers are self-employed. In Ankara, 28.6% of the Iskilip migrants are self-employed. Category 7, the unskilled, are largely without salary, hence defined as "self-employed", in Iskilip. Because of government offices and larger work establishments in Ankara which hire the

unskilled, the 86% self-employed unskilled in Iskilip is reduced to 23% among Ankara migrants.

Occupational Changes after Migration to Ankara

Although the Ankara townsmen migrants in our sample have been in the city for an average of 18.6 years, basic occupational changes during this period have been less than expected. Of the 124 in the labor force in Iskilip, 58 men remained in the same occupational group from their Iskilip job to their first Ankara job. Between the first job in Ankara and the present job, only 34 changed occupations. Two-thirds (23) of this 34 moved in or out of group 7, the lowest paid and less desirable work.

The migrants whose first jobs were either "professional white collar" or "general clerk" remained as such. Of the other 128 heads of household, 63 changed their work at least once. Even of those who change occupations, the trend is toward stability. The average time in the first job for those who changed jobs is 26 months. For the twenty-three who have held three or more jobs, the later jobs tend to be more stable than the earlier. The second job lasted for 48 months; the fourth, for 64 months.

There are certain types of jobs that, once secured, the migrants seem unwilling to leave:

1. "general clerk" All migrants in that category are government employees, the clerks who man the front offices and sit behind desks in the innumerable government buildings of Ankara. Anyone who has dealt with the complexities, arbitrariness and yet legalisms of the Turkish bureaucracy will have vivid memories of the general clerk or

"memur". The "memur" holds a special significance in Turkey. In the past, when only the elite was expected to be literate, the "memur" was especially privileged and respected. The special skill requirements of the office, other than literacy, have always been vague. In recent times the term "memur" refers to any government white collar worker, from the top of the hierarchy to the bottom. As the bureaucracy proliferates, the status and pay of government clerks is losing relative to the more dynamic private sector; but of the small town migrant heads of household/are in that category, and of these, 26 were previously unskilled workers, craftsmen, drivers, or shopkeepers.

2. "salaried unskilled service workers or unskilled laborer"

Again, this type of employment is usually with the government. The self-employed unskilled seek these jobs because the incomes are three times higher than looking for work on a daily basis or even keeping a small shop.

3. "technicians and drivers" An explanation of the stability of this category lies in the level of income, discussed below.

4. "factory worker" With the unionization of labor, the job is secure and the income is relatively high.

The proportion of the self-employed Iskilip migrants was 29% during the first job in Ankara and increased to 31% for the present job, but the increase is more apparent than real. Obviously, category 2 of Table 5 is self-employed, and there is little movement into that occupation because of capital requirements. Category 1 may be self-employed, but in Ankara most are government salaried employees and none

in our sample are self-employed. Category 3 is salaried, as are factory workers, group 6. The self-employment in our sample is among craftsmen, technicians and drivers, and unskilled workers. Thirty-six percent of these men were self-employed in their first job in Ankara and the overall increase for the three groups is 40%. This is primarily because of craftsmen who came to Ankara as journeymen in another man's shop. After an average of thirty months they rented a room of their own and began practicing their craft, usually as tailors, shoe repairmen, or barbers.

Income and Occupational Change

Difficulties arise with the analysis of the impact of income differentials by occupational groups on occupational mobility. It is known that major changes in income by occupational groups took place for State employees. (7) 51 percent of total Iskilip migrants are State employees. As a result, the extent to which the occupational changes prior to 1970 were a response to occupational income differentials is not known.

The income by occupations given in Table 6 show the present differences. The average income of the Iskilip town migrant in Ankara is 95% higher than the Iskilip town average, and 61% higher than that of the Iskilip village migrants in Ankara.

TABLE: 3 The occupational distribution of the Iskilip town center, occupational background of the Iskilip migrants and their first jobs in Ankara

	<u>Iskilip town center % of labor force</u>	<u>% self employed</u>	<u>Occupational background of migrants % of migrant population</u>	<u>% self- employed</u>	<u>Migrants' first jobs in Ankara. % of labor force</u>	<u>% self employment</u>
1. Professional white collar	3.4	33.3	0.3	-	3.7	-
2. Merchants and shopkeepers	21.6	0.0	6.4	-	6.8	-
3. General Clerks	8.3	0.0	2.4	-	16.8	0.0
4. Technician and driver	5.1	78.0	9.7	66.7	14.9	50.0
5. Craftsmen	26.2	91.1	64.5	89.1	18.6	47.0
6. Factory worker	-	-	-	-	5.6	-
7. Unskilled wage earners and other service workers	26.7	68.2	13.7	86.4	33.5	23.0
8. Farmer	8.3	100.0	2.4	-	-	-

Source: Iskilip household questionnaire and Ankara Immigrant Questionnaire.

* The data for employment status is based on a sample of 132 town households, and 161 townsmen in Ankara. The figure is not given where the number of cases is insignificant.

TABLE: 4 The Iskilip occupations of the migrants and their first jobs in Ankara

	OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION									Total
	IN ISKILIP			IN ANKARA						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1. Professional upper white collar	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
2. Merchant & shop keeper	-	5	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	8
3. General clerk	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
4. Technician & driver	-	1	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
5. Craftsmen	-	5	5	5	26	5	34	-	-	80
6. Factory worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
7. Unskilled wage earner and other service worker	-	-	2	2	-	-	13	-	-	17
8. Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
9. Student and those with no previous job*	5	-	17	5	4	4	2	-	-	37
TOTAL	6	11	27	24	30	9	54	0-0	-	161
Self-created employment	-	7	-	11	15	-	12	-	-	46

* The category "those with no previous job" is almost exclusively comprised of those who have migrated with their families.

The average monthly income from primary occupation is 711 TL in Iskilip town, but the real increase in income is more than 96% for the town migrants. The income distribution curve of the Iskilip households and of Iskilip migrants in Ankara shows that the wealthiest 7% of the families in Iskilip receive 37.4% of the total income. This group gives little outmigration. Excluding the income received by this wealthiest group of families, the average monthly income from the primary occupation is 607 TL in Iskilip. The average income of the town migrants represents a 129% increase over the average income in Iskilip. Likewise, the average Iskilip village migrant earns 42% above the average income in Iskilip town. Rough estimates of total household income (including cash income, value of goods produced for home consumption, and income from seasonal employment in or outside of the village) in the villages from which the migrants originate shows that the average family income of the village migrants in Ankara is more than twice the village average.

The analysis of income and level of education by occupational groups, and the occupations that tend to increase proportionately show that there is a high correlation between the average income of a group and the tendency toward entry into that occupation. (5)

This is true except for merchants, professional white collar workers, and shopkeepers.

Salaried technicians and drivers, craftsmen, and unskilled service workers earn, on the average, 20% more than the self-employed. The salaried migrants also have more education than the self-employed

(34% of self-employed are illiterate vs. 17% for the former.) The self-employed are a most diverse category, including wealthy merchants, shopkeepers, as well as peddlers and men in the "amele pazari". (6)

The Gecekondu and Employment Opportunities

The employment status by occupation^{al} groups, the distribution of the workplace as shown in the map, the way the first jobs are found, and the subsequent moves out of certain occupations and into certain others give insight into key variables in migration and in employment. (7)

Seventeen percent of the migrants came to Ankara seeking not a job but a shop in a gecekondu area, and they bring with them their craft tools from Iskilip. Most of these are shoe repairmen (former producers), tailors, and barbers. Another 20% of the heads of household created their own employment. The capital requirements of peddling fruits and vegetables, or selling animal feed in gecekondu areas to those who keep chickens, a cow, are very low, perhaps a few hundred lira. It is interesting to note that two men who began with grocery shops shifted jobs to become "odaci" in a state economic enterprise. (See Table 5) In fact, three shopkeepers responded during the interviewing, "I could not get a job as an "odaci" so I started my own business."

The sharp cleavage of the city of Ankara into a lower and a middle social strata (as reflected in the tremendous variation in the quality of housing and the difference between the two central business districts of Ankara--Ulus and Kizilay) generates employment for traditional crafts and services. This is evidenced in the distribution of work places.

THE CURVE OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN İSKİLİP
AND FOR THE İSKİLİP IMMIGRANTS IN ANKARA

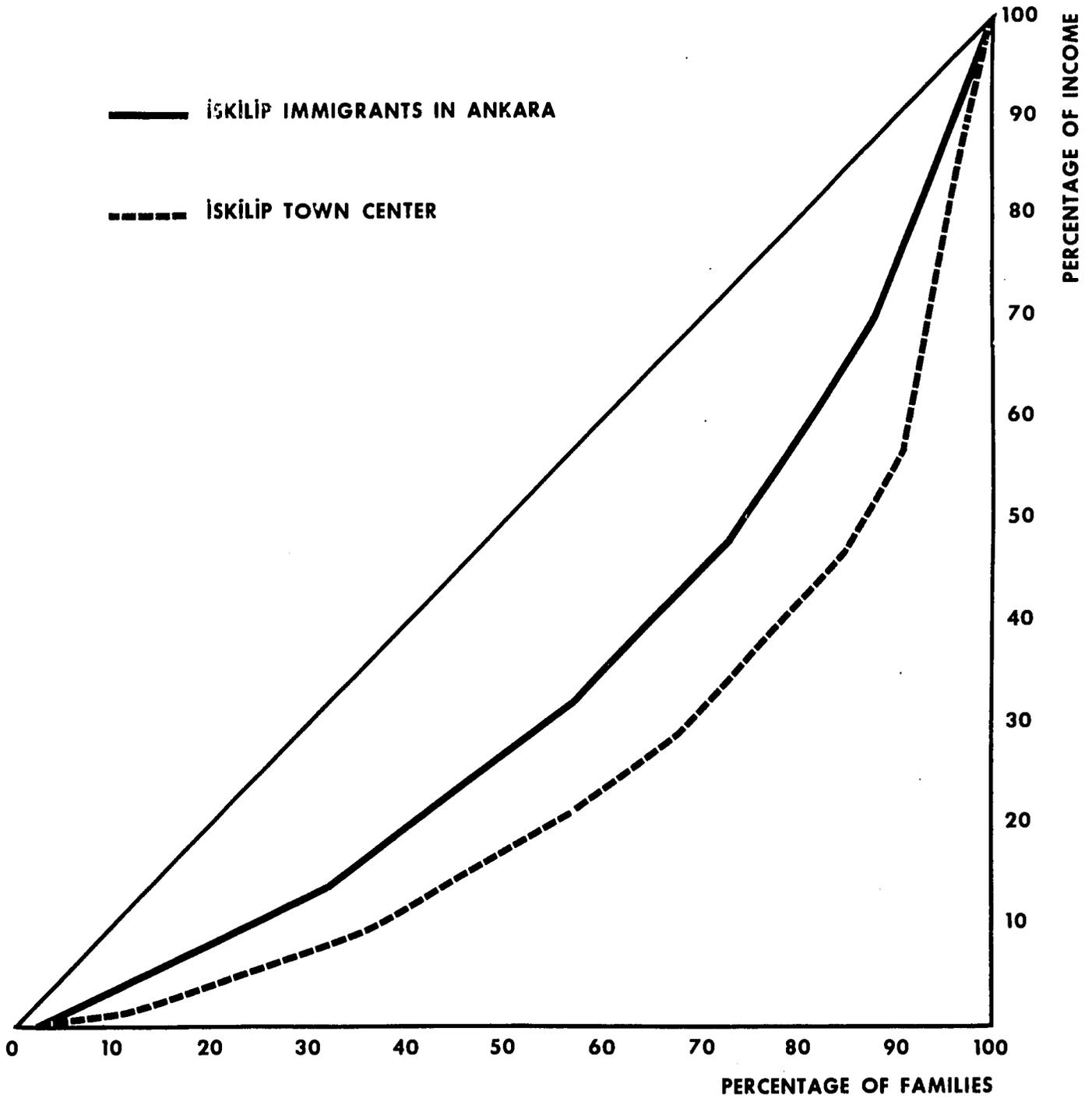


TABLE: 6 The comparisons in monthly incomes from primary occupations

	Iskilip town*		Iskilip town immigrants in Ankara		Iskilip village immigrants in rank	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Income</u>
1. Professional white collar worker	6	1944	8	3019	0	-
2. Filing clerk	11	726	36	1402	1	900
3. Merchant	7	2066	3	5350	0	-
4. Shop keeper	19	496	7	1965	5	1300
5. Craftsmen	31	378	30	1110	1	700
6. Farmer	13	1270	-	-	-	-
7. Factory worker	-	-	-	910	1	1100
8. Technician and Driver	10	655	-	1346	1	650
9. Unskilled wage earner	19	202	-	1100	19	844
10. Other service Worker	17	268	-	827**	23	785
Average		753		1388		861

* Total annual income from all sources is divided by 12, because it is impossible to separate the income from primary occupation from that which accrues through farming for self-consumption (see discussion paper no. 1)

** There is tremendous variation in this group. Incomes vary from 200 TL a month for peddlers to 1700 TL for some experienced "odaci"s.

Of the 55 craftsmen, shopkeepers, technicians, and unskilled service workers who are self-employed all located in Ulus, if not in a gecekondu area, and almost exclusively serve the gecekondu population of poorer town migrants and the village migrants.

The rapid growth of the gecekondu areas in the decades of 1940-60 has resulted in population of sufficient size and density to support employment from the traditional subculture. Despite the fact that two thirds of the migrants who were craftsmen in Iskilip have shifted to other occupations, still craftsmen constitute the second largest category because of employment opportunities in the gecekondu. In our sample, the proportion of unskilled workers decreased somewhat. The reason is that the craftsmen who migrated to Ankara before the 1960's were likely to take jobs as unskilled laborers; but with the expansion of the gecekondu neighborhoods after that time, the craftsmen could, when he moved into the city, set up his shop to make tin stoves or donkey saddles or tinsplate copper pots and pans, just as he had done in the town.

As stated, a number of craftsmen, shopkeepers, and peddlers came with the intention of setting up their Iskilip business in Ankara; others were forced to do so.

Seventeen percent of the Iskilip migrant heads of household came to Ankara specifically for the purpose of renting a shop to which they moved their tools. Of these twenty men, two located in Ulus one began a grocery in a regular housing area, and all of the remaining located in gecekondu areas, mostly in Yenidogan. (See the map) Another group of eighteen heads of household came to Ankara, sought a job for

an average of somewhat less than a month, and then decided to start their own business in Ankara. About half of these eighteen are included in the group "unskilled service workers and unskilled wage earners" such as peddlers, green grocers in the gecekondu areas, shoe shiners, etc. The geographic distribution of these work places is the same as with the twenty mentioned above, except that none are established in Ulus or in a regular shop, the rent for which would exhaust his small earnings.

Such work has not served as a step toward employment in high paying jobs in the modern urban sector. In fact, 31 of the 39 are still practicing in the same job as they did when they first settled in Ankara.

Nearly one-third (31%) of our townsmen migrants are not dependent upon the necessity of finding a job in the city nor do they act in terms of a wage differential between the destination and the place of origin. The ability to transfer the Iskiliip job to Ankara without changes in the style or quality of the goods produced or services offered is basically a result of the composition of the urban population.

To the above groups one could add, with certain reservations, another 21% of the total immigrant population. These are the craftsmen, some shopkeepers, and technicians located in Ulus and serving the gecekondu people.

Some one-half of townsmen in our sample derive their living from the continuation of traditional life styles and patterns of consumption in the gecekondu areas. With the inevitable decline in the market for their produce and services, they are in a most vulnerable position.

CHAPTER III

HOUSING

Separating life styles in Ankara into either traditional or modern is an obvious over-simplification of the reality, but it has certain advantages for present purposes. Broadly, the distinction follows what is known as regular housing and gecekondu housing. Refinements and gradations can be inferred from the discussion in Chapter IV of social class.

Regular housing is built to conform to government standards. It is generally constructed of cement in multi-dwelling units with electricity and water and on developed land along a paved street. Gecekondus vary widely in quality but most are small houses built by the owner on undeveloped land to which he has no legal claim. The regular housing is constructed by a contractor and reflects the requirements of economies of construction. The gecekondu is constructed by the family and friends and more likely duplicates the alignment of rooms and use of space from the home community.

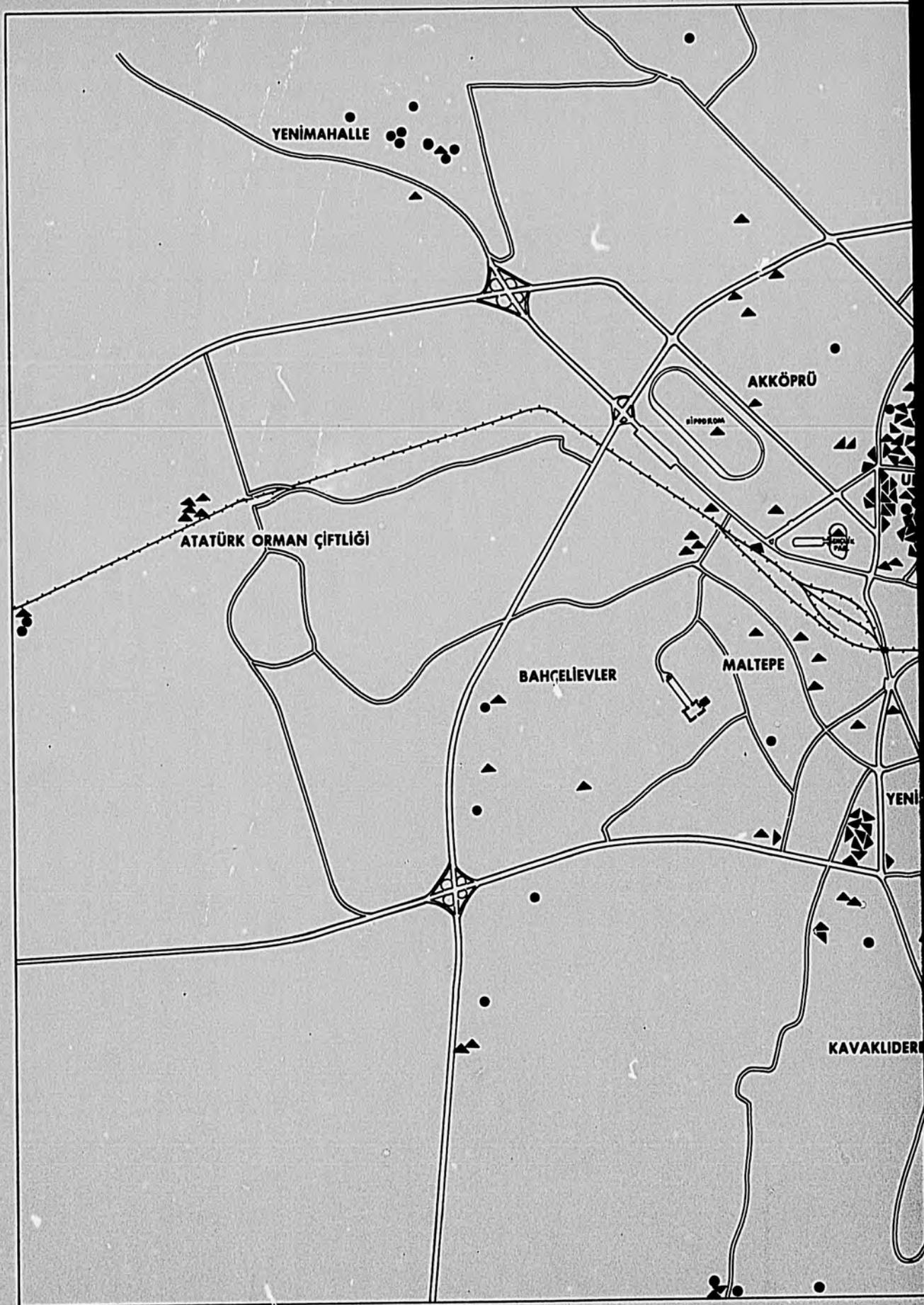
We emphasize housing because it is a visible and accessible indicator of life style, but is certainly not the only one. It would be most enlightening to study changing family roles, but family ties are so significant at all levels of Turkish society that any meaningful analysis would be too complex to undertake in this report. Similarly, on other aspects of household, family, and neighborhood behavior, attitudes, and values, we can only offer general observations. For example, gecekondu families are more likely to continue with the traditional pattern of

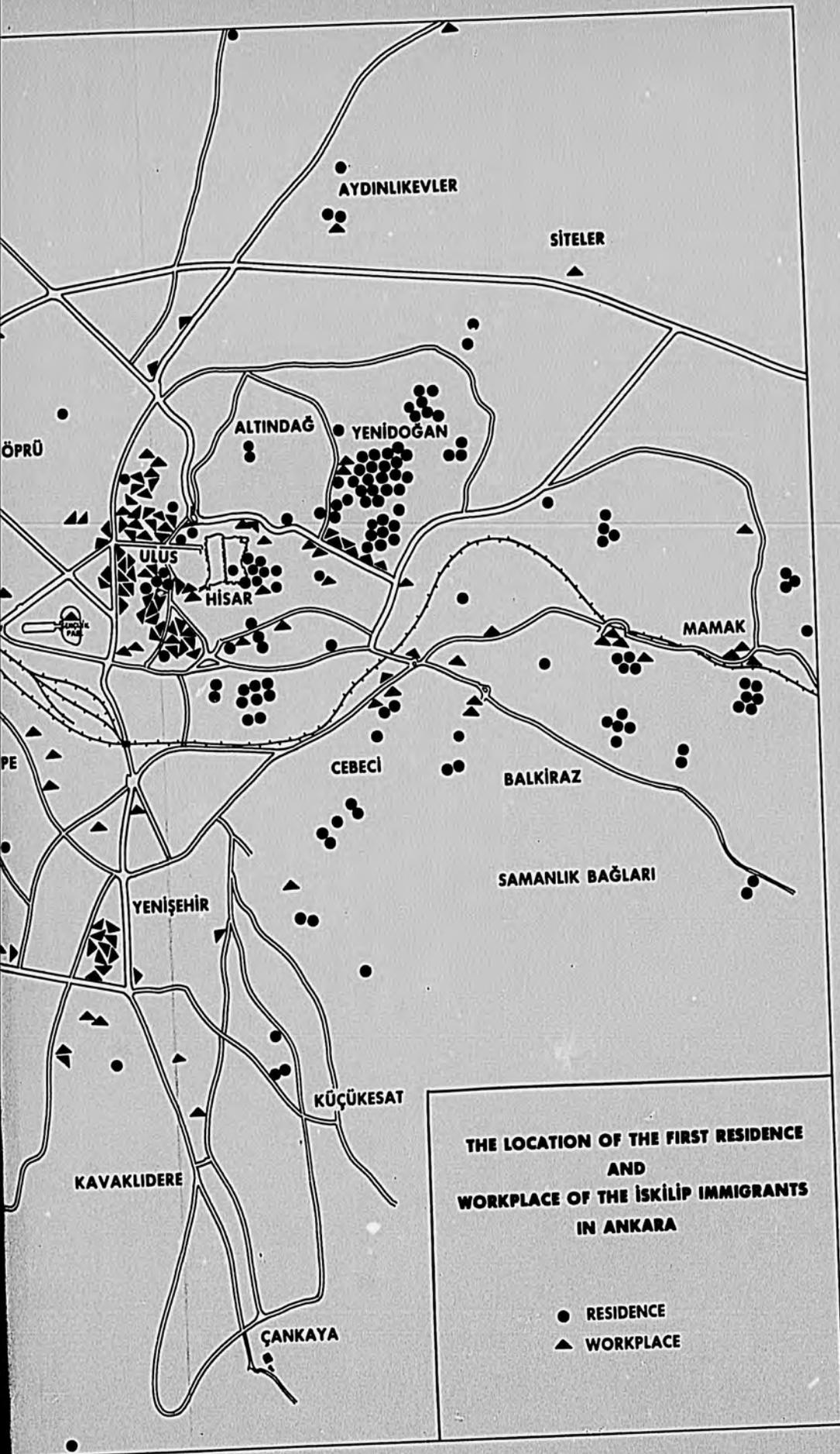
providing household needs from their own chickens, an occasional cow, and small gardens, in addition to returning to the home community for major food needs. The very size and near self-sufficiency of the gecekondu neighborhoods serves to maintain traditional sub-cultures.

As shown in the map, almost all the town and village migrants located their first housing in the gecekondu areas. They move into neighborhoods where fellow townsmen and villagers already live in clusters along the same street or overlooking a common open space euphemistically called a garden. The first house is far from a temporary arrangement, although most families do move after several years to a more satisfactory residence. Some, as seen in Table 8, move on to regular housing areas.

The quality and type of housing in Ankara is more than a simple reflection of level of income and occupational category. We find that although occupational change among our migrants is unexpectedly little, income has improved through time. Particularly with the 51% of our heads of household who are government employees. Years of incumbancy in a job assures annual increments to earnings. Housing, however, does not usually improve in a corresponding measure.

Some 70% of the Ankara population lives in residences legally defined as substandard and living conditions in many neighborhoods is less than ideal, but it is apparent that neither the migrants nor the government can afford to house gecekondu dwellers in structures that conform to present government requirements. The alternative might be to learn what housing situation exists at present and what the gecekondu residents might possibly find within their means to improve it.





**THE LOCATION OF THE FIRST RESIDENCE
AND
WORKPLACE OF THE İSKİLİP IMMIGRANTS
IN ANKARA**

Possible improvements could be made using resources now available. Success in improving the quality of housing and environment will depend upon the planner's ability to work with the people, recognizing the trend rather than simply trying to enforce unrealistic standards dominated by legalities.

The following discussion is intended to give a detailed description of the process of residential location, changes, and the underlying causes of residential changes. Moreover, the data on the processes of location of residences gives insight as to possible patterns of future residential developments.

LOCATION OF THE FIRST HOUSING IN ANKARA

Forty seven percent of Iskilip migrants were married at the time of migration and of these 62% already had children. The others arrived as bachelor or as children with their parents. Only 5% of the total migrant population stayed in a hotel or dependent initially upon such impersonal accommodations. Eighteen came to Ankara and rented a house prior to migration, and the remaining number stayed with family or friends for as long as three months. (1) Most men stayed as a guest for an average of a month, and then brought his family to Ankara after he had rented or constructed a house. Nine percent of the heads of household constructed their own small house immediately upon arrival in Ankara.

THE POINTS OF ENTRY INTO ANKARA

The residential clusters in Yenidogan, Mamak, Hamamönu, and Samanpazari account for 49% of the location of first housing. Finding of housing in these clusters is exclusively through the townsmen network. The same residential clusters' share in the total housing decreases to 28% of the present housing, excluding those who migrated after 1969. (2)

The particular residential clusters seem to have continued as points of entry into Ankara. The expected shift from areas around Ulus is slight, though there is a tendency for more recent migrants to locate first housing in the relatively new gecekondü areas away from Ulus, such as Dikmen, Balgat and Topraklik. The first settlement of clusters of Iskilip migrants continues as a pattern in the newer gecekondü housing areas.

As expected, there is no clusters in the regular housing areas of the city on the south or west of the Dişkapi - Çankaya axis. In these areas the location of housing is without any admitted help from fellow townsmen. In the gecekondü areas almost all migrants located the first housing with the help of another Iskilipian, whereas only 24% mention having received any assistance from another Iskilipian in the process of finding a house in a regular housing area.

The residential clusters of the Iskilip migrants have important consequences for house ownership, pattern of interaction among the Iskilip migrants and their interaction with non-Iskilipians, ties with the formal welfare association of townsmen in Ankara, and for contact with the home community.

The living together of twenty to one hundred Iskilip families in a residential cluster provides a community environment where home town values are kept intact and the Iskilip craftsmen ethic discussed in the previous Paper has undergone the least change. The isolation in the gecekondu neighborhood from the middle or modern classes helps perpetuate the social basis on which services are exchanged, as for example, the illegal building of a house on the land owned by the State.

Communication among fellow townsmen in the area is intense and social channels to Iskilipians of a higher social class and with the officials of the town welfare association are often through the "area contact man" who resides and works in the neighborhood.

Communication between the community of origin and Ankara migrants is mostly by four buses that work between Iskilip and Ankara every day. These buses leave from the station as required by the authorities, but have two more stops in Ankara. The stops in Yenidogan and Mamak adjacent to the two largest residential clusters are the intensive points of communication between the migrants and the home town. Interestingly enough, there is no such bus station in Çorum, the provincial center.

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN ANKARA

The duration of residence in the first house in Ankara, as compared with the length of residence in subsequent houses, indicates that the clusters in which migrants locate their first housing do not appear to be steps in a movement to better housing areas of the city.

For gecekondü dwellers the average duration of stay in the first house is 53 months. The average length of stay in subsequent housing before the migrant becomes a house owner is 34 months. Three out of four have moved into a house in the same district in changing the first house, and the same ratio is kept for subsequent changes in housing. There are several factors that tend to perpetuate residence in the first house and residence in the same district.

One reason people do not change their place of residence is the uniform quality of housing in Ankara. The quality of housing available does not reflect the gradations and improvements in income. Research has shown that^{as} the income increases the demand for housing with central sewage system and running water increases disproportionately, yet there are no significant differences in the quality of housing in different lower income groups with regard to the two indicators.

In order to find a house that has municipal services, the gecekondü dweller must move out of a very large area of uniform housing quality, i.e., out of Altindag, Yenidogan, and Göliveren. Such a large jump is hindered to some extent by the lack of knowledge of other areas of the city and also by the fact of employment in the gecekondü area and the necessity to live there. It is impossible for these people to both improve the quality of their residence and yet stay in the same part of the city.

The problem is apparent in the answers the Iskilip migrants gave for changing the first residence. Eighty one percent of the migrants have rented more than one house, and 62% have rented more than two houses. Of the subsequent housing 64% is in the same district as the previous one.

TABLE: 7

<u>Income Groups</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Average Annual Income</u>	<u>Average Annual Rent</u>	<u>Rent as a % of Income</u>	<u>% change over previous group in inc.</u>	<u>in rent</u>
0-600	6	4400	1070	24.3		
6001-12000	46	10008	2093	20.9	127	96
12001-18000	40	15014	2305	15.3	50	10
18001-24000	25	22195	3564	16.0	43	55
24001-30000	15	27884	4792	17.2	26	34
30001-36000	10	34320	5916	17.2	23	23
36001 +	19	52716	7424	14.1	53	25

Of those who have rented more than three houses half (43%) changed residence for reasons related to the quality of housing, and yet 52% stated similar reasons for changing the second residence. The statement that there is little improvement in the quality of housing and yet the high percentage of those who move from the first and subsequent residences is not contradictory. Reasons given for changing residences were: "the roof leaked", "flood tore down a wall", "the roof collapsed", "the house was too humid". Obviously the migrants were trying as much to escape disaster as to improve the quality of housing.

Further evidence for the extence of motivation to improve the quality of residence and the inability to do so is suggested by a study of 1000 gecekondü families in Ankara. Prof. Yasa posed the question: If your income were to double or triple, what would you do? Fifty-one percent of the heads of household replied that they would buy a house, although 70% were already house-owners.

The lack of reflection of income gradations on rent or rental price of the house can be seen from Table 7. The last two columns show the increase in rent in comparison with the increase in income. The second group has an average annual income of 10,000 TL. As the income increases by 50% between the second and third groups rent increases only by 10%, from an average of 174 TL a month to 190 TL. The second and third groups are exclusively in the gecekondu housing areas and constitute together 53% of the Iskilip migrants and 76% of the residences in the gecekondu areas.

The second factor that tends to reduce the rate of change of residence is the employment created in the gecekondu areas. Of these 77% are craftsmen and shopkeepers and 23% are unskilled service workers. Since the migrants have considerable control over the location of the workplace in these areas, they tend to be near the first residences. Thus, the first residence is stabilized.

Another reason why the first residence is not readily changed lies in the migrants control over the choice of first residence. Established paths of communication with the townsmen already resident in Ankara provides for the migrant family necessary information and assistance. For 17% of the town's migrants, either a first house is built with the cooperation of fellow townsmen or the new family rents from a townsman. Tenancy under these conditions tends to be more stable as compared with renting a house from someone with whom there is no shared identity.

TABLE: 8 The residential mobility in Ankara

	LAST HOUSING								Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1	20	12	6	-	4	3	7	5	57
2	1	12	1	-	-	1	3	2	20
3	-	1	2	-	-	1	2	1	7
4	3	2	5	6	1	4	4	2	27
5	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
6	1	-	-	-	-	4	1	2	8
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	1	11
8	3	4	2	-	1	1	1	15	27
TOTAL	28	31	16	6	10	14	28	28	161

FIRST HOUSING

1. Yenidoğan, Aktaş, Altındağ, Bentderesi, Şukriye Mahallesi
2. Gülveren, Ortatepe, Saimekadin, Bahçeler Üstü, Bahçeler içi
3. Abidinpaşa, Topraklık, Seyran Bağları
4. Namanköyü, Samanpazari, Kacettepe, Hisar
5. Dikmen, Balgat
6. Cebeci - (regular housing - Class 5 + 4)
7. Keçiören, Yenimahalle, Aydınlikevler (regular housing Class 5 + 4, some 3)
8. Others (Kayaş, Sincan, Etilik, Kılıçkesat, Bahçelievler, etc.)

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL MOBILITY

The Iskilip townsmen and village migrants into Ankara represent, with the one qualification to be discussed below, a cross-section of the urban population and the urban social system. The families in our sample are similar in origin to most of Ankara's migrants, and they are distributed reasonably evenly throughout the occupational structure and the housing areas of the metropolis.

Given this sample of Ankara, we propose a tentative model of the stratification system of the city, of the characteristics of the social classes that are now in the process of formation and of the origin of the members of each class level. In order to analyze the nature of the recruitment into the various Ankara classes, we devised a model of the stratification systems of the communities from which the Ankara migrants originate. It became obvious that the movement from the Ankara hinterland is highly patterned and much of the dynamics of growth of the metropolitan economy and society is determined by the particular type of migrant filling or creating positions within the emerging system.

Another aspect of the problem is that of social mobility, of the upward or downward mobility experienced by the family through migration. We may speculate that for a few years the new arrivals in Ankara are sufficiently impressed with their absolute gains/as not to question their situation. It requires little time, however, to transform the migrant into the urbanite aware of the Ankara class system, comparing himself with others in the city. While interviewing in homes in gecekondu neighborhoods

we, as obviously middle class individuals, sometimes were the objects of sudden little flurries of hostility from our hosts. The people resented the fact that they do not have such nice houses and such pleasant surroundings as those in certain other areas of the city. Perhaps because of the lack of a caste ideology many people do expect to be upwardly mobile and do compare themselves with those more highly placed, and do become resentful when they cannot improve their lot in life.

STRATIFICATION SYSTEMS OF THE COMMUNITIES OF ORIGIN

Before discussing class levels and the extent of social mobility or the lack of it, a brief description of the social systems in the villages and in/ the town is necessary.

The Villages

Within the administrative boundaries of the Iskilip kaza are located 86 villages (1) The ilçe encompasses two ecological zones: the mountain area to the north and the plain to the south. Forty-eight of the villages are in the mountain area, but the villages have, on the average, only 65 households and 350 inhabitants. The average village in the plain has a population of 650 people and there are six large villages of over 900 people.

The village is a cluster of houses constructed of sundried brick and occasionally stone with two or three rooms and single storied. From a communal fountain women take water for the home. Nearly every village has a small mosque and forty three boast a primary school. As yet none of the village have been provided with electricity.

The occasional village has a coffee house where the men may sit but most have a small general store. For marketing of surplus crops

or of handiwork, for shopping, for dealing with the government, the villagers must travel to Iskilip.

Occupational specialization in the village is almost non-existent. Each family makes its living directly from the land and all men are peasant farmers. The homogeneity of the village is further intensified by a tendency toward endogamy. At least half of the marriages are from within the village community. Even in families where the mother may be from another village, the isolation by distance, inclement weather, and the strong patrilineal and patriarchal emphasis in the culture would mitigate against much familiarity with the mother's village.

The governing of such small, homogenous communities is, structurally at least, a simple matter. Questions of justice can usually be settled between families. The elected official headman of the village, the muhtar, is assisted by a council of elders in dealing with representatives of the central government.

It should be obvious that in an average or small village, identifiable social classes do not develop. The social prestige or rank of an individual is a function of the land or other wealth owned by the family and the character of the men and honor of the women of that family. Wealth can change from generation to generation as all sons inherit equally and fractionalize land holdings; or a man may acquire money and accumulate land in his lifetime. With such flexibility and individualism, the values and reality of a democratic system operates within the village community.

In relationship to the urban centers, however, the villager is ordinarily in a subordinate position. The consequences of the village

urban dichotomy for the migrants will be explored below. To some extent the villager can isolate himself from the outside world and thus blunt the awareness of his disadvantaged position, but the urbanite must always impose himself on the villager in order to survive. It is from the surplus food, produce, and labor of the village that the city draws its sustenance.

Families in Iskilip have traditionally owned land in the villages, especially in the villages of the plain where the fields are larger and the land more fertile. Townsmen became absentee landlords for several reasons, all related to the central and dominant position of the town. The villager is chronically lacking in money and must frequently borrow from those merchants or salaried men with ready cash in order to pay for wedding and other ritual expenses, or simply for subsistence. When the peasant fails to pay the debt, he gives up land to his creditor.

If a peasant had large landholdings, it was not uncommon for him to turn over the working of the land to others and move to Iskilip town. The succeeding generations of these once peasant families became merchants or white collar workers but continue to hold their village lands or even to accumulate more. In fact, these were the men who first saw the commercial value of farming and bought up land before land prices jumped in the 1950's, following mechanization of agriculture.

The system of working the land of an absentee owner was and is through sharecropping. A contract was made between the landowner and a family resident in the village. The sharecropping family provided draft animals, the plow and other agricultural tools, and their labor.

TABLE: The level of education by age groups in the communities of origin and among the migrants in Ankara

	AGE GROUPS			
	7 - 15 (% of the group)	16 - 24 (% of the group)	25 - 49 (% of the group)	50 + (% of the group)
TOWN CENTER				
Illiterate	2.1	21.5	52.8	79.3
Literate	61.8	3.2	6.1	1.8
Primary School Graduate	20.6	31.8	32.3	16.6
Secondary School Graduate* or more	15.5	44.1	8.7	1.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
TOWN IMMIGRANTS IN ANKARA				
Illiterate	0.0	3.3	28.7	64.9
Literate	60.4	1.6	2.4	2.7
Primary School Graduate	5.9	35.2	51.9	18.9
Secondary School Graduate or more	33.7	59.8	16.9	13.5
ISKILIP VILLAGERS				
Illiterate	52.2	50.7	72.1	94.5
Literate	27.1	2.3	2.9	2.0
Primary School Graduate	20.1	34.7	24.4	3.5
Secondary School Graduate or more	0.0	4.3	0.6	0.0
VILLAGE IMMIGRANTS				
Illiterate	2.3	15.4	61.5	75.0
Literate	79.5	2.5	2.6	0.0
Primary School Graduate	18.2	59.0	32.0	25.0
Secondary School Graduate or more	0.0	23.1	3.8	0.0

SOURCE: Various questionnaires and SIS raw Census data.

* Almost all of the 7 - 15 age group in that category are primary school students.

** Some of 16 - 24 age group in that category are secondary school, highschool students.

The owner provided the seed. The primary crop of the area is wheat, but lentils, beans, other grains, some vineyard, various fruits and vegetables are also cultivated. As the crops were harvested, the owner and the resident family each took half of the produce. If the landowner also had animals such as cows, sheep, goats, or chickens, the family cared for the livestock and made some use of the milk or meat yielded.

Sharecropping as a system continues, although at least 80% of the arable land in the plain is now cultivated by tractor.

The average size of land-holding per farm family is about 59 decares and the largest holdings rarely exceed 120 decares in the plain and 50 decares in the mountain villages. The average family income from this land was about 4000 TL in 1971. To that should be added 3000 to 3500 TL that each village family earns through seasonal employment outside the village.

The income for landless families approximates the same figure if he works for a landlord as sharecropper. As a result, there is little wealth differentiation within the village, and the wealthy villager, without exception, resides in the town.

Table compares the educational level of villager with that of the town center for different age groups. The villagers have uncomparably less education than the townsmen.

The ownership of village land by the townsmen, the insignificance of the services to the village hinterland in the economic base of the town, the social unity among the locally born administrators, merchants and landlords, all lead to an almost caste-like separation between the townsmen

and the villagers. Even the blending of the distinction at the margin with the Class 1 townsmen does not negate it.

The Town

The town is the center for the villages but it is a distinct and separate social system. The town has a complex occupational structure lacking in the villages. Concomittant with the occupational groupings are the differing degrees of power and prestige and differing life styles of a full blown, if miniature stratification system. The population of the town is approximately 15,000.

At the center and top of the stratification system is an elite, comprising about 7% of the population. At the fringes of the elite, are another 10%, still in the upper strata. These are the lower white collar workers and a few prosperous shopkeepers and craftsmen. (2) A second and middle broad strata in the system are the craftsmen and some shopkeepers. They together constitute some what more than half of the population. The lowest strata, almost an underclass, are the unskilled laborers, some 30% of the population. Many of these families are an Iskilip lower class, but many are villagers who move in, seeking whatever employment they can find.

The Elite and White Collar

The men of the elite hold the top salaried positions in the town as secretaries and clerks to central government officials, or they own the most prosperous businesses (large cloth shops, the movie house, trucking and bus transportation, selling of modern agricultural equipment and supplies, wholesaling of grains and other foods.) The more important base for their wealth, however, is the ownership of land in the villages. Because the

government buys wheat at a set price and thus far has not effectively levied taxes on agricultural land, even the most inefficient farming is profitable.

Annual income for a household in the elite range from 30,000 TL to 150,000 TL. The incomes are comfortable but life style remains relatively austere. The only servant in the house would be a village girl, although for heavy seasonal cleaning and maintenance, wage laborers are hired. The women of the house, even in the elite homes, do the daily cooking, cleaning, child care, as well as working the gardens and processing the winter supplies of food for the household.

The men dress in suits of conservative styling and give little attention to personal appearances. Alcoholic drinks, music, dancing, or other such forms of entertainment are strictly forbidden in the home; but men may occasionally gather for drinking, and card playing at the club house as a regular diversion. Social activities are either for men or for women. Even in the home entertaining among relatives, men sit in a separate room with the children.

The elite are able to maintain their position in the system and also maintain themselves through time and succeeding generations. The occupations of the fathers and mother's fathers of the present elite heads of household are diverse: landowners, craftsmen, merchants, government clerks. The present generation provides employment to at least one son and often to a brother. Our own survey of businessmen and craftsmen showed that it was the profitable businesses that had an adult son or brother of the family employed. The elite also have knowledge of the central government

clerical jobs in Iskilip and are able to place their sons in those secure and prestigious positions. It is among the elite that the highest proportion of joint households occur.

The elite are most active in the voluntary associations of the town. The city club, the mosque society, the hunter's club, the sports club, the town beautification society, the club for the town's schools. Often the lower white collar workers (annual income range of 8,000 to 18,000 TL) or younger men of the elite are the officers of clubs and the most active participants. Merchants and elite men are brought in to contribute financially and lend prestige to its activities. Craftsmen and others from the middle strata form the membership.

For the elite, the city club is most important. The city club has its own coffee house, limited to members, where the men relax and play cards or backgammon. It is here that the top central government employees stationed in Iskilip meet and interact with the local elite and where the business of governing most likely occurs.

The elite form a sociological group. They are small, cohesive, intermarry, and have a strong sense of identity with the town. They, as noted in the previous report, send out a disproportionately lower number of immigrants.

The Middle Strata

Since the middle strata is dominated numerically and otherwise by the craftsmen, this discussion will primarily be in terms of the craftsmen. The former prosperity of Iskilip derived from the skill of these workers. Before the coming of the modern economy, shoes and other leather goods,

small iron implements, felt goods, and other handcrafted products were made in Iskilip and sold throughout Anatolia. As the markets have changed, the town has been profoundly affected. For fuller information, the reader is referred to the previous report.

The position of the craftsmen strata in the stratification system might be illuminated by the observation that traditional Anatolian society had a relatively open class system, especially if compared with other pre-industrial civilizations. There is nothing approaching a caste system or even an estate system in Turkey. ⁽⁴⁾ As in most pre-industrial civilizations, the highest prestige has accrued to government administrative posts and government clerical positions. Commerce and some craftwork was the province of caste-like Jewish and Christian minorities until their departure during the revolution. Urban Turks defined themselves as warrior and administrators but when the minorities left, Turks became merchants without ritual onus.

In Iskilip, the present generation of merchants come from backgrounds of village land and of craftsmen. Unlike the situation in so many developing countries, the merchants are not a handful of foreigners against whom the landowners, craftsmen, and laborers can unite. On the contrary, as a member of the elite and wealthy as well, the Iskilip merchant is especially powerful. One older craftsman told us a story that illustrates the fact: Many years ago, when the craftsman was arranging the marriage of his son, he went to the cloth merchant. Upon entering the shop, the craftsman virtually knelt in respect before the seated merchant. The merchant called a servant, whom he instructed, without consulting his customer, to bring this piece of cloth or that, plus various household furnishings, deciding what the craftsman could afford and would need. He then recorded the debt and added

to the top of the pile the gift of a shawl for the bride. The craftsman was then dismissed.

The craftsman strata has ranked lower in prestige, but it has been possible for a craftsman to become a merchant or to educate his son for a white collar position. More likely, the sons of craftsmen also become craftsmen through apprenticeship training. Unlike the pattern of a true caste system, considerable shifting from one craft to another occurs. In the past the craftsman level was possibly more stable and the guild system stronger, but the heavy out-migration over the past three decades has upset the former balance. The craftsmen have been drawing from the lower strata for their apprentices and successors. Of the craftsmen in our Iskilip town sample, 42% had fathers who were craftsmen; 42% were sons of farmers and unskilled laborers; and 16% had fathers who were imam or merchants or government clerks.

Craft groups have not been bounded nor set apart by religious cult symbols such as saints, nor by distinctiveness in dress or custom. Marriage ties have not necessarily followed craft lines but have been within the strata and almost exclusively within the town. Again, the unity of the urban community is emphasized.

From informal information and observation, it would seem that the relative prestige of a particular craft in Turkey is largely a function of the income it brings. Concerns with ritual purity or cleanliness are at a minimum, although obviously men would prefer clean and less laborious tasks. If, as in Iskilip, shoe making and leather working provide a higher income than other crafts, then craftsmen handling leather are most

respectable. In other regions of the country where idential activities' provide a lower income, then their prestige is lower. This type of rationality must have important consequences for the shift into a modern technology. Sons of craftsmen define themselves as skilled workers and actively seek out training, either through apprenticeship or school, in a wide range of skills. Moreover, since the master craftsman also keeps his own shop, the craftsmen who migrates is a potential entrepreneur.

The average income in the craftsman strata is approximately 5500 TL annually. The highest incomes are found with the butchers and the carpenters. The butchers function as middle men in an increasing flow of meat animals from the town and villages into the Ankara market. The higher income carpenters work on house construction but some are dealing in the business of lumber. Both groups have village origins.

An important source of real income is the food grown and processed by the women of the house. Nearly 80% of the craftsman families own gardens and vineyards and some 20% own small wheat fields in the villages.

Certain traditional crafts, shoemaking, food processing of an older style, weaving of sackcloth, feltmaking, copperworking, tinsmith, the blacksmith shop, the locksmith, the glasscutter, jewelry making, making saddles for pack animals and shoing the animals, will soon be doomed by modern technology. Others, craftsmen such as tailors, barbers, and bakers, modify their style somewhat a step into the modern side of the dual economy. We included in the craftsman category of Iskilip men who are now modern skilled laborers, the truck driver and auto repairmen, but come from a craftsmen background.

About half of the craftsmen have no schooling. Half are primary school graduates and a small proportion have attended middle school. The latter tend to be the drivers and more modern sector skilled and are included in this strata.

The Unskilled

The unskilled form approximately 30% of the town's labor force. Two-fifth of this strata are villagers who have moved to the town in recent years.

The Iskilip-born of the bottom strata men are the sons of unskilled workers, and their wives are either from the same background or from the villages. This is a class in the sense that it tends to be a perpetuation of disadvantage through particular family lines.

Incomes of the unskilled range from a high 6000 TL a month for those few men who have secured jobs as doormen in government offices to a low of only a few hundred lira a year. The average income is approximately 2200 TL yearly. These men pick up work where they can, as porters, on construction or building maintenance, as hired laborers in the gardens or fields of the more prosperous. Some 60% have small gardens of their own.

A measure of the poverty and isolation of this lowest strata is in the home ownership of a radio, and in attendance at movies. Approximately one-fifth of the lowest strata families own radios and even fewer of the men attend movies. Two-thirds of the craftsmen own radios and see movies. In the upper strata nearly all the families have a radio in the home and movie attendance is high among the men and the young people as well, although there are still older men who refuse such entertainments because they believe it irreligious.

In summary, village communities are relatively homogenous, although certainly there are poor and prosperous peasants. In the town, three broad strata exist in the society. The elite send out few migrants. The white collar workers somewhat lower than the elite send out/ ^{disproportionately more.} The middle strata of the town is composed largely of craftsmen. This category is the most affected by the town's newer role in the Ankara metropolitan influence area. Although 32% of Iskilip's labor force are craftsmen, this group accounts for 68% of its out migration.

A large underclass of unskilled laborers has always existed in the town, but recently migration in from the villages has swollen its numbers. The villager in Iskilip build small houses, and although some become craftsmen (especially carpenters) and small shopkeepers, most take what work is available. There are 594 such families living in the town.

In order to follow the Iskilip migrants from town stratification system into the Ankara stratification system, the three strata were divided into five classes. The characteristics of each class is based on the occupation of the head of the household, the landholdings of the family and the level of education for the men of the family.

- Class V father high white collar worker or wealthy merchant, large landholdings, brothers with high school or higher education
- Class IV father lower white collar or shopkeeper, some wheat land and garden land, migrant and brothers have at least a primary school education
- Class III father and migrant are craftsmen, own garden land and other property, migrant and brothers have primary school education
- Class II father and migrant lower craftsmen or unskilled, own some land and property, some of the family has primary schooling
- Class I no skills, no land, illiterate

THE ANKARA STRATIFICATION

We devised a model for the Ankara stratification system based on three dimensions of ranking: the prestige and rewards of the occupation of the head of household, years of schooling of the head of household, and annual income of the household. (5)

An overall view of Ankara society is, obviously, more difficult to formulate than for the town of Iskilip. The five classes devised on the criteria of occupation, education, and income reflect broad features of the city. An important fact, relevant in a negative fashion to our research, is that the elite who dominate the city are not from the small town nor village migrant streams. The elite live in the more luxurious apartment buildings in a few residential areas. They are predominantly from the old Istanbul and Izmir urban elites with some few from the larger provincial cities. Occupationally, they hold the top positions in the government bureaucracies: the Ministries, the Military, and the universities. Even professionally trained men generally are government employees. Recently, some men are turning to commercial occupations, and the rewards of private sector employment seem increasingly attractive. The schools from which they graduate are the military academy in Istanbul, various French and English language high level schools in Istanbul, Ankara, and elsewhere, and a limited number of the universities. As expected, extended family ties and old school ties bind this upper level together as a true social class.

The modern and traditional sector in occupation and in life style is intrinsic to the Ankara class system as conceptualized here. The elite

of Ankara are modern in both occupations and in life style, but their modernity is their own, and not a duplicate of any European nation. The structure and culture of elite sub-society derives as much from the history of their role in Empire as from more recent influences. Class 5 is modern in occupation, with sufficient income and contact in the larger society to model their life style on that of the elite, although the class 5 older men interact more intensively with townsmen rather than with colleagues. Class 4 is modern in occupation, most frequently as middle bureaucrats or some as merchants. Their life style is modern in that they live in regular housing and send both sons and daughters through as much schooling as possible. However, whereas Class 5 wives are likely to be educated and hold professional or white collar jobs, Class 4 wives usually have no more than a primary school education and their referent group is not in Ankara but the elite of their own home town. In effect, they seem more provincial and conservative. All these upper middle class levels orient into Kizilay rather than Ulus for shopping and recreation.

Class 3 men earn their living as lower white collar workers, skilled workers, or shopkeepers, in the modern sector but have their homes in the gecekondü areas in neighborhoods and family life not much altered from the activities and attitudes of small town and village. Perhaps the traditional life style is dictated more by an income insufficient for the modern sector than by preference. In the gecekondü areas food can be grown, chickens kept and traditional goods and services are less costly than the modern.

Class 2 represents, although not exclusively, the traditional skilled and others dependent for their livelihood and life style upon the gecekondü areas as self-perpetuating entities. Class 1, at the bottom of the system, has no alternative but the traditional sector. The villager migrants are primarily in the gecekondü areas as unskilled workers or outside as construction workers, although a small proportion do acquire higher level skills.

THE ISKILIP MIGRANTS AND SOCIAL CLASS LEVEL

In our sample, eight men are in Class 5. Seven are professionals or higher level bureaucrats in the State ministries and the universities. All came originally to Ankara as students and are now lise or university graduates. One man is a merchant. These families have their homes in the comfortable middle-class neighborhoods such as Kavaklıdere, Kılıçkesen, Çankaya.

Class 4 has twenty-one men. Together with Class 5, they constitute 17% of our sample. Class 4 families reside predominantly in regular housing areas. (Keçiören, Yenimahalle, Cebeci, Emek) Four of the men are merchants two are teachers, four are higher level technicians, and the remaining half are government clerks. Nearly half of the men moved to Ankara as students or as children in the family. Schooling of Class 4 is as follows: Four merchants and one general clerk have primary school diplomas. Four men are lise graduates. The remaining twelve are middle school graduates.

In Class 3 are forty-four (27%) of the heads of household. Skilled workers and technicians in the modern sector were placed in this level

because their employment is stable, requires some formal training, and yields a good income as well as prestige. Sales and service personnel catering to the modern sector and higher income social groups were assigned to Class 3. Police and lower category government clerks are also included. Just over 60%, twenty-seven, of Class 3 men are primary school graduates. Two young men have lise education. The remaining fifteen have middle school education.

Three-fourths of the families in this middle level of Ankara society live in gecekondü houses, usually in the newer areas such as Mamak. The others have bought or rented apartments in regular housing units that are newly rising out of gecekondü areas. It should be emphasized at this point that gecekondü is far from being synonymous with slum. Evidences of social disorganization are found in only a few of the older areas and the physical environment and housing of most is as clean and attractive as people can manage without municipal cooperation.

Class 2 is composed of traditional craftsmen and of service and sales personnel in the business district of the city (Ulus) that serves the traditional sector of the society and the lower income groups. Factory workers are at the top of this class because of the security of income and retirement and other fringe benefits they enjoy. Fifty-five (37%) of the families in our sample are Class 2. The educational level is: 44 primary school educated, 1 middle school, 10 with no schooling. Approximately half of the families have homes in the older gecekondü areas circling Ulus; the others have moved to Mamak or Balgat or Dikmen or a scattering of areas even further from the center.

The lowest class, Class 1, the unskilled and illiterate workers with low and irregular incomes are distinct as a type of migrant. Thirty-three (21%) of our townsmen migrants are at this bottom level. They live in the older gecekondü clusters of the Ulus area. The men migrated later in life than others, at an average of thirty years of age, and now are elderly people or middle-aged with no prospects of improving their situation.

Recruitment into Social Class Levels

Focusing more specifically on the question of what kinds of families fill the five class levels of the larger Ankara social system, certain patterns become evident.

The 17% in our sample in Classes 4 and 5 have few families from the elite of Iskilip for the simple reason that the most affluent and powerful families of the town are sending out rather few immigrants. Rather it is the sons of the lower white collar worker, of the shopkeeper, or of the craftsmen who are sent to Ankara for schooling and then remain in Ankara, partly because he is over trained for employment at home.

The general clerk or "memur" with the government is predominantly in our Class 4, although one-fourth of the men in Class 3 also have white collar salaried jobs in government offices. More than a third of the "memur", generally the earlier migrants now in late middle age, were craftsmen and shopkeepers and drivers in Iskilip. Another equally large proportion of the general clerks are those who came to Ankara as children in a family usually headed by a craftsman father. Perhaps this more accurately represents intergenerational mobility than mobility through migration.

More than half of Classes 5 and 4 are of craftsmen background. Only a few, three men totally, made the jump from the Class 2 of Iskilip to Class 4 of Ankara. One man, a schoolteacher, began at the bottom class of Iskilip and is now Class 4 in Ankara. He is also the only extremist political radical in our sample.

Class 3 of Ankara generally derives from Class 3 (and a few Class 2 craftsmen) of Iskilip. These are craftsmen and shopkeepers who have become technicians or they are tailors or furniture makers or small merchants who could transfer their skills to the modern sector. Four men, all government clerks, were Class 4 in Iskilip. They live in regular housing in middle class areas but on rather low incomes. Two of these men are still in their twenties and will probably move up in the bureaucracies with time.

A special and interesting situation is that of the professional driver, many of whom were originally from Iskilip classes 2 and 1. We ranked drivers as Class 3 because the man who drives a motor vehicle for a living is defined as modern sector skilled. It is relatively well-paid employment, whether self-employed or salaried. Professional drivers are protected by a strong union and by government limitations on the number of licenses issued. However, the situation is precarious and men now defined as modern sector skilled labor and as upwardly mobile may suddenly find themselves in difficulty. Just one generation ago, for example, in Turkish cities anything to do with electric equipment, whether installing it or repairing it, was a middle class skill. It has rapidly become a workir class and blue collar occupation, leaving many middle aged men who thought they had achieved upward mobility in a painful status crisis. A similar

situation is occurring with regard to office skilled personnel.

Class 3 is predominantly in the gecekondus, and they provide the export earning of the traditional sector of the urban dual economy. Class 2 is larger in size, accounting for one-third of our townsmen population of Ankara migrants. (The reader should be reminded that we have not as yet even mentioned the villagers who migrate to Ankara in numbers almost equal to that of townsmen.) Some small proportion (about 12%) of Class 2 hold low paid salaried positions in government offices as unskilled laborers. The majority, however, earn this family income through providing traditional craft services to the gecekondu residents. These are the craftsmen and marginal shopkeepers discussed in Chapter II.

Class 1, another 21% of our sample, live in the gecekondus on income from whatever casual laboring jobs are available. Half are elderly couples. One-third were from the bottom level of Iskilip society. The twelve of the thirty-three who were craftsmen and therefore higher before migration were in quite marginal crafts: rope making, broom making, weavers of sackcloth, a few tailors.

Social Mobility for the Migrant Family

The Stable Migrant. When the Iskilip class of the man and his family is compared with the present Ankara class, seventy (42%) of the 161 in our townsmen sample have maintained the same relative position in the stratification systems. In relative terms, although not necessarily in absolute terms, they have neither lost nor gained. With few exceptions, Iskilip migrants of Classes 4 and 5 are in Ankara Classes 4 and 5. Fifty-four of the seventy heads of household now Ankara Classes 3 and 2 are either continuing to practice their skills from Iskilip

or they have been fortunate enough to secure jobs as doormen and errand runners in government offices. Most of these class 3 and 2 men have primary school education and the present average age is 44 years.

The Downwardly Mobile: Forty-five (26%) of the townsmen sample have been downwardly mobile. There are none from Iskilip Class 5 and just four men, discussed above, from Iskilip Class 4 are now Ankara Class 3.

The traditional skilled of Ankara Class 2 who have lost relatively that is, were Class 3 in Iskilip, are craftsmen and usually have primary school education. Perhaps the loss is more apparent than real, a result of the definitions we have employed. The craftsman with a house and garden in Iskilip is an average man. The same man doing identical work in Ankara lives in immediate and daily contrast with the modern sector. His total situation has not been worsened by any absolute measure but he is not as highly paid nor as valued as the modern sector skilled laborer. We can only speculate as to how he perceives the situation.

The downwardly mobile to Class 1 are the marginal craftsmen discussed above.

The average age at migration of the stable seventy heads of household plus the forty-five men who have been downwardly mobile is just over twenty-four years old. These men marry, on the average, at the age of twenty-one. The pattern, then, is for the majority of Iskilip migrant men to complete primary school and apprenticeship training in a craft of modern skill, fulfill the military obligation, return home to marry and take up a job, and then move to Ankara with a wife and one or two small children.

The Upwardly Mobile: The forty-seven migrants (31%) in our sample who are upwardly mobile differ from the others. They are the youngest, with an average age of forty years, which is five years younger than the stable and ten years younger than the downwardly mobile. The average age at the migration was eighteen years. ⁽⁶⁾ The upwardly mobile into Classes 5 and 4 migrated as students. The upwardly mobile also married later, in his mid-twenties rather than early twenties, but most went back to the town for wives. Still, he is twice as likely as the other migrants to marry a non-Iskilip woman. (24% for upwardly mobile, 14% for stable, and 12% for downwardly mobile.)

Of the twenty-two men who moved up into Ankara Classes 5 and 4, only five are businessmen; the majority are white collar workers with the government.

Those who have moved up into Class 3 have done so usually by securing work as salaried government clerks, as previously explained.

The townsmen network is especially significant for the upwardly mobile in Ankara. They are the most active in the network and in the formal organization, the Cemiyet, and they evidence a strong townsman identity.

In general the family migrating to Ankara obviously gains by the making the transition. The majority maintain their relative class position or, for nearly a third, are upwardly mobile. Even the downward mobility is probably not felt because of the improvement in the absolute level of living.

THE VILLAGE MIGRANT

Village migrants are different enough from town migrants to warrant a separate analysis.

In order to assure the representativeness of our sample of village migrants in Ankara, we selected eight villages from the eighty-six villages in Iskilip kaza and then located all the migrants in Ankara from those villages. The sample is composed of migrants from approximately ten percent of the village communities and the population of the district.

Interestingly, it was with the villagers that we had our first interview refusals. Of the 71 village households in our sample, 20 refused to be interviewed. The village migrants seemed more apprehensive generally but specifically feared that we might be seeking information regarding land and taxation.

Migration from the villages began in significant numbers fairly recently. Of the fifty-one households in our final sample, thirty-nine moved to Ankara after 1960, eight during the 1950's, and four during the 1940's. Twenty-two of the men had worked for a period of one to eight years in Iskilip before settling in Ankara.

The average/^{age}ofthe village migrant head of household is thirty-six, several years younger than the townsman in Ankara. However, the average age at migration from the village is twenty-seven years, several years older than the town migrant. Three men in our sample are bachelors. The others are family men who have brought their wives and children with them.

The villagers in Ankara are almost uniformly holding jobs that require no special skill, and few, just four have jobs which provide secure employment. Their average yearly income is 861 TL. Half of the men have primary school education and two of these have been to middle school.

Without exception, the villagers live in the gecekondu areas of the city. Slightly more than one-third (18 of the 51) found their first residence in the older gecekondu housing around Ulus. Only ten of these have remained in this area, of which three are renting from Iskilip landlords and two are bachelors. The majority, thirty-three of the families, entered the city through the newer gecekondu neighborhoods and their subsequent housing is in the same areas. There may be a preference for the new gecekondu because they are less densely settled, the housing is newer, and it is there that the family finds small clusters of others from their home community.

Perhaps the most serious liability borne by the migrant from the village is the lack of a social network such as that which serves the townsman migrant. The man coming into Ankara from a village finds no more than fifteen, and usually far fewer, families from his community in the entire urban area, and these families are themselves poor. If the villager should, as is sometimes the case, have a patron from Iskilip town highly placed in Ankara, the Iskilip townsman does not seem committed to aiding the villager in securing as good a job as he would for a fellow townsman. The secure and unlaborious jobs of doorman or errand runner

in a government office go to the townsman rather than the equally qualified (or equally lacking in any skill qualifications) villager. The subordinate position of the villager continues even after migration.

The lack of network is further reflected in what would seem to be a certain social isolation, meaning not only possible loneliness, but also less access to information about job opportunities, educational opportunities and that complex of ideas referred to as urbanization. Among the village migrants, only twelve of the fifty-one could mention five families they visit at least once a year. By contrast, few townsmen failed to list five families visited. Even townsmen in our lowest social class (the lowest incomes, unskilled, uneducated, and frequently elderly) are in daily social interaction with Iskilip townsmen in their neighborhoods. The village families visit with fellow village families, usually relatives, in their vicinity; and one-fourth have friends from the town of Iskilip near them. Only one-third said they visit with neighbors.

CONTINUING CONTACT WITH THE HOME COMMUNITY

Ankara attracts migrants primarily because that is where men can find work and provide for their families. Families settle in the city but contact and identification with the home community continues. Mostly the visiting back is with family, which is broadly defined to include many kinfolk of both husband and wife, and the occasion for the visit is often a religious holiday.

Visiting is both social and practical. When the family takes the bus from Ankara to Iskilip, it is not uncommon for the woman and children to stay for a while longer than the husband. On this semi-vacation, the

women have clothing made at the lower rural prices; they prepare much of the Ankara household food supplies from Iskilip gardens and fields; and they sometimes arrange marriages for their children.

A question that one might ask is to what extent do the rural communities reabsorb those people who migrate to Ankara but are unable to make a living in the city. Information on this question is difficult to obtain, partly because of the informal system of finding work in Ankara. Men come to the city frequently and stay with family or friends. While visiting about they assess the possibility of finding a job. If none are available the man returns home as if simply from a short vacation or from family business. If a man loses a job and cannot locate another he finds this a convenient time to renew ties with the family at home. If asked directly about return migration, Iskilip men say there is none. The possibility of return to the home community is kept open for all categories of migrants, both townsmen and villagers, by their continual visiting back and by the frequent visitors from the town or village to kinsmen and friends resident in Ankara. Those townsmen migrants who seem the most urbanized, with the highest incomes and most prestigious occupation and who also frequently have the most non-Iskilip friends in Ankara, are just as likely as other townsmen migrants to visit Iskilip at least once a year. Fully half of the Class 4 and Class 5 men say they intend to retire in Iskilip. The poorest townsmen (Class 1) visit the home town less frequently, yet half of these wish to retire in the town.

Villagers, like townsmen, visit the home community once or twice a year. Less than one-fifth (10 men) of the village migrants wish or

expect to spend their old age in the village. Half of the villager say they will retire in Ankara, and the others (16 men) plan to retire in Iskilip town. If the villager/^{is} left because there is insufficient land for farming, he has little incentive to go back. Again, the village migrant has fewer options and is most vulnerable to unemployment or other misfortunes.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In Turkey today the primary concern of planners is with the modernization and industrialization of the nation and the economy. As a factor in achieving these goals, the rapid urbanization now in progress is evaluated positively in numerous issuances of official policies. The stated assumptions are that concentration of population into cities facilitates the growth of industry, the modernization of the labor force, and creates the environment for a society with modern attitudes and values.

Is this optimistic view justified by the realities of urbanization now occurring in Turkey? We studied one representative stream of migrants into Ankara, a metropolis which reached its present population of over one million predominantly through migration. To questions of modernization of the labor force and modernization of the life style of the migrants the answers are complex.

Although Ankara is a new city created in the period of the Republic, along with the modern sector, its residents have brought with them a traditional sector. Ankara has a dual society and a dual economy. The occupational structure of the city has a modern sector and a traditional sector; and in non-economy related behaviors centering on family and neighborhood, a traditional life style and a modern life style are evident within the urban residential areas.

To determine whether a particular enterprise and thus its employees are modern or traditional, we applied the criteria of size of the work unit,

specialization of labor and organization of the plant, and nature of the market served. Modern sector employment in Ankara is primarily with the government bureaucracies, although there are, of course, free professionals, merchants, and businessmen serving the modern economy. The traditional sector employment in Ankara consists of craftsmen, small shopkeepers or peddlers, and unskilled laborers serving that seventy percent of the city's inhabitants living in the shanty-town areas known as gecekondü.

The indicators of life style as analyzed in this research is housing and neighborhood. In broad and somewhat oversimplified terms, regular housing built to government standards is modern style, and the gecekondü neighborhoods represent a continuation in the city of rural traditional behaviors, attitudes, and values.

We hypothesized that changes in the quality of the labor force through urbanization would be evidenced in the change between the first jobs of the migrants in Ankara and their subsequent employment. A steady upgrading of skill and shifting from traditional occupations to modern occupations was expected.

Of the townsmen heads of household in our sample, 23% migrated as students or as children in families and in some respects represent almost a second generation. Of the remaining, those heads of household who held jobs in their home town before migrating, 46% held the same type of job after migration as before. The stable occupational categories were: technicians and modern skilled (mostly drivers), those who held government

jobs and migrated through job transfer, and more than half of the merchants. Those who changed job categories were unskilled and low paid skilled workers who could secure government wage employment. The self-employed such as craftsmen, peddlers, drivers, small shopkeepers, all prefer wage employment and preferably with the government.

The occupational changes between first job after migration and subsequent employment are less than expected. The average length of residence in Ankara of our sample is eighteen and a half years. Twenty-two percent changed job categories. The stable job categories are:

1. general clerk. Employment in government white-collar work is secure and prestigious.
2. unskilled wage earners with the government.
3. modern skilled. They have relatively high income and most are wage earners in a government bureaucracy.
4. factory workers.

Most men take jobs with the government whenever the opportunity arises. Two-thirds of the occupational shifts are in or out of the unskilled categories. An example might be an unskilled worker setting up a vegetable stall in a gecekondü area.

Fifty-one percent of the town origin migrants in our sample are government employees and their increases in income have been steady through time. The average income of the town migrants represents a 129% increase over the average income in the town. The village migrants income is more than doubled compared with the average income in the villages.

The gecekondü areas have grown to a size sufficient for support of their own employment. They constitute a traditional sector in the city. Seventeen percent of the town migrants came to Ankara and set up a shop in the gecekondü areas and the trend has been accelerating. Shops of this type include shoemaking and repairing, tailors, tinsmiths, stovemaking,

carpenters, furniture making, mattress making, and other traditional crafts. An equally large number came to Ankara, looked for a job for a month or so, and then became peddlers, shoe shiners, etc. In addition another 21% have businesses in the Ulus shopping area that serves the gecekondus. All these earn their livelihood serving the traditional life style. Moreover, the movement into better jobs is not significant. The gecekondu employment is not a stepping stone to modern sector, at least for the first generation.

Villagers comprise nearly half of the migration but those in our sample are more recent arrivals in the city. Townsmen have been coming to Ankara for four decades; most village migrants arrived in Ankara during the past decade. Only five of the village men in our sample of seventy one were not unskilled laborers. One of these has a government position as a ticket collector, two are general clerks, and the other two call themselves electricians. All live in gecekondu housing.

Life styles follow, in broad terms, the cleavage between regular housing and gecekondu housing. Regular housing is constructed by commercial enterprises; gecekondu housing is constructed individually and the arrangement of rooms and open space is more to resemble the pattern from the home community. The gecekondu home has some space around it for continuing subsistence production of food. The equipment used in the gecekondu for heating, cooking, sewing, and maintenance generally can be supplied by the traditional craftsman and the home activities required of the women are traditional, although less burdensome than in the town or village of origin.

Nearly half of the townsmen migrant heads of household were married before leaving the home community. On arrival in Ankara all but 5% stayed in the homes of family or fellow townsmen. Residential clusters of townsmen in the older gecekondu areas become points of entry for migrants, where half of the migrants locate their first housing. In these neighborhood clusters, families exchange assistance and maintain traditional values. Those families who located first in regular housing, some 20% of our townsmen sample, stated in interviews that they did so without assistance from townsmen, but even these families continue to be in an informal network of communications among townsmen in the city.

The duration of stay in the first residence is, on the average, four and a half years and three years for second or third residences. Families usually move within the same gecekondu area, without much improving their housing conditions. As incomes increase through time, the proportion of income spent on housing declines, largely because of a lack of housing of intermediate quality.

The cleavage between gecekondu houses and regular houses is evident in the rents. Gecekondu houses rent from 80 TL a month to approximately 130 TL a month. From this range the rents jump to 500 TL a month and then there are gradations up in quality. Regular housing is costly because it conforms to zoning regulations in quality of construction, in size of the dwelling unit, in utilities supplied, and in the numerous fees paid to the local government to secure permission and during construction. Gecekondu housing is lower in cost and not much improved through time because owners are insecure in their rights to the land and

hesitate to improve their property beyond a certain limit.

The duality in occupation and in life style is intrinsic to the stratification system of Ankara. At the top and center of the system is an elite, modern in both occupations and life style, drawn predominantly from the old urban elite of Istanbul, Izmir, and to some extent, from the large provincial cities. Below this peak are the migrants from the Anatolian countryside, with five class levels. Class 5 in our sample is upper managerial level and professionals and wealthy merchants; Class 4 is middle white collar and prosperous merchants. Both classes are modern in occupation and in life style, but the referent group for Class 5 tends to be the national elite, while Class 4 is more provincial and small town in its sub-culture.

Class 3 is modern in occupation, including in its range lower white collar workers, technicians and modern sector skilled, shopkeepers, and service personnel catering to modern sector families. However, Class 3 families usually have their homes in gecekondu neighborhoods; and family roles, household activities, and consumption patterns follow a traditional model.

In Class 2, some men, such as factory workers or the unskilled holding government jobs, earn in the modern sector, but most are craftsmen or service workers gaining a livelihood by serving the gecekondu neighborhoods. Class 1 is the unskilled. Both Class 2 and Class 1 live in gecekondu areas.

The village migrants are disadvantaged by their lack of urban skills, fewer years of schooling, but particularly by the lack of a

social network in the urban area such as that which eases the migration process for the town's migrants. Although a few village migrants find employment as skilled laborers or may secure a government job, most remain as unskilled laborers.

In absolute terms, the migrants prosper in the city. The town migrants have, on the average incomes well over twice as high as in the home community. Even the villager in the city earns about 50% more than the average man living in the town. In relative terms, nearly half of the town's migrants maintain the same relative status in Ankara as in their home town and 31% are upwardly mobile. The earlier the age at migration the more the likelihood of upward mobility. The downwardly mobile tend to be families where the head of household had a lower class status in the town and then migrated at an older age than the average.

Can it be concluded that, at least in the case of Ankara, urban concentration has resulted in industrialization, in the transformation of labor force into specialized services, in the modernization of values?

Certainly migration results in an improvement in the level of living for most migrants, but residence in Ankara does not necessarily transform the labor force from traditional sector to modern. The changes in occupational structure through migration in no way parallels the change in income levels. Traditional occupations continue because there is presently a market for their products and skills in the city, and traditional life styles continue because of the informal networks among migrants from the same community, the continuing dependence on the home community, and the relative insulation of gecekondu neighborhoods.

Perhaps the most important conclusion from this research is that the city of Ankara is not a detached entity, an island of modernity afloat in a traditional countryside, as it often seems to those who work and live in the modern sector. Seventy percent of the urban population originates within a 150 kilometer radius. Each village or town community has its representatives perpetuating a traditional life style and traditional occupations. With the Ankara-born coming generations, however, the behaviors and values and the skills will change. The demands on the formal job market will increase when they seek employment; and as the sense of small community identity and traditional values of obedience are lost, more responsibility will be assumed by the formal institutional structure than is at present necessary.

Finally, the city of Ankara cannot be distinct, from its immediate hinterland. As long as the rural areas and small towns remain stagnant as they are now, people will continue to seek employment in the city and bring to the city their rural ways. A complete modernization of the Ankara metropolis ultimately requires investment in, and development of, the entire metropolitan influence area.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. SECOND FIVE YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN - 1968-1972, published by the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey, Ankara, 1969, pp. 291-300. Also see the Annual Programs published by Başbakanlık Basimevi for 1968 through 1972.
2. In Ankara, residential areas are either "gecekondu" or "regular housing". Structures on 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 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 in Ankara. The word "gecekondu" 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 owner's permission, without conforming to the rules that regulate construction and reconstruction."

Given the fact that almost all of the gecekondu houses are built on State land, this legal definition encompasses residential areas that vary widely 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 gecekondu are defined as structures with one or two rooms, built close to one another, with 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. Such areas are in Yenidogan and parts of Altindag.

The gecekondu areas that conform to the second definition comprise less than half of the total gecekondu areas. Several studies on gecekondu concentrated on the mentioned gecekondu 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.

For the proportions of Ankara inhabitants in gecekondu housing, see: Dr. Turhan Yürükan, Gecekondu ve Gecekondu Bölgelerinin Sosyo-kültürel Özellikleri, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, 1968.

3. Discussion Paper No. 1. of the EAS series was entitled "Migration and Urban Social Structures". Migration from the town was viewed as one response of the socio-economic consequences of the growth of the Ankara metropolitan influence area. Formerly Iskilip had served a series of markets: a regional market, its village hinterland, and the town itself. As Ankara grows and a modern sector economy spread outward, Iskilip is undergoing a shift from its former role as a traditional small urban center with a handicraft export economic base to becoming a town in a still developing modern urban hierarchy. From an analysis of the income distribution and occupational structure of the town, it is obvious that migration is disproportionately high from the craftsmen group that served the disappearing regional market for Iskilip's exports.

In Ankara, the migrant's progress is facilitated by an informal network of communication. In the network are several types of participants. Most migrants are what we have called "The Ordinary Man". This man lives in gecekondu housing and works as a government clerk, technician, driver, craftsman, or service worker. The average monthly income in 1970 was 900 TL. In each gecekondu area with a cluster of Iskilip families lives a man we have labelled "The Area Contact Man." He usually has a shop or a small business and a monthly income of about 2500 TL per month. He knows the Iskilip families in the area and possibly does small favors for them as the need arises. When someone from outside wishes to contact Iskilip people there, it is usually this central man who is approached.

There are about twenty-five men from Iskilip in Ankara who have succeeded as merchants, and a few have prospered to the extent that they may be considered wealthy. For the Ordinary Man, the Merchant carries a special significance. The Merchant is the craftsman turned shopkeeper to merchant who has succeeded through a traditional route, while adhering to traditional values and expectations for behavior.

The "Educated Man" has a lice or university education and holds a high salaried position in a government bureaucracy. Together with the Merchants, these highly placed men may be called upon by ordinary townsmen for help.

Because of this informal social network based on town identity, the individual migrating has more or less detailed information on what conditions exist in the city and he has people at his own or higher social levels whom he may contact for small but vital bits of assistance. The picture of the underdeveloped country where the lone migrant from the countryside arrives in the big city carrying all his earthly possession on his back is simply inaccurate.

CHAPTER II

1. The picture is at one moment in time and does not show the occupational changes undergone by the migrants. Data is not available on Ankara for occupational comparisons of the migrants with that of Ankara general at different periods; but it may be assumed that because the Iskilip migration has been steady over the past four decades, the present balance is not radically different from that of the past.

Group 1 has only 10% merchants and the remainder are high level bureaucrats and administrators.

2. See: J. R. Harris and M. P. Todaro, "A Two Sector Model of Migration with Urban Unemployment in Developing Economies," (Working Paper, Department of Economics, MIT, No. 33, Dec. 1968, mimeo.)
3. Tugrul Akçura, Ankara, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti Hakkında Monograf Bir Araştırma, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1970, Akçura's study gives the range of the educational level by the middle social groups (all of our Group 2 is included) residential areas. Taking the averages it is seen that 23% of the heads of household in Group 2 have university education, 50% lise or middle school, and 22% have primary school education or less. The corresponding figures for the Iskilip migrants are: 5%, 60%, and 35%.
4. The bill numbered 657 came into effect in December, 1970. This bill, called the "personnel bill", changed the State pay system and salaries completely. The income by occupation to which the migrant had responded before that bill is not known, so the influence of income on occupational mobility cannot be determined definitely.
5. Measure by the formula: $\frac{A - B}{T} \times 100$ where
A = the entry into the occupation after the first job in Ankara
B = the exit from the occupation after the first job in Ankara
T = total employment in that occupational group
6. The Amele Pazarı. There is no general term in economics for this phenomena. Literally, the phrase translates as "laborers market or bazaar". In designated areas of the city men wanting employment for the day wait for other men needing laborers for the day to come and hire them.
7. An obvious point is that official employment agencies are not serving the town migrants. Of 161 heads of household, only 15% located their first jobs either by reading a notice somewhere or by assistance from the State Employment Agency. Almost all of the migrants located jobs through their townsmen informal network of communication.

5. The five levels of income are:	No. in sample
5. above 3000 TL per month	19
4. 2001 to 3000 TL per month	25
3. 1201 to 2000 TL per month	54
2. 750 to 1200 TL per month	43
1. 750 TL or less per month	20

The five levels of education are:	
5. above lise	9
4. lise and	
3. middle school	35
2. primary school	83
1. no schooling	34

The five levels of occupation prestige and reward:	
5. professional, high managerial, wealthy merchant	10
4. middle white collar shop keeper	35
3. technicians, salesclerks (modern sector), skilled (modern sector), tailors and other craftsmen serving the modern sector	30
2. factory workers, skilled traditional, salesclerk (traditional sector)	45
1. unskilled	41

Each head of household had three scores, the average of which, sometimes modified by the judgment of the researchers, became his class level.

The number in each class is:

Class 5 = 8
Class 4 = 21
Class 3 = 44
Class 2 = 55
Class 1 = 33

The villagers, as discussed separately, were not included in the class level analysis, but most would be Class 1, with four of the men at Class 3 level.

6. The average age at migration:
- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| Classes 5 and 4 | = Except for the few merchants, they all migrated as students. |
| Class 3 | = 19 years and 3 months |
| Class 2 | = 22 years and 10 months |
| Class 1 | = 30 years old |

CHAPTER III

1. By "prior to migration" is meant those cases where the head of household came to Ankara and rented a house before searching for a job or setting up a shop.
2. Those who migrated after 1969 are excluded because their length of stay is too brief for the analysis.
3. YASA, Ibrahim, "Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri," Akin Matbaasi, 1966. p. 138.

CHAPTER IV

1. Historically, the neighboring kaza of Bayat was also tied to Iskilip. Even today people from Bayat and its villages speak of themselves as villagers of Iskilip, do their marketing there, and seek work in Iskilip.
2. These include clerks, teachers, salaried religious men (imam, and vaiz), high income craftsmen (mainly butchers, carpenters, and some shoemakers), and more prosperous shopkeepers.
3. To establish a point of reference the average annual household income
 1. for the town is 9114 TL.
 2. for the villages is 3600 TL.The per capita income was 3764 TL. in 1970, in current prices, and the average household size is about 5 people.
4. In a class society, individuals of similar rank or status tend to associate, a class sub-culture exists, and there is a high relationship between the positions of fathers and their sons. However, the barriers to mobility are low enough that the individual may change his class identity by changing class related behaviors. In a caste system or in the estate system of medieval Europe, an individual's position in the stratification system is ascribed by birth. The various dimensions of ranking are highly integrated in the latter: occupation, prestige, income, behavior traits such as dress and language, religious cult activities. India's system of caste is the most extreme, with each caste a separate endogamous corporate group of related lineages practicing just one or two occupations and totally distinguishable by its own subculture.

7. The criteria for selection of the sample villages were: 1. size The average village in Iskilip has a population of 508 . There are villages of one thousand inhabitants or more. Our sample included one large village, 4 average sized villages and 3 small.
2. distance from the town Since access to the town and the outside may be a variable in migration, the sample included villages near the town, at a medium distance, and remote villages.
3. ecological zones The two major types, mountain and plain, are equally represented. 4. Response to change . We included one village because it is near a large, mechanized, modern farm that has displaced labor from the area.

The presentation of village migration in this report is far from complete. We cannot at this time discuss the causes or correlates of migration from the villages. There is, for example, considerable seasonal village migration into a number of urban areas. Male seasonal migration is often a first step to permanent family migration.

The easiest first step out of the village is into the central town. Most small urban centers in the Ankara metropolitan area are, like Iskilip, giving their middle level strata of families to Ankara while the elite remains and villagers move in at the bottom in numbers equal to or greater than the outmigration.