

27208

CLASS AND CULTURE:
THE CASES OF KIRIKKALE AND ANKARA

A Ph. D. Dissertation

Presented by

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to

the Graduate School of Social Sciences
of Middle East Technical University
in Partial Fulfillment for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

SOCIOLOGY

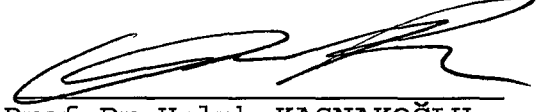
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

ANKARA


September, 1993

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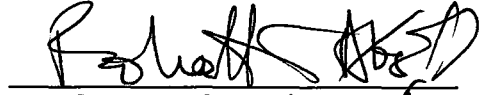
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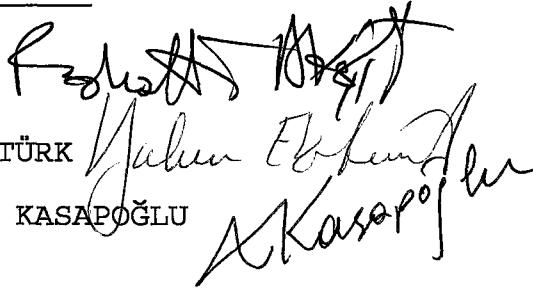

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ABSTRACT

CLASS AND CULTURE: THE CASES OF KIRIKKALE AND ANKARA

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Ph.D in Sociology

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Bahattin AKŞİT

September, 1993, 262 pages

This study elaborates useability of Wright's social class model which is developed for the analysis of class formation and class structure of advanced capitalist societies, for the analyses of the same phenomenon in urban communities of newly industrial capitalist societies, such as Turkey. For this purposes, the model has been comprehended in accordance with other class models; and its decisive conceptualization of social class, based on relation of exploitation has been identified. Then, its basic concepts and premises about advanced capitalist societies have been elaborated with their problems, under the titles of class boundaries, class formation. The model has also been modified with respect to peculiarities of Kırıkkale and Ankara. Survey research and evaluations have been made through this new model of analysis. Lastly, explanatory power of class concepts have been elaborated through some selected variables, such as religious and political actions.

Comprehension on issue has been carried out by a comparative approach, on Kırıkkale, a middle sized industrial city and Ankara national capital. Some further comparisons have also been realized with advanced capitalist societies, USA and Sweden.

In this context, it is argued that Wright's model of social class are suppressed by capitalism bias and economic reductionism. It comprehends economic relations i.e., relations of exploitations as the determinants of other social relations. Thus, it misunderstood non economic factors, such as influences of clientalism in Turkey. Model disregards some of the persons who are un-integrated with capitalism within relations of production. Also, it disregards differences between economic sectors, when deciding class boundaries, such as manufacturing and tourism; and between forms of ownership of means of production, such as private and state ownerships in Turkey. Then, class categories which are in usage have less or no power to explain other social occurrences.

On the other hand, Wright's model also enable us to see that studied urban territories have gained characteristics of class society which has class categories peculiar to capitalist societies. Also, it has seen as a decisive aspects for these two communities that contradictory class locations are widely expanded, which show both advance in capitalism through experts, supervisors and managers and also resisting against capitalism through small employers, petty bourgeoisie and petty traders as well as casual workers.

Keywords: Class, Culture, Social Change, Town and City, Industrialization and Social Change.

Science Code: 211.03.01

ÖZ

SINIF ve KÜLTÜR: KIRIKKALE ve ANKARA ÖRNEKLERİ

ERBAŞ, Hayriye

Doktora Tezi, Sosyoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Bahattin AKŞİT

EYLÜL, 1993, 262 sayfa.

Bu çalışmada, gelişmiş kapitalist toplumlar için hazırlanmış olan Wright'ın sınıf modelinin, yeni kapitalistleşmekte/ gelişmekte olan Türkiye kent topluluklarının çözümlenişinde kullanılabilirliği irdelenmiştir. Bu amaçla öncelikle bu modelin diğer sınıf modelleri içindeki yeri ve sömürü değişkeni aracılığı ile benimsediği temel sınıf tanımı belirginleştirilmiş; daha sonra gelişmiş kapitalist topluluklar için geçerliliğini savunduğu temel önermeler, sınıf sınırları ve sınıf oluşumu başlıkları altında ele alınmış; karşılaştığı sorunlar tartışılmıştır. Ardından, incelenecek kentlerin özelliklerine göre modelde değişiklikler yapılmış; araştırma ve değerlendirme bu yeni model üzerinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Son olarak ise, kullanılan yeni sınıf modelinin açıklayıcılığı, siyasal tercih, dinsel davranış gibi seçilmiş belli değişkenler üzerinde irdelenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Değerlendirmeler, orta büyüklükte bir sanayi kenti olan Kırıkkale ve metropol büyüklüğünde bir yönetim/hizmetler kenti olan Ankara'ya ait veri tabanı üzerinde, kısmen karşılaştırmacı bir yaklaşım çerçevesinde gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Aynı karşılaştırma, çok daha az oranda da olsa gelişmiş ülkelerin kentsel sınıf yapıları ile de yapılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu çerçevede, Wright'ın

modelinin genel olarak sınıf modellerinin ortak kapitalizm yanlılığı ile yüklü ve ekonomik indirgemeci oldukları yargıları benimsenmiştir. Ekonomik ilişkileri i.e. sömürü ilişkilerini, diğer toplumsal ilişkilerin belirleyicisi olarak kurgular, böylece ekonomi dışı faktörleri de, örneğin Türkiye’de siyasal örgütlenmenin klientalist niteliğinden kaynaklanan etkileri yanlış algılar ya da algılayamazlar. Model kapitalizm ile üretim ilişkileri içinde bütünleşmemiş insanları gözden geçirir. Sanayi ve hizmetler gibi çalışma sektörleri arası farklılıkları; kamu ve özel mülkler gibi mülkiyet biçimlerinden kaynaklanan farklılıkları sınıf sınırlarını belirlemede hesaba katamaz. Sonuçta kullanılan sınıf kategorilerinin diğer toplumsal oluşumlar üzerindeki açıklayıcı gücü önemli oranda sınırlıdır; hatta yoktur.

Tüm bunlara karşın bir çözümleme modeli olarak kullanıldığında, irdelenen kentlerin kapitalist sınıf toplumu niteliğini önemli oranda kazandıklarını gösterir. İncelenen kentlerin ayırteci özelliği olarak, hem küçük ölçekli iş sahipliği, düzensiz koşullarda işçilik gibi, kapitalist ilişkilere geçiş sürecine direnci işaret eden; hem de kapitalist gelişmenin göstergeleri olan uzmanlık, denetçilik, yöneticilik gibi ara sınıf kategorilerinde şişkinlik saptanabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sınıf, Kültür, Toplumsal Değişme, Kasaba ve Kent, Sanayileşme ve Toplumsal Değişme.

Bilim Dalı Sayısal Kodu: 211.03.01

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Research and evaluations will probably be more pleasant for me if I can keep my beliefs on efficiency of class analysis using Marxist theory as I particularly have from the beginning. Unfortunately, my cognition about very basic natures of social classes with their formation and consequent structures and about their social 'functions' have largely been changed during the period of preparation of the present thesis. Fortunately, I hope I have achieved some clues for further class analysis without any pre-occupations about their nature and functions.

Besides enthusiasms, I have gained not only of some ability on survey research but also brought a chance to see friendly relations within academy through the exemplars of Prof.Dr. Bahattin Akşit, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yakin Ertürk, and Assoc, Prof. Dr. Y. Ziya Özcan at the various stages of the study. They have, in fact, directly participated into study financed by MERC on 'Comparative Project on Class Structure and Class Consciousness' for their particular emphases.

Also, I feel that similar kind of friendly relations among students of class analysis which I can see at 'VI'th International Meeting on Comparative Project on Class Structure and Class Consciousness, Grenada, Spain' have positively influenced me to continue on.

It must also be pointed out that this study can not be achieved if MERC has not financed such a study. Naturally, I say that all failures are my own besides my all mentioned gratitude.

LIST OF SYMBOLS

BCL	Basic class location
CCL	Contradictory class location
CMP	Capitalist mode of production
SCMP	Simple commodity mode of production
DP	Democratic Party
CHP	Republican Populist Party
ANAP	Motherland Party
DYP	True Path Party
MÇP	Nationalist Labor Party
RP	Welfare Party
IDP	Reformist Democratic Party
SHP	Social Democratic Populist Party
DSP	Democratic Leftist Party
SP	Socialist Party



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study basically attempts to analyze class structures in a middle sized industrial city, Kırıkkale and the national capital of Turkey, Ankara, with larger and denser population as well as much more central position within national totality. The analyses will be done in accordance with the model of Wright which makes also analyses be comparable to the other national cases comprehended through "Comparative Project on Class Structure and Class Consciousness." In other words, this study has been focused itself on Wright's model of social classes rather than to elaborate all available class conceptions and to decide to best model; due not only to its prominence over international sociological scene but my belief on its' capability of containing most of operational categories generated by other class conceptions have already be available in sociological thought.

The class analyses in two cities mentioned above can also

provide a data base to think about reliability and validity of class conceptions, which are constructed mainly for the analysis of advanced capitalist societies of Western World, onto the cases of newly capitalist non-western social formations. Thus, we can not only decide to how social transformation and class formation is interrelated, or how much capitalist class society have been appeared in surveyed cases; but also decide to what conceptual and analytical tools for such an analyses are, i.e. categories of operational definitions of social classes in a newly-industrializing non-western capitalist social formation.

1. 1. Literature Review

Theoretical debate on social class has wide range of issues which may grow even faster than the class analysis Hindess (see Clegg and Emmision, 1991; 32). pointed out class formations and identifications as two basic fields of issue in class analysis in which second one has look at structural characteristics of social classes, such as age, sex and their relations with behaviors, such as voting; whereas former one looks for how social classes have formed, reconstructed or structured (Golthorpe, 1983) themselves as the actors of social transformation. I think, three fields of research can also be identified for didactic, heuristic purposes as 1) research on class formation; 2) research on class relations; and 3) research on explanatory power of

social class conceptions over other spheres of social reality or totality in which social classes are only particular realities.

The units of analysis for these three groups are not mutually exclusive but rather interrelated with each other. Analysis on class formation provides information not only on how much studied community can get characteristics of class one but also on whether class formation have accelerated towards pluralization or polarization; and realized in violent or peaceful conditions. Last questions have also reflect an implicit belief on 'revolutionary potential' of social classes as the actors of social changes. However, role of social classes in social and political transformation has also reflect assumption of class struggle shaping as violent conflict between antagonists social classes in history. Thus, questions for sociological analysis hesitating on class struggle when there is no violent conflict have largely been shaped around issues whether class relations are segregative or integrative in any fields of social life.

On the other hand, all these debates have shared a common belief on what social class are. Goldthorpe (1968a; 1968b; 1969) as one of father of the founders of studies on class formations rather than class structure or Giddens (1983) with his very famous emphasis on 'structuration' have also shared very basic definitions of social classes

on the basis of economic categories. Thus, class formation is only possible if economic bases, i.e. capitalist market relations are available. If capitalism has no reality, there is no room for class formations. All other social groups are social groups with their particular basis but not social classes. This is a kind of 'capitalism biased' which can make class analysis as a field of research for academic purposes only with have no relations to social relations and transformations. This may be one of the very basic reason for why class conceptions or construction are already in use although they have no explanatory power for social actions in any kind.

In this frame of reference, I think that basic question for class analysis has to be constructed on what social classes are rather than how they are formed or functioning in social or political transformations. Therefore, related literature have been considered in accordance with their decisive contributions into class conceptions rather than their analysis on class formations, relations and explanatory power over social reality.

Class debate generated itself as a conflict between Marx and Weber. (Reissman,1965; Bendix and Lipset ed., 1966) Marx has basically argued that 1) social history is the history of class struggle; 2) social classes (and also political, cultural and other superstructural

features) are determined by their economic bases; 3) social classes have tendency towards polarization into two basic classes as the intermediary ones have a tendency to shrink in one of them. Thus, class relations between basic classes have already gone into class struggle (Tumin, 1967; Lockwood, 1988; Parkin, F., 1979; So, et.al., 1990).

Weber, as declared himself as bourgeois Marx, i.e. contrasting mirror image of Marx, argued with his characteristic historicist emphasis that 1) social classes are social groups specific to capitalist societies on which they have been identified on the basis of market relations (Weber, M., 1966). In other words, there is also classless society before class society; preceding market and money economy. Also, 2) social classes are not simple economic categories but status (or prestige) groups; and their 'grouping' has not been determined by their economic positions if the economy is defined as the relations of production, i.e. work places; but social classes are determined by their members' position on consumption relations; 3) thus, there is no tendency to polarization, manifesting itself as the class struggle, as Marx assumed, but a plurality of social classes in which each class legitimizes others as the prestige groups are stratified in social organization.

Thus Weber proposes a model of social stratification in order to analyze social groupings rather than social classes alone. This makes him able to get theoretical room for non-economic or non-consumptional factors, such as political and cultural ones influencing social stratification in a similar way of what Lockwood (1988) says for utilitarianism and Parsons. This capability of his approach makes him as influential on contemporary class conceptions as his antagonist.

In fact, Weber's influences on later class theorists not only generating from his own theoretical strength but also from contemporary capitalism generating a huge amount of employment facilities in non-industrial areas, i.e. service jobs performed in offices. The 'informal sector's job opportunities' in underdeveloped capitalist societies have also similar characteristics with non-industrial works (Hart, 1973; Quijano, 1974; Geertz, 1963a; 1963b; Moser, 1978; Gerry and Brommley (eds.): 1979; Gerry and Birkbeck, 1981; Scott, 1979; Sethureman, 1978). Contemporary capitalism is also a media society in which class boundaries can easily be penetrated by media networks which may make class conscious of economically antagonistic classes be fused into each other.

In such a complex network of social relations, C. Wright Mills (1951; 1956) paid his own attention to managers' class position in a

developed capitalist society, USA and concluded that they are a part of middle classes; separate from capitalists because they have no property ownership on means of production, and they are different from classical wage workers because they have a power on regulation of work. Thus, besides property ownership, the authority over management has also determined persons' locations in social class structure.

Dahrendorf, (1959) in Germany also tried to study same phenomena by emphasizing that distribution of authority has as much influence as the distribution of means of production on social classes. Capitalism has a new stage, Marx couldn't see, which is characterized by de-composition of capital and labor which is declared themselves as middle classes. That is, ownership of capital has lost its determinance over capitalism to `managers;' and labor, generates within itself new sub-sects, not only in the form of managers but also in the forms of aristocracy of labor and other skilled industrial and non-industrial wage works.

Goldthorpe, Lockwood and Bechhofer (1968a, 1968b, 1969) have conceptualized `affluent classes' as the classes consisting not only of skilled industrial and office workers but also classes of small scale self employed occupants; because they have more money than classical

unskilled industrial workers. In other words, they pay attention to the importance of income level determining class position of individual man. Also, class categories should be dismissed off if they have no power on explaining individuals perceptions and relations with self and others. They are attempts to eliminate such insufficiencies of structuralist and individualist approaches.

Poulantzas (1973; 1975; 1977; 1983) has also a similar line of thought by which agreed on, for capitalist mode of production, emphasizing class pluralization rather than polarization. First, he strictly defines social classes (and other social groups) on the basis of individuals' position on divisions of ownership and labor. He identifies a list of 'old and new petty bourgeoisies'. However, Poulantzas also argued that social classes can only be formed by being conscious and active at political scene through class struggle. If there is no class struggle, there is no social class. Thus, Poulantzas identified only two social classes of bourgeoisie and working classes which he called as the basic classes. And then, for him, other social classes are not the social classes but social stratum and categories.

In fact, Poulantzas has already suppressed with very basic problem of Marxism, economic and political reductionism. Thus, first, he had to define social classes as economic categories; and then he

had to identify them as the political agents. In other words, for Poulantzas, economic categories have to be political agents and any political agent has to have an economic basis simultaneously.

These kinds of problems have been tackled by Carchedi (1977) He propose that social classes have to be analyzed at two different levels of abstraction, namely mode of production and social formation. Modes of production which consist of relations of production generating their own peculiar class divisions. On the other hand, social formation which consists of coexistence of different modes of production under one of their dominance has also generated further class divisions through its particular economic, political, cultural and ideological levels. In this frame of reference, non-economic social groups can also be taken into considerations as social classes, such as ruling classes and ruled social classes as Poulantzas pointed on. Thus, basic question is not only defined within economic spheres but also through relations between economic base and non-economic superstructural levels. In other words, issue on class analysis has still the relationships between economic and non-economic spheres but not social classes in themselves.

Parkin (1974; 1983) focuses his attention on social classes within themselves by emphasizing concept of social closure. He argued

that social class can take the power as they have increased their internal closure within themselves. In other words, he identifies the maturity of social classes on the basis of their members' closeness to each other but not on the basis of their members' identification to economic class interests.

Class debates have also accelerated on the basis of underdeveloped capitalist societies' realities generating 'informal sector' and 'simple commodity mode of production' conceptualizations. There are many individuals who can not be taken into consideration through conventional class categories constructed for developed nations. These people are not the people whom they are in Weber's social castes or strata in alienation from private property and market relations. Although, they had been conceptualized by some of the Weberian modernization theorists as traditional social groups which are in transition towards modernity as they are being integrated with market economy; they are also conceptualized as strictly integrated or articulated into 'modern economy'. In both arguments, Marxism and Modernism classify these people with respect to their economic characteristics on their employment conditions, i.e. relations of production either under the names of informal sector or simple commodity mode of production.

In other words, both schools of thought, originating from modernism and dependency conceptualizations, ignores the role of social and cultural factors on class formation in (or at least dominated by) modern economic system (Akşit, 1985; Taylor, 1979). Hence, social and cultural factors have only been taken into consideration with respect to economic factors which are assumed as the basis of social classes. In this framework, studies of cultural factors have their significance by their role on economic development so called as modernization under the name of modernity defined as human consequences or preconditions of modernization. They are generally evaluated either suppliers or obstacles on development. Thus, the question of class formation looks for the parallelism between economic and cultural activities.

In other words, considering the role of culture has not necessarily mean respecting the people's self esteem-power to shape their own destiny or class position. Role of culture on determining of social class has generally been argued as an indicator of traditionalism which has to be abandoned. This is one of the predominant reason of why cultural factors have been generally accounted by Weberian modernists to elaborate social classes in underdeveloped societies. In fact, these are not the social classes in Weberian sense; but they are

stratum which Weber generates to clarify the societies which have no internal potential of growth.

1. 2. **Basic Premises and Concepts of E. O. Wright**

Wright is an attempt towards producing an analytical model and structured means to comprehend class differences on concrete social reality mainly with respect to Marxism (Bloom, and Kivienen, 1987). Thus, his model also is an attempt to eliminate analytical insufficiencies or unuseability of Marxist class conceptions for observation. Such unuseability is apparent mainly in Marx and Engels' own works. They have used various class concepts whereas they have too little explicitly defined criteria on how analysts can define class boundaries separating them from each other in the context of social relations. Poulantzas, as a brilliant Marxist analysis for improving Marx and Engels' class conception has also some of the criteria to identify class boundaries but not structured means of observation, data collection and data processing.

Wright (1978) constructs his own class conception, which is peculiar for capitalist society, on the basis of the issue of exploitation. He operationalizes his concept of exploitation through three items,

ownership of means of production, using and controlling of others' labor. Thus, he is going to search on class analysis at the levels of relations of production and mode of production as the mode of production has been defined as a combining system of activities of production, distribution and consumption. Wright explores his own class categories, on a spatial analogy, as the locations of persons through social arena or relations of exploitation under two main titles as the basic and contradictory locations; hereafter they can also be called as basic and contradictory social classes.

In other words, he argued that any single mode of production has not only two antagonistic-polarized basic social classes but also contradictory class locations in itself. Also, there are more contradictory class locations than the contradictory class locations of articulated modes of production where additional locations have been occurred through articulating or mediating mechanisms between modes of productions.

Capitalist society is a social formation where simple commodity mode of production (SCMP) and capitalist mode of production (CMP) have been articulated under the dominance of the second. Thus, any capitalist social formation, free from their gradual position on capitalist development, has basic class locations (BCL's) and

contradictory class locations (CCL's) of SCMP and CMP as well as additional CCL's specific to capitalist social formation. Thus, it can also be assumed that differences between developed and underdeveloped capitalist social formations correspond to quantitative differences rather than qualitative ones. Although all BCLs and CCLs could be seen in any capitalist social formation; quantitative weights of existing BCL's and CCL's have many differences in developed and underdeveloped capitalist social formations.

In this theoretical frame of references, Wright identifies his own peculiar class categories for advanced capitalist society in two steps. First, he identifies three basic locations of bourgeoisie, proletariat and petty bourgeoisie as the basic class locations; and managers, supervisors, small employers and semi-autonomous wage earners as contradictory class locations. Second, he conceptualizes experts instead of semi-autonomous wage-earners because semi-autonomous wage earners have largely be defined considering market relations i.e., domination rather than exploitation i.e., relations of production. This is well indicated through Wright's identifications on operational characteristics petty bourgeoisie, small employers and wage earners.

Table-1: Wright's Identifications of Class Categories

	Make Work Place Policy Decisions	Supervise Others	Credentials Typically Required in Occupation	Self Employed	Employ others (2 or more)
Managers	Yes	....	....	No	No
Supervisors	No	Yes	....	No	No
Experts	No	No	Yes	No	No
Workers	No	No	No	No	No
Petty Bourgeoisie	....	....	....	Yes	No
Small Employers	....	....	....	Yes	Yes

Source: Wright, E. O. and B. Martin, (1987) p:10.

1. 3. **Defining Class Boundaries:**
Basic Premisses and Concepts of
Research

The weakest ring of Wright's model has been found out at that point where it emphasizes on categorization of class locations as quantification of exploitation. Therefore, it lost not only of differences among proletariat but also differences among employers who are not necessarily capitalists but can also be state bureaucracy as in Kırıkkale. This incapability to grasp differences among capitalists also led it to be unable to perceive differences between work places, which could be classified from smallest to largest, from agricultural to financial to electronic etc. Thus, office workers and factory workers have necessarily been fused into each other because of they have no ownership of means of production, no use of others labour, no control

over other labour, unskilled and surviving by selling their unskilled labour. Similarly, varieties among skilled workers, experts, managers and supervisors which have been generated through sectoral differences have also been misunderstood.

In this context, some clarifications must be identified as my point of departures. First, I have preferred the term of 'capitalists' rather than bourgeoisie or employers because of the two reasons. First, formation of bourgeoisie as a social class has no parallelism with formation of 'bourg' as an autonomous community in a conflict against feudal-rural or political-military power, in Turkey. They have characteristics of bourgeoisie due just only to they hold capital. In fact, it must also be questioned how much they have autonomous power of bourgeoisie not only against regulations but also against precapitalistic mechanisms of social and economic relations and control. In contrasts, capitalists have largely been flourished on the basis of state interventions; and they have largely be identified with traditional-conservative ideologies. Second, I also reject the term employers because of top level state bureaucracy could not be comprehended under the name of employer although they have larger amounts of employees than most of capital owners.

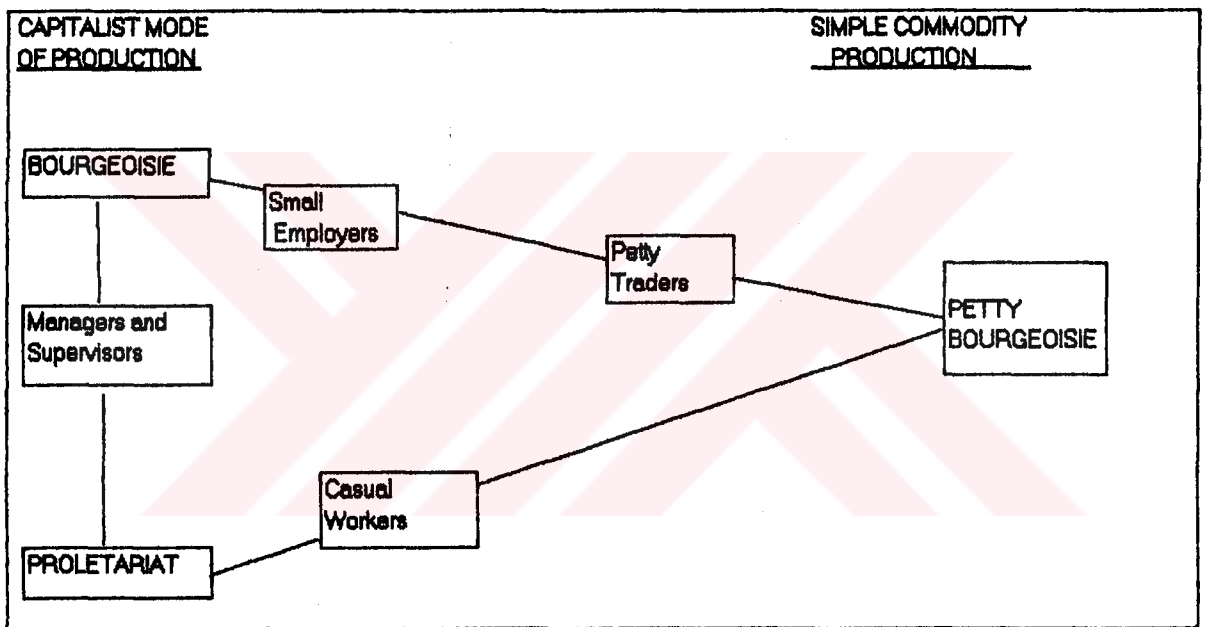
Second, I add to table the categories of petty traders and casual workers as two contradictory locations generating on the basis of intermediary mechanisms of articulation of modes of productions. They are traders and workers who have no permanent work places and regulations. In fact petty traders are not only consists of traders but all other forms of economic activities realized on streets, i.e. informal sector occupants. In contrast to some Marxist comprehension on these persons, I argued that petty traders located in between petty bourgeoisie and small employers. It is not enough for one to be a worker because of he/she has dependent upon to a larger unit i.e. exploited by larger unit through direct or indirect linkages since these linkages are true for any kind of economic activity.

On the other hand, casual workers have located between petty bourgeoisie and unskilled wage workers. They are not comprehended as petty traders and semi-autonomous wage workers because they are not got their money as wages already, such as carriers. They earn their bread by selling their labour but not by selling goods or using means of labour in their private property as in the case of petty traders.

Third, I have identified all employers who have employees less than 10 person as small employers; whereas Wright argues that petty

bourgeois can also use of one other's labour besides his/her own favor, unpaid family workers and apprentices. In this context, I have use ten categories about class locations by using the categories of unskilled wage workers, skilled workers, experts and managers as Wright defines them; as they are indicated in Figure-1.

Figure-1: Basic and Contradictory Class Locations of Present Study



Capital Letters:	Basic Class Locations
Small Letters :	Contradictory Class Locations

Note: Adopted from E. O. Wright, 1978:63.

1. 4. **Question of CCL's: Debate on Polarity
vs Plurality**

Most of the problems for Wright's model have generated from identification of CCL's. It has to decide to which locations are necessary as well as which ones are not. There must also be some quantitative criterion for such a decision which Wright's model has lost; and it has implicitly used qualitative criteria of Marxism as it is reformulated under the concept of exploitation. As it will be further discussed, polarity plurality dualism is one of the very basic stimuli for class debates in general. It is generally comprehended that class formations and historical-social transformation will necessarily be violent and revolutionary if polarity is the basic way of class formation; and vice versa. Also, intermediary class categories will necessarily be absorbed into basic class categories as a necessary precondition for class struggle and revolutionary change. However, most political revolutions, either popular or class based, have been occurred after violent struggles free from whether they have occurred from a society with intermediary categories or not. In contrast, Soviet, Chinese and Cuban revolutions as well as French one can easily evidenced that revolution has occurred through a violence if intermediary class categories have dominance within society. In this context, question of polarity plurality dualism should not attempt to answer the question of

social change but decide to how much and in which form capitalist class society has been realized.

1. 5. **Unaccounteds:**
Problem of Unemployed Household
Members

In addition to Wright's failure to grasp some very basic social aspects defining individual's locations within class structure; such as income as successfully studied by Goldthorpe et.al. (1968a; 1968b; 1969) class analyses as most of other sociological ones have very fundamental failures. Sociological studies using questionnaires as the basic technique of data collection have a strong dependency on respondents by themselves and dismissed a huge amount of persons out off consideration. They can affect social relations of respondent whom concepts of class locations have been constructed on. Also, they indicate social spheres of class locations within family networks. To add these unaccounted persons in to the picture I have got data on respondents' close social environments which consist of family members and friends.

Family members as they are in household can affect individual's class locations in two basic ways. First, different locations

can be merged into each other; and family's class locations can be different from its members, particularly head of household's class locations. Second, number and quality of unemployed household members can influence employed household members, i.e. household members who have a class location. This is relatively more important at single employed families. It can be argued that single employed family is typical for Turkish family in which housewives, house-girls, unemployed adult boys and their wives if they are got married stayed in.

1. 6. Questions and Research Hypotheses

In this context, this study attempts to illustrate processes and differences about class formation and consequent class structures in relation to social changes in a middle-sized industrial city and the national capital of Turkey. It will also be enable us to evaluate conventional class conceptions with their arguments on class boundaries as they are identified in 10 categories mentioned above. The arguments of polarization and pluralization will also be discussed.

Also, the study looks for social, political and cultural features of basic social classes and class locations to what extent economically defined class categories have been transformed into social class? It will

enable us to evaluate debates on the relationships between social classes' economic foundations and social, cultural, political and ideological aspects of social reality, and so on.

Thus, basic arguments or hypothesis of this dissertation can be summarized as follows:

1) The proportion of people belonging to simple commodity mode of production and contradictory class locations is more than the proportion of basic class locations in Turkey; because leading sectors of domestic capitalism does not has much autonomous power to appropriated majority of labor force for its own benefits alone.

2) There are relatively more people at contradictory class locations in between simple commodity mode of production and capitalist mode of production in Turkish cities; because Turkish society has been transformed itself from pre-capitalistic forms of productions to capitalistic ones.

3) There are relatively less numbers of people at contradictory class locations specific to capitalist mode of production, namely managers, supervisors and experts; because Turkish society

does not have enough success on capitalist organization i.e. centralization and condensation of capitalist relations.

4) Cross-class transitions have also high rates in Turkey, because, class boundaries have not clearly been identified as well as class borders have been not strictly closed for others.

5) There are less statistically significant differences between basic and contradictory class locations with respect to differences in terms of actions and opinions; due to expansion through contradictory locations rather than basic ones.

6) There are high rates of horizontal and vertical mobility i.e possibility of going to top as a result of specific way of formation of urbanization and proletarianization in Turkey.

CHAPTER II

METHOD OF RESEARCH AND PRESENTATION

2. 1. Method of Research

A structured questionnaire has been prepared and deep interviews on limited numbers of respondents have been realized in order to get a relatively valid data base in order to discuss on mentioned questions. Although questionnaire has been constructed based on Wright questionnaires of Comparative Project On Class Structure and Class Consciousness which has been developed in 1982, it is not simply one to one translation from English to Turkish. Akşit's (1971; 1975; 1985) questionnaires and studies on Kırıkkale and Çorum, next and more populated urban center at north east of Kırıkkale have also been used for the preparation of documentary sources. Before final survey in Kırıkkale, two previous steps of field study have been carried out. First, communications have been with formal officers and various persons at community; such as provincial governor, the mayor, quarter headmen (muhtars), local journalists etc. Second, most of persons who have recently been communicated visited

again with more structured form of questionnaire as well as some other ordinary persons in Kırıkkale. Third, final survey have been realized.

Sample has been selected from lists at local bureau of elections which consists of name and addresses of voters into political elections. Number of persons within sample has also been decided in considering distribution of participants into quarter areas. Respondents have been decided as employed or un-employed persons who looks for an employment opportunity seriously. This criterion turns the sample as the sample of males because there are little number of economically active females. If anybody could be found with such characteristics and one of the eligible neighbors has been selected by researcher or interviewers at the field.

Twelve university students in senior classes from the departments mainly of social sciences have been recruited as interviewers to collect data. They have been trained roughly for 30 days by the researcher at Ankara. Researcher and these students have settled at Kırıkkale for approximately 30 days. Field study have been completed in summer months, july, august 1990. Some of respondents have also been visited by researcher at later dates.

Raw data has been processed on personal computers by using specific data base program, Paradox Release III to entering the data into computer and SPSS for statistical analysis. Coding and entering of raw data into computers took approximately six months; and data cleaning also data modifications have consumed many more months.

Similar procedures have also been carried out for Ankara, 1991, from July to September; whereas sampling procedures were radically different from Kırıkkale. Sample is selected by State Institute of Statistics. Questionnaire used for data collection in Ankara have differences from which those ones used in Kırıkkale; although it enables a comparison possible. Data coding, entering, cleaning, modification and further procedures have relatively lesser times in comparison to Kırıkkale.

2. 2. Peculiarities of Two Cities: Kırıkkale and Ankara;

Different paths of articulations of CMP and pre-capitalist modes of productions can generate different social results i.e. class locations and different paths of class formation. For example, establishment of CMP's domination through the expansion of service

jobs under state ownership rather than mercantilism and industrialism under the leadership of private capital generates different results at social arena (Geertz, 1963b and Akşit, 1985b).

In this sense, Kırıkkale is a very special case. It has been constructed under an apparent state intervention into rural area, Kırık village (Yıldırım, 1966; Akşit, 1971; Aslıyüce, 1974; Atalay, 1984); whereas Ankara had already be an urban area for centuries. Kırıkkale located at central Anatolia; surrounded by Ankara, Çankırı, Çorum, Yozgat, Kırşehir. It is located on Ankara-Samsun and Ankara-Kayseri and Erzurum highways and railways. It was originally a village, named Kırık. It has been transformed into an urban area by establishment of a military-industrial factory next to village in 1925. There are seven military industrial units established at several years in City. There are also non-military but governmental large scale industrial units in Kırıkkale established through years after military establishments. Under these influences, village grew rapidly by pulling a huge amount of population from other communities. Later, relatively large scaled (but smaller than governmental units) private establishments have flourished at various sectors of economy.

Kırıkkale is not representing a way of urbanization via rural development of its own hinterland, regionalization. Regionalism, if

exists, is a consequent product of its urbanization under external interventions. In 1940 the rural and urban population was almost equal; but especially after 1960 the urban population of the district began to be more than rural population. According to data from SIS in 1985 total urban population was 208018 but the rural population is only 54331. The proportional weight of urban population was 52.50 % and 79.29 % in 1945 and 1985 for Kırıkkale; and 18.44 % for 1945 and 45.44 % for 1980 for Turkey, respectively. In other words, Kırıkkale is only a center even for its rural hinterland whereas Ankara is a national metropolis with its disproportionately larger and denser population than Kırıkkale.

In Kırıkkale, although it is an industrial creature of state intervention from above, urban structures have very characteristics of over-urbanization, (Roberts, 1979) which is conceptualized by Akşit (1971) under the term of industrial-commercial involution, characterized by expansion of urban economy through non-industrial sectors rather than industrial jobs. Over-urbanization accepted as the characteristics of 'underdeveloped' countries with the population centered in relatively few urban centers which have high rate of growth (Roberts, 1978) (See Table 2). These cities are viewed as being overpopulated, with high level of unemployment or underemployment. The concentration of jobs is in 'non-productive' activities created by

government, in commerce or personal services. These facets are evident especially for Kırıkkale more than Ankara. Recently, both involutory growth and unemployment are two appearances of same fact that Kırıkkale has largely lost its 'pulling' capacity. It has no ability to generate new income opportunities particularly at formal establishments. Thus, urban population has been grew due not only to fertility but due also to continues immigration, probably made in considering high rates of 'expected wage' (Todaro, 1969; 1971; Harris and Todaro, 1970).

Kırıkkale is an urban area where 60 % of economically active population have been employed in military factories in Kırıkkale. However, factories have seen have no further capacity for labor absorption. Although, proportional weight of employed persons by total number of population for Turkey is 24.68 % and 25.69 % for Ankara; it is 22 % for Kırıkkale. In other words, household heads in Kırıkkale either keep their family members away from work or they are largely unemployed in 1980'es in contrast to early years of foundation of the city.

Unemployment is more obvious when we look at urban areas. Proportional weights of employed population at urban Kırıkkale is 19.92 % whereas it is 31.10 % in Ankara and 29.50 % in Turkey in general in

1980. These employed people consist of 33.84 % of economically active population in Kırıkkale whereas same ratios are 48.70 % for Ankara; and 61.7 % for Turkey in general. Dependency ratio even at urban Kırıkkale (75.30 %) is higher than national percentages (71.81) including also rural areas. Females have composed of only 1.53 % of total employed persons whereas same ratio is 7 % for Ankara.

Table-2: Number and Proportion of Urban Populations in Kırıkkale, Ankara by Five Years

Population in Kırıkkale and Ankara by Years								
Years	Kırıkkale	% change	Differences	Ankara	% Change	Differences	Turkey	% change
		per 5 years	from Turkey		per 5 years	from Turkey		for Turkey
1935	4599			122720			16158018	18.39
1940	11434	148.62	138.33	157242	28.13	17.84	17820950	10.29
1945	14496	26.78	21.34	226712	44.18	38.74	18790174	5.44
1950	15750	8.65	-2.83	288536	27.26	15.78	20947188	11.48
1955	27807	76.55	61.67	451241	56.39	41.51	24064763	14.88
1960	42904	54.29	38.96	650067	44.06	28.73	27754820	15.33
1965	57669	34.41	21.31	905660	39.32	26.22	31391421	13.10
1970	91658	58.94	45.52	1236152	36.49	23.07	35605176	13.42
1975	137874	50.42	37.10	1701004	37.60	24.28	40347719	13.32
1980	176401	29.39	18.51	1877755	10.39	-0.49	44736957	10.88
1985	208018	16.60	3.35	2235035	19.03	5.78	50664458	13.25
1990	243378	17.00	5.54	2559471	14.52	3.06	56473035	11.46

Kırıkkale is a center for industrial labor whereas Ankara is a center for service-office labor. Proportional weight of labor at service sector is 44.78% and 36 % for Ankara and Kırıkkale respectively in 1985. 43 % of employed persons have been employed at industrial units in Kırıkkale.

Kırıkkale has younger population than Ankara and Turkey's; 40.8 % of population is younger than 15 years old, whereas proportional weights of elders with more than 60 years old has lesser than national percentages.

Although it is established through an external intervention from above, Kırıkkale is still seen as an unorganized city (Akşit, 1971; Kıray, 1972b). There are 21 neighborhoods which are concentrated around city center which is also shaped around government buildings, named Republican Plaza. In fact, plaza is not a plaza, but a relatively better constructed street. Plaza is far away from factories and other large scale work places. It is a kind of housing and consumptional marketing center. Transportational and large scale commercial networks are established at peripheries of city which is separated from center by also housing areas. Some of these housing areas are in fact old rural villages which have been joined into city because of demographic expansion.

In sum, Kırıkkale is an urban area representing urbanization by state intervention from above whereas Ankara has much more dependent upon its rural and urban hinterland. Ankara is more urbanized if we define urbanization with respect to size and density of population; (Park, et al., 1925) whereas Kırıkkale is more urbanized if we define urbanization by industrialization i.e. increase in number of industrial labour force (Castells, 1976).

2. 3. Sample

Sample has be captured within general title of area sampling by considering such a segregated spatial organization of Kırıkkale. There are two basic groups of neighborhoods, namely old and new, either established as joined villages or new settlements for newcomers which could have totally different populations. Thus, 425 persons have been selected from 21 quarters in Kırıkkale, as it is illustrated below.

On the other hand, it has relatively more difficulty to select a representative sample from Ankara with its total population approximately three millions. Same method of area sampling as it is operationalized in Kırıkkale have no feasibility for Ankara. Thus, sample have been selected by SIS, by considering income levels and occupational statuses of urban population by breakening down over urban quarters also. Thus, 479

respondents have been selected from different quarters of urban Ankara, as they are indicated in the following table.

Table-3: Number and Proportion of Respondents By Neighborhoods in Kırıkkale

	N	%
Bağlarbaşı	33	7.8
Bahçelievler	17	4.0
Etiler	24	5.6
Gündoğdu	23	5.4
Kaletepe	48	11.3
Karşıyaka	18	4.2
Sanayi	37	8.7
Selimözer	15	3.5
Yuva	12	2.8
Çalılıöz	32	7.5
Fabrikalar	11	2.6
Gürler	16	3.8
Güzeltepe	15	3.5
Hüseyin Kahya	9	2.1
Kızılırmak	2	.5
Kurtuluş	14	3.3
Ovacık	13	3.1
Tepebaşı	16	3.8
Yaylacık	30	7.1
Yenimahalle	37	8.7
Yenidoğan	3	.7
TOTAL	425	100.0

Table-4: Number and Proportion of Respondents by Districts and Income Groups in Ankara

LOWER INCOME AREAS	N	%
Altındağ		
Feridun Çelik	14	2.9
Yıldıztepe	14	2.9
Solfasol	14	2.9
Doğantepe	21	4.4
Mamak		
Ege	14	2.9
Saime Kadın	14	2.9
Gülveren	14	2.9
Araplar	7	1.5
Balkiraz	21	4.4
Yeni Mahalle		
Ergazi	13	2.7
Avcılar	10	2.1
Keçiören		
Pınarbaşı	28	5.8
Atapark	21	4.4
Çankaya		
Aşık Paşa	14	2.9
Zafertepe	7	1.5
Total	226	47.1

MIDDLE INCOME AREAS **N** **%****Keçiören**

Yunus Emre	7	1.5
İncirli	14	2.9
Tepebaşı	14	2.9

Mamak

Abidinpaşa	13	2.7
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Yenimahalle

Demetlale	18	3.8
Karşıyaka	19	4.0

Sincan

Fatih Mah.	15	3.1
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Çankaya

Tınaztepe	14	2.9
Öveçler	21	4.4
İlkadım	21	4.4

Total **156** **32.6**

UPPER INCOME AREAS **N** **%****Altındağ**

Örnek	12	2.5
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Keçiören

Aşağı Eğlence	21	4.4
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Continued at following page.

Çankaya

Yüzüncü Yıl	21	4.4
Yukarı Ayrancı	22	4.6
Güven Mah	21	4.4
Total	97	20.3

GRAND TOTAL **479** **100.0**

2. 4. Method of Presentation: Plan of Dissertation

Report plan has composed of seven main chapter including introduction and conclusion. Theoretical evaluations are largely been presented in introduction. However, some further comprehension about class formations, and particular characteristics of social change and urbanization, politics and religion in Turkey have been presented in chapters, numbered as (4), (5), (5.1.1.), (5.2.3.3.) and (6.2), respectively.

CHAPTER III
BASIC AND CONTRADICTIONARY LOCATIONS IN KIRIKKALE AND
ANKARA

3. 1. BCL's and CCL's in Cases

**3. 1. 1. Basic and Contradictory Locations of
the Respondents**

As it has already been pointed out that Wright has been comprehended as an attempt on generating structured means of data collection and processing for class analysis where social classes have been identified in accordance to Marxist categories. Also, following informal sector discussion, I added to Wright's model the categories of petty traders and casual workers in which they have been conceptualized as contradictory class locations (CCL's) in between SCMP and CMP; that is, in between proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. On the other hand, I have left out some of Wright CCL'S, which corresponds to internal diversifications of experts within themselves as they are particular consequences of large scale capitalist firms i.e

center of capitalist monopolies. I have to put an end on proliferation on to categorization into details, although further elaboration is also available on the basis of Marxist debates.

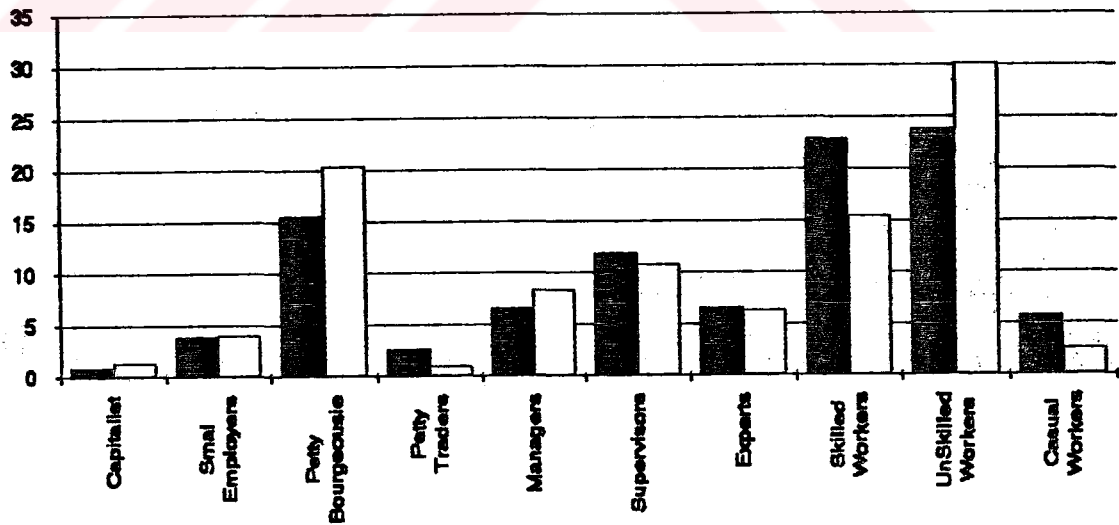
In this context, following Wright, I have constructed 10 categories of class locations on the basis of 21 items which give information about respondents' location on 1) exploitation, 2) ownership of means of production, 3) use and control of others labor. In Wright model there are three basic classes at capitalist social formations namely, capitalists, proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. In present study, as already been discussed at section on 'polarity vs plurality,' proletariat have been diversified within itself into further units, namely unskilled workers, skilled workers, casual workers, experts, supervisors and managers. In fact, casual workers can also be seen as a contradictory locations between petty bourgeoisie and proletariat. On the other hand, small employers have been identified as an contradictory location within capitalists themselves whereas petty traders appeared in between petty bourgeoisie and proletariat. I will use each of these locations in order to comprehend class composition in Kırıkkale and Ankara.

In this context, it must also be pointed out that formal school degrees have not been considered as a determinant for laborers'

Table-5: Numbers and Proportions of Class Locations in Kırıkkale and Ankara

Class	Kırıkkale		Ankara	
	N	%	N	%
Capitalist	4	0.9	6	1.3
Small Employers	16	3.8	19	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	66	15.5	97	20.3
Petty Traders	11	2.6	5	1
Managers	28	6.6	40	8.3
Supervisors	50	11.8	52	10.8
Experts	28	6.6	30	6.3
Skilled Workers	97	22.8	74	15.4
Unskilled Workers	101	23.8	144	30.1
Casual Workers	24	5.6	12	2.5
Total	425	100	479	100

Graph-1: Numbers and Proportions of Class Locations in Kırıkkale and Ankara



locations to comprehend assets in scarce skills/ talent. Managers and supervisors have been identified with respect to their degree in control of others labors; experts have been identified if they have any vocational training and skilled workers have been identified if they have any skill. There are managers, supervisors, experts and skill workers with lower degrees of education than the degrees of education advised by Wright (1985:149-153).

First question is whether the communities in discussion are class societies or not; whereas second one is, which class locations are dominant in these communities. These questions necessarily answer the question of social change i.e. how much capitalist mode of production get success in its dominance over others. Kırıkkale is a city of proletariat. Number of persons who belong to this basic class locations of capitalist mode of production, as it is defined as sum of skilled and unskilled workers (46.6 %) and capitalist (0.9) have made of 47.5 % of total population. Also largest group directly belongs to skilled workers in city. Contradictory locations indicating a high rate in establishment of capitalist mode of production have also considerable proportion in community, with proportional rate of managers, supervisors and experts at 25 %. However, small commodity mode of production has a negligible portion in class structure with 15.5 % of petty bourgeoisie. Petty bourgeoisie has second largest group in the city. Also, small

employer, casual workers and petty traders, as contradictory locations between modes of production have some which attached a transitional characteristics of city with their proportional percentages of 12 %. (See table 5)

Ankara, on the other hand, is a city of unskilled workers who have made of largest group in Ankara. They are largely been employed at service sector at public spheres in contrast to Kirikkale where skilled worker have largely been employed at large scale industrial units or small scale manufacturing establishments. Proportional weight of skilled workers have lesser than unskilled one in Ankara and vice versa. Also, petty bourgeoisie has shared second portion of population in Ankara. Interestingly, they have more weight in class structures than they have in Kirikkale. However, Ankara has a more established pattern of class structure if we look at weight of contradictory locations between modes of production. Their proportion in total population is only 7.5 %, approximately two times less than Kirikkale. In this context, Kirikkale seems to have proportionally more weights of pre-capitalistic or pro-capitalistic (Keyder, 1981) forms whereas Ankara have more capitalistic forms. On the other hand, contradictory locations within capitalist mode of production itself have shares of 47.76 % in Kirikkale and 40.91% in Ankara. This enabled us to argue, in contrast to former one, that Kirikkale has more developed

forms of capitalist organization whereas Ankara have less developed forms. However, if skilled workers have been excluded from contradictory locations, proportional weights of same contradictory locations make such an argument to declare Ankara to have more capitalistic forms than Kırıkkale with their proportional weights of 24.94% in Kırıkkale and 25.46 % in Ankara.

Also, it must be remembered that contradictory locations specific to CMP have largely been generated on the basis of clientalism in large scale public firms rather than specializations necessary for work efficiently. Disproportionately higher number of employees are being employed at public firms rather than private ones in both cities; although Ankara has little more labour at private ones (See table-6).

Table-6: Proportions of Labour at Private and Public Firms.

	Kırıkkale %	Ankara %
Public Firms	72.2	62
Private Firms	27.8	38
Total	100	100

It must also be noted that it is questionable how much Ankara has more established patterns of social classes than Kırıkkale, as it will be further analyzed with respect to data on USA and Sweden,

because a coefficient calculated on shift sharing technique have indicate a few of differences between two cases (Wright, 1985:195-211).

Table-7: Shift-Shares between Ankara and Kirikkale

Class Locations	Differences
Ankara-Kirikkale	
Capitalist	- 0.4
Small Employers	- 0.2
Petty Bourgeoisie	- 4.8
Petty Traders	+ 1.8
Managers	- 1.8
Supervisors	+ 0.9
Experts	+ 0.3
Skilled Wage Workers	+ 7.4
Unskilled Wage Workers	- 6.3
Casual workers	+ 3.1
Average	0.2

Table-7 shows that there is a differences in between two cities with only 0.2 % although two cities have seemed to be totally different on the basis of their size, density, and patterns of work.

However, shift-share coefficients have more importance if they are comprehended as indicators of proportional weights of class locations within community. On this basis, Kırıkkale is a city of factory and Ankara is a city of offices with their largest locations of skilled and unskilled (i.e. salaried) wage workers. As it will be further discussed at the section on polarity vs plurality, people belonging to basic class locations of capitalist and small commodity modes of production in Kırıkkale have less number than Ankara, except skilled wage workers. This also means that 'entrepreneurial dynamics' of population in Kırıkkale has been less developed than Ankara which is further evidenced by less of people belong to small employers and petty bourgeoisie in Kırıkkale. Their entrepreneurial capacity have largely expanded towards petty trading instead of petty work; as it is called 'commercial-manufacturing involution' by Akşit (1985: 133-139). In this contexts, as it will be further evidenced in section on comparison with Sweden and USA, Ankara has more matured forms of capitalism than Kırıkkale.

Also, what presented data has evidenced is that both cities have very characteristics of capitalist class society rather than non-capitalist one. But, conventional class analysis have necessarily excludes a huge amounts of population who have no labor realized on

market mechanisms. Needless to say, their weights have necessarily been considered in any sociological analysis.

**3. 2. Un-accounteds: Basic and Contradictory
Class Locations of Household Members**

Proportional weights of class locations have also a similar distribution if their proportions have been calculated by considering family members. Respondents have consisted of only 19.26 % and 25.04 % of total population (respondents plus their household members) in Kırıkkale and Ankara respectively. In other words, 80.74 % and 74.96% of people have not been directly accounted although they have closely joined into the studied class locations. If we consider only persons with age greater than 11, proportional weight of unaccounted people have decreased by 6.1 points to 74.64 % in Kırıkkale and by 5.28 points to 69.68 % in Ankara. In any case, there are more than 50 % of population who are unaccounted in both cities. And these unaccounted populations can have significant influences on respondents' actions at different spheres of life in a similar way of their linkages with rural backgrounds.

There could be two basic causes of influences, generated from quantity and quality of unaccounted members. First, family have

a different locations at class structure from each of its members class locations. This way is only possible if families have members with different employment conditions (Wright, 1987). In these conditions, various locations can be merged into each other within family. This merge can influence members life conditions positively or negatively. University students and housewives either who earn nothing or lesser money than his partner (i.e. spend more than she earn) are examples of positive influences. Unpaid family workers and wage earners who gave his money into his/her partners are relatively best examples of negative influences. Second way is generally observed in the cases of 'one-employed family.' In these cases there are two theoretical alternatives for 'others' i.e unemployed: 1) being an unpaid family worker; 2) being a guarantee insurance for further family expectations. However, either in the case of guarantee or slaves, they are dependent upon employed household members.

As it will be discussed into its details at further sections, it is necessary looking at unemployed partners' (composed largely of females in both cities) and children's position within household relation or family works to answer whether unemployed (i.e. unaccounted by class analysis) family members are slave, serf or guarantee. One of the basic indicators for such a discussion can be inferred from evidence on dependency ratios. If we redefine

dependency ratio as number of persons (including employed and unemployed) for each employed person; average numbers are 3.51 and 2.58 for Kırıkkale and Ankara, respectively. That is to say 3.51 persons, including bread earner who shares what bread earner can bring in Kırıkkale (See Table-8).

In other words, proportional weight of dependent persons are disproportionately higher in Kırıkkale than Ankara. This may be one of the basic reason influencing human actions at different spheres of life which is very characteristics for Kırıkkale. In this context, question is whether there is any significant differences among class location with respect to dependency ratios. Experts have an exceptional characteristics with its ratio of 2.83 which is 0.68 point lesser than average in Kırıkkale where petty traders have highest value of dependency ratio. Ankara has also a similar table where experts have lowest value and petty traders have highest value of dependency ratios. Dependency is very basic characteristics of females as it is evidenced by employment ratios of female (See Table-8).

Among respondents, there are only 23 females (5.4 % of respondents) who have got regular employment opportunity in Kırıkkale and 103 employed females (21.5 % of respondents) in Ankara. Same ratios of females who have a regular employment 8.4 %

and 28 % among total numbers of family members who have aged grater than 12 years old in Kirikkale and Ankara, respectively. They have been appropriated as either house wives and house girls i.e. potential house wives in both cities.

Table-8: Employment Conditions of Household Members by Class Locations

	Employment Conditions among Family Members					
	Kirikkale			Ankara		
	Employed	Household	(2)/(1)	Employed	Household	(2)/(1)
	and Retired(1)	Members(2)		and Retired(1)	Members(2)	
Capitalists	5	25	5.00	8	25	3.13
Small Employers	29	93	3.21	31	69	2.23
Petty Bourgeoisie	104	350	3.37	148	398	2.69
Petty Traders	14	74	5.29	5	20	4.00
Managers	41	138	3.37	63	150	2.38
Supervisors	77	270	3.51	80	211	2.64
Experts	42	119	2.83	51	93	1.82
Skilled Workers	140	481	3.44	117	308	2.63
UnSkilled Workers	144	534	3.71	215	581	2.70
Casual Workers	33	121	3.67	23	57	2.48
Total	629	2205	3.51	741	1912	2.58

Have these unaccounted household members can be evidence of the assumption of pre-capitalist society for Kirikkale and Ankara? In my opinion, unaccounted household members have necessarily generated outcomes of conventional class analysis which have no room to grasp labor staying out of market and related production.

3. 3. Comparison with Sweden and USA

Differences between Kırıkkale and Ankara with respect to establishment of capitalist mode of production have got more visibility if class compositions of both cities have been compared to class compositions of western-developed capitalists societies. I will use data on USA and Sweden. I have recalculate average scores by adding shift-share scores on petty traders and casual workers which have no place in available data on USA and Sweden (Wright, 1985: 195-211). Thus, average-1 compares class locations considered within 'ideal typical' of capitalist social formation by Wright which are also available in Kırıkkale and Ankara as well as USA and Sweden whereas average-2 compares class compositions in which other categories have also taken place within themselves as they are in concrete reality.

Comparison between Turkish cities and USA and Sweden has to be made in two levels, namely class locations belong to ideal typical of capitalist social formation and concrete forms of articulation. (See table-9) In this sense, differences between Kırıkkale, Ankara and western societies are lesser at level of class locations belonging to ideal typical of articulations of modes of production than the differences at level of concrete social formation. Also, differences between Kırıkkale

and western societies have more visibility than their comparison with Ankara.

Table-9: Shift-Shares between USA, Sweden, Ankara and Kirikkale

	Differences			
	USA - Kirikkale	USA - Ankara	Sweden-Kirikkale	Sweden-Ankara
Capitalist	-0.9	-0.5	0.2	0.6
Small Employers	-2.2	-2.0	-1.0	-0.8
Petty Bourgeoisie	8.6	13.4	10.1	14.9
Managers	-5.8	-4.0	-4.3	-2.5
Supervisors	-5.5	-6.5	1.7	0.8
Experts	3.2	2.9	-0.2	-0.5
Skilled Workers	10.6	3.2	5.0	-2.4
Unskilled Workers	-16.1	-9.8	-19.7	-13.4
AVERAGE-1	8.2	3.3	8.4	3.3
Petty Traders	2.6	1.0	2.6	1.0
Casual Workers	5.6	2.5	5.6	2.5
AVERAGE-2	16.4	6.8	16.6	6.8

However, both Kirikkale and Ankara have basic characteristics of newly developing capitalist society as evidenced not only on expansion of labour market through petty trade and casual works but also as an expansion on petty bourgeoisie which have lesser number and proportions in Sweden and USA. Also, unskilled workers, managers and Supervisors have disproportionately smaller numbers in both cities than Sweden and USA.

These data identify not only of some characteristics of a newly developing capitalist social formation but also rate of differences between Kırıkkale and Ankara. Kırıkkale has more characteristics of precapitalistic relations as Ankara has more capitalistic ones.

3. 4. Some Remarks on Polarity vs Plurality

Question of plurality and polarity is one of very basic impulse for class analysis. Any arguments on polarity plurality duality reflects a hidden assumption on the way of class formation and the role of social classes in social transformation. Arguing on polarity as the way of class formations necessarily lead to another argument on necessity of class struggle and violent revolutionary changes for historical-social transformation. In this process, one of the social class is also necessarily becoming leading force of this changes as well as one of them will necessarily be hostile for this growth as a regressive actor. On the other hand, any argument on the existence of intermediary class categories between basic or fundamental class locations, feels itself, free from its argument on peaceful transition from historical stages of growth, as oblige to explain how it conceptualizes the role of fundamental and intermediary class categories in social changes.

Any evaluations on tendencies of polarity and plurality have to look at cross-class mobilities, which could be seen as cross class changes between parent's and children's class locations and between respondents first and last class location, as it will be further discussed in sections on inter and intra generational mobilities. Also; it must be necessary to look at whether petty bourgeoisie, petty traders, and small employers, i.e. 'middle classes' have lost their own work or not. However, I think it is also necessary to have a look at cases as if arguments of polarity or plurality are valid not only in order to decide on whether tendencies of polarism and pluralism have existence; but also to decide on how much and in which composition capitalist class society where capitalist mode of production have been achieved. In other words, question is whether middle classes have been flourished or not.

In this context, class structures in Kırıkkale and Ankara through which narrowed and expanded forms as in section 1.4. in introduction, have been given as in Table-5. On this table, basic class locations can be defined in two ways. First they can be defined as sum of capitalists, unskilled workers which have 24.7 % and 31.4 % of total population with respect to their narrowest identifications in Kırıkkale and Ankara. Second, they can be defined as sum of capitalist, unskilled workers and petty bourgeoisie in which they have 40.2 % and 51.7 %

of total population with their narrowest identification in Kırıkkale and Ankara, respectively. On the other hand, proportional weights of basic class locations by first and second ways of expanded definitions are 51.3 % and 69.4 % for Kırıkkale and 50.8 % and 72.1 % for Ankara, respectively if we added nearest locations to categories of capitalists, petty bourgeoisie and unskilled workers, in which they are small employers, petty traders and skilled workers.

Table-10: Numbers and Proportions of BCL's and CCL's in their Narrowed and Expanded Identifications

	Proportion of Class Locations			
	Kırıkkale		Ankara	
	N	%	N	%
Capitalists				
Capitalists	4	0.9	6	1.3
Capitalists-1	20	4.7	25	5.3
Capitalists-2	86	20.2	122	25.6
Capitalists-3	97	22.8	127	26.6
Middle Classes				
Petty Bourgeoisie	66	15.5	97	20.3
Petty Bourgeoisie-1	77	18.1	102	21.3
Petty Bourgeoisie-2	105	24.7	142	29.7
Petty Bourgeoisie-3	155	36.5	194	40.6
Petty Bourgeoisie-4	183	43.1	224	46.9
Petty Bourgeoisie-5	199	46.9	243	50.9
Petty Bourgeoisie-6	296	69.7	317	66.3
Working Class				
Working Class	101	23.8	144	30.1
Working Class-1	198	46.6	218	45.5
Working Class-2	226	53.2	248	51.8
Working Class-3	276	65.0	300	62.6
Working Class-4	304	71.6	340	70.9
Working Class-5	328	77.2	352	73.4

Capitalists have 22.8 % and 26.6% whereas proletariat have 77.2 % and 73.2 % of total population in Kirikkale and Ankara respectively; if capitalists and proletariat have been defined with their most expanded forms. (See table 10) On the other hand, middle classes have also shares 15.5 % and 20.3 % of total population if they have been identified as sum of petty bourgeoisie alone. Also, they have shared 21.9 % and 25.3 % of total population if they can be identified as 'traditional petty bourgeoisie' of Poulantzas, (1977; 1983) generating either as residuals or indicators of 'commercial and industrial involution' of Akşit (1985) as sum of petty bourgeoisie, petty traders and small employers in Kirikkale and Ankara, respectively. Third, middle classes consists of 46.9 % and 50.9% of total population in both cities if we add proportional weights of managers, supervisors and experts as core of 'new petty bourgeoisie.' Fourth, middle classes have arrived the ranges of 69.7 % and 66.3 % of total population in Kirikkale and Ankara, respectively; by adding skilled workers into the calculation by assuming skilled workers have began to be isolated from pure form of proletariat.

These evidences about class locations have again pointed out class formation has been achieved enough to label communities as capitalist; and classes grows in a plural mode in both cities where middle classes have largely been diversified new fields of work.

CHAPTER IV
IDENTIFICATION OF SOCIAL CLASSES THROUGH
CLASSIFICATORY VARIABLES

4. 1. Feminity vs Masculinity?

It will be pointed out that Kırıkkale and Ankara has different proportions of females at labor market where Kırıkkale has four times lesser number of female occupants within total occupants; although females have composed of only 21.5 % of total employed persons in Ankara. (See table-11) Question is not sexual division of labour in relation of production; but females' exclusion from labour market, i.e. sexual segregation at level of social formation.

In Kırıkkale, there are no female occupants among capitalists, petty traders and casual workers; whereas there are females in all locations in Ankara, except capitalists. On the other hand, experts have disproportionally largest amounts of female occupants in Kırıkkale. And, unskilled workers have largest groups of employed female in

Ankara where second group is skilled workers and third one petty bourgeoisie. All other locations have successfully be hold by males. This has also influences on class formation and social relations. Both processes of class and `community' formations are largely realized among males at public spheres in which females are excluded. Females are necessarily closed into their `homes,' and neighborhood and family networks. This will be strengthening controversy among males and females although such a controversy has successfully be covered by which females are largely been excluded from labour market until now.

Table-11: Numbers and Proportions of Sexes of Respondents by Class Locations

	Sex of Respondents														
	Kirkkale						Ankara								
	Female		Male		Total		Female		Male		Total				
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
Capitalists			4	100.0	4	0.9			6	100.0	6	1.3			
Small Employers	1	6.3	15	93.8	16	3.8	4	21.1	15	78.9	19	4.0			
Petty Bourgeoisie	2	3.0	64	97.0	66	15.5	13	13.4	64	86.6	97	20.3			
Petty Traders			11	100.0	11	2.6	3	60.0	2	40.0	5	1.0			
Managers	2	7.1	26	92.9	28	6.6	7	17.5	33	82.5	40	8.4			
Supervisors	2	4.0	48	96.0	50	11.8	11	21.2	41	78.8	52	10.9			
Experts	8	28.6	20	71.4	28	6.6	6	20.0	24	80.0	30	6.3			
Skilled Workers	1	1.0	96	99.0	97	22.8	18	24.3	56	75.7	74	15.4			
UnSkilled Workers	7	6.9	94	93.1	101	23.8	34	23.6	110	76.4	144	30.1			
Casual Workers			24	100.0	24	5.6	7	58.3	5	41.7	12	2.5			
Total	23	5.4	402	94.6	425	100.0	103	21.5	376	78.5	479	100			
<table border="1" style="width:100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width:50%; text-align: center;">Chi Square = 36.77415</td> <td style="width:50%; text-align: center;">DF = 9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Significance = 0.00003</td> <td style="text-align: center;">P < 0.001</td> </tr> </table>												Chi Square = 36.77415	DF = 9	Significance = 0.00003	P < 0.001
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<table border="1" style="width:100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width:50%; text-align: center;">Chi Square = 20.60254</td> <td style="width:50%; text-align: center;">DF = 9</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Significance = 0.01454</td> <td style="text-align: center;">P < 0.05</td> </tr> </table>												Chi Square = 20.60254	DF = 9	Significance = 0.01454	P < 0.05
Chi Square = 20.60254	DF = 9														
Significance = 0.01454	P < 0.05														

Sexual distribution of family members has also a similar picture with sex distribution of respondents (See table-12). Kırıkkale is a male community in which female has relatively smaller proportional weight than Ankara, where females have more than fifty % of total population. Although there is no significant differences among class locations concerning their members' sex, supervisors, casual workers have more proportional weights of females within themselves; whereas capitalists, unskilled workers and small employers have relatively smaller numbers. Experts and petty traders have a balance between male and female in themselves in their families.

One of the probable causes of such a distribution for Kırıkkale can be founded on action on marriages. Capitalists, small employers and unskilled workers could probably get married their daughters at smaller ages, whereas supervisors, managers and casual workers have not such a success. Similarly, capitalists, small employers and casual workers can have failure to get married for their young boys; or they are able to survive their young boys for longer times. Thus, married girls go out of Kırıkkale; whereas boys have been continuing to stay with their parents with or without a regular income; and married or not.

Table-12: Numbers and Proportions of Sexes of Family Members by Class Locations

	Sex of Household Members in Kirikkale							
	Female		Male		Total			
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Capitalist	9	37.5	15	62.5	24	1.1		
Small Employers	38	40.4	56	59.6	94	4.4		
Petty Bourgeoisie	158	46.6	181	53.4	339	15.7		
Petty Traders	30	50.0	30	50.0	60	2.8		
Managers	70	51.1	67	48.9	137	6.4		
Supervisors	136	52.3	124	47.7	260	12.1		
Experts	59	50.4	58	49.6	117	5.4		
Skilled Workers	232	48.9	242	51.1	474	22.0		
Unskilled Workers	238	44.9	292	55.1	530	24.6		
Casual Workers	64	52.5	58	47.5	122	5.7		
Total(Column %)	1034	47.9	1123	52.1	2157	100.0		
Chi Square = 9.48723						DF = 9	Significance = 0.39357	P > 0.05
	Sex of Household Members in Ankara							
	Female		Male		Total			
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Capitalist	12	48.0	13	52.0	25	1.3		
Small Employers	40	58.0	29	42.0	69	3.6		
Petty Bourgeoisie	203	50.6	198	49.4	401	21.0		
Petty Traders	15	75.0	5	25.0	20	1.0		
Managers	78	52.7	70	47.3	148	7.8		
Supervisors	110	52.4	100	47.6	210	11.0		
Experts	44	46.8	50	53.2	94	4.9		
Skilled Workers	169	54.9	139	45.1	308	16.1		
Unskilled Workers	310	53.2	273	46.8	583	30.6		
Casual Workers	26	52.0	24	48.0	50	2.6		
Total(Column %)	1007	52.8	901	47.2	1908	100.0		
Chi Square = 7.63251						DF = 9	Significance = 0.57156	P > 0.05

4. 2. Younger vs Elder?

Age structures as a second structural indicator shows that 53 % and 48 % of total population are younger than 25 years old in Kirikkale and Ankara, respectively (See table 14). Therefore, question of employment is not only a question for un-employed persons who have been dismissed from labour market but also a question for youth to enter into labour market. Old generations either can successfully provide employment opportunities for their younger generations and then realized social transformation, reproduction or society will be disintegrated.

Younger occupants, if we define youth with ages below 30 years old, have been largely intending towards occupations within the spheres of petty bourgeoisie, small employers, and experts in Kirikkale; and experts and unskilled workers in Ankara. In other words, younger generations have largely been intending towards private entrepreneurship in Kirikkale whereas they are intending towards public ones in Ankara (See Table-13).

Table-13: Numbers and Proportions of Age Groups of Respondents by Class Locations

	Age Groups of Respondents in Kirikkale																		
	< 20		20 - 24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-49		50-59		>59		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalists							1	25	1	25	1	25			1	25	4	0.9	
Small Employers			3	18.8	1	6.3	1	6.3	2	12.5	2	12.5	7	43.8			16	3.8	
Petty Bourgeoisie			8	12.1	10	15.2	10	15.2	4	6.1	11	16.7	16	24.2	7	10.6	66	16	
Petty Traders					2	18.2	3	27.3	2	18.2	2	18.2	1	9.1	1	9.1	11	2.6	
Managers					2	7.1	2	7.1	5	17.9	9	32.1	6	21.4	4	14.3	28	6.6	
Supervisors			4	8	4	8	9	18	6	12	9	18	11	22	7	14	50	12	
Experts			4	14.3	5	17.9	6	21.4	6	21.4	5	17.9	2	7.1			28	6.6	
Skilled Workers	1	1	5	5.2	9	9.4	11	11.5	13	13.5	21	21.9	22	22.9	14	14.6	96	23	
UnSkilled Workers			5	5	8	8	14	14	10	10	32	32	20	20	11	11	100	24	
Casual Workers	2	8.3	2	8.3	2	8.3	3	12.5	2	8.3	5	20.8	5	20.8	3	12.5	24	5.7	
Total	3	0.7	31	7.3	43	10.2	60	14.2	51	12.1	97	22.9	90	21.3	48	11.3	423	100	
Chi Square = 74.20734				DF = 63				Significance = 0.15786				P > 0.05							
	Age Groups of Respondents in Ankara																		
	< 20		20 - 24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-49		50-59		> 59		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalists								1	16.7	1	16.7	4	66.7					6	1.3
Small Employers			1	5.3	1	10.5	1	5.3	3	15.8	7	36.8	3	15.8	2	10.5	19	4	
Petty Bourgeoisie			1	1	6	6.2	11	11.3	18	18.6	32	33	21	21.6	7	7.2	97	20	
Petty Traders			2	40			1	20					2	40			5	1	
Managers			2	5	3	7.5	4	10	4	10	13	32.5	11	27.5	3	7.5	40	8.4	
Supervisors					4	7.7	9	17.3	9	17.3	21	40.4	4	7.7	5	9.6	52	11	
Experts					7	23.3	9	30	2	6.7	5	16.7	4	13.3	3	10	30	6.3	
Skilled Workers			7	9.5	8	10.8	12	16.2	11	14.9	17	23	12	16.2	7	9.5	74	15	
UnSkilled Workers			2	1.4	32	22.2	19	13.2	21	14.6	36	25	23	16	11	7.6	144	30	
Casual Workers					1	8.3	1	8.3	2	16.7	3	25	1	8.3	4	33.3	12	2.5	
Total			13	2.7	65	13.6	66	13.6	73	15.2	135	28.2	83	17.3	44	9.2	479	100	
Chi Square = 92.36027				DF = 54				Significance = 0.00089				P < 0.001							

In this context, as it is for gender segregation mentioned at above section, significance of segregation between elders and youths is probably higher than the segregation of class locations; because all locations have similar proportional weights of age groups. On the other hand, Kirikkale has more numbers of elders than Ankara who are necessarily excluded from class analysis, if we define them as persons with ages 59 and above. In fact, youths have not been accounted by class analysis because that are also unemployed. Therefore, it is necessary to look at age structures of family members in order to see influences of youths and elders on class locations.

Table-14 indicates that petty traders, managers and casual workers have larger amounts of elder relatives in their houses in Kirikkale; whereas petty traders and casual workers have also more numbers of kids under the same roof. Age structure skewed into young and old sides in Kirikkale whereas it is a little bit accelerating into the middle age group in Ankara. In other words, petty traders and casual workers have largely been suppressed by their elder and younger generations in Kirikkale. They have to pay for their elders' health caring, because most of them, have no insurance of health services as well as they have to pay also for their young children.

Table-14: Numbers and Proportions of Age Groups of Household Members by Class Locations

	Age Structure of Household Members in Kirikkale (%)										
	< 12	12-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50-59	60 >	Total	
Capitalists	29.2	25.0	12.5		4.2	12.5	12.5		4.2	1.1	
Small Employers	16.1	26.4	13.8	8.0	4.6	9.2	6.9	13.8	1.1	4.1	
Petty Borgeoisie	21.2	17.1	14.2	7.7	7.1	4.4	10.3	11.8	6.2	15.9	
Petty Traders	33.3	16.7	5.0	8.3	10.0	11.7	5.0	6.7	3.3	2.8	
Managers	21.7	18.1	12.3	8.0	6.5	6.5	11.6	10.9	43.0	6.5	
Supervisors	19.0	20.2	11.4	8.7	6.8	5.3	9.9	9.5	9.1	12.3	
Experts	26.9	15.1	9.2	12.6	10.9	8.4	9.2	5.0	2.5	5.6	
Skilled Workers	21.3	20.7	11.2	8.2	5.7	5.5	12.2	8.0	7.2	22.2	
UnSkilled Workers	20.7	24.1	9.0	7.5	6.7	5.4	12.3	9.4	5.0	24.2	
Casual Workers	24.3	22.5	9.0	5.4	7.2	2.7	11.7	11.7	5.4	5.2	
Total (Column %)	21.6	20.7	10.9	8.0	6.8	5.8	11.0	9.5	5.8	2137	
Chi Square = 81.56240		DF = 72		Significance = 0.20637				P > 0.05			
	Age Structure of Household Members in Ankara (%)										
	< 12	12-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50-59	60 >	Total	
Capitalists	4.0	32.0	16.0			8.0	20.0	20.0		1.3	
Small Employers	13.0	15.9	11.6	14.5	2.9	13.0	15.9	7.2	5.8	3.6	
Petty Borgeoisie	15.2	19.5	14.0	6.2	6.2	9.7	15.7	10.0	3.5	21.0	
Petty Traders	25.0	25.0	10.0	10.0	5.0	5.0	5.0		15.0	1.0	
Managers	15.4	14.1	13.4	9.4	9.4	6.0	17.4	11.4	3.4	7.8	
Supervisors	21.4	21.0	7.6	5.7	7.1	10.0	16.7	3.8	6.7	11.0	
Experts	18.1	5.3	10.6	19.1	20.2	3.2	7.4	10.6	5.3	4.9	
Skilled Workers	20.1	16.8	14.9	8.1	7.4	8.1	11.3	7.4	5.8	16.2	
UnSkilled Workers	16.8	19.0	12.3	11.7	7.0	7.5	11.8	8.2	5.5	30.5	
Casual Workers	18.0	20.0	16.0	6.0	4.0	6.0	12.0	6.0	12.0	2.6	
Total (Column %)	17.3	18.1	12.7	9.3	7.4	8.2	13.5	8.3	5.3	1910	
Chi Square = 133.33231		DF = 72		Significance = 0.00002				P < 0.001			

4. 3. Married vs Non-Married?

Marriage is seen as compulsory of survival in both cities (See table-15) There is almost no places for unmarried persons. Also, increase in number of married persons should be comprehended as a reflection of unavailability of sexual satisfaction other than marriages in both cities. Segregation between married and unmarried persons have expanded over class segregation in both cities. However, capitalists seen to be escape from these limitations in both cases. Experts in Kirikkale and supervisors in Ankara have a considerable number of unmarried members. As it is pointed out in table-15, more than 89 % and 94 % of respondents have been married, widowed or divorced in Kirikkale and Ankara, respectively. Their ways of marriages represents also traditional patterns of marriages in Turkey because they are relatively older than their children i.e. present generations. This analysis will also enable us to do some remarks on question on whether sunnite islam has represents traditional cultural patterns in Turkey or not.

Such a segregation between married and other has also pressed over heads of households. They have to make their children be married because they had also been married by their parents. There are at least two basic way of engagement, wedding and marriage in

Turkey, namely 'görücü usulü' -blindfold style- (without no pre-relations between groom and bride; but by decisions of parent) and 'tanışarak' (with flirt or a similar kind of friendship between candidate partners), and religious way which is largely identified on wedding ceremonies in which Kur'an has been read for community but no enjoyment has realized. These differences in action have generally been considered as indicators of modernization by which 'görücü usulü' represents traditional way of action whereas flirt represents modern way. Both 'görücü usulü' and religious way of marriages have been established in accordance with parents' decisions rather than grooms and brides's preferences; although 'görücü usulü' does not necessarily mean that to be religious-islamic one. Decision on marriages can be got in accordance to 'görücü usulü' but marriage and other ceremonies can be non-religious in any where in Turkey.

As it is illustrated at Table-16, there is no body who have got married in accordance to religious patterns in Kırıkkale whereas only 0.9 % of total population have got religious marriages in Ankara. 'Görücü usulü' is major way of marriages in Kırıkkale and Ankara; although Kırıkkale has a little bit higher points. On the other hand, approximately more than 16 % and 32 % of persons have declared that they made their marriages by flirt in Kırıkkale and Ankara, respectively.

Table-15: Numbers and Proportions of Household Members' Marital Statuses within Class Locations

	Marital Statuses for Household Members in Kırıkkale								
	Married		Never Married		Other		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalists	8	47.1	8	47.1	1	5.9	17	1.0	
Small Employers	37	50.7	36	49.3			73	4.4	
Pety Bourgeoisie	171	64.0	89	33.3	7	2.6	267	16.0	
Petty Traders	28	70.0	12	30.0			40	2.4	
Managers	65	60.2	41	38.0	2	1.9	108	6.5	
Supervisors	137	64.3	71	33.3	5	2.3	213	12.7	
Experts	49	56.3	30	34.5	8	9.2	87	5.2	
Skilled Workers	211	61.9	132	35.4	10	2.7	373	22.3	
UnSkilled Workers	241	58.6	155	37.7	15	3.6	411	24.6	
Casual Workers	51	60.7	28	34.5	4	4.8	84	5.0	
Total (Column %)	1018	60.8	603	36.0	52	3.1	1673	100.0	
Chi Square = 26.8013		DF = 18		Significance = 0.08280		P > 0.05			
	Marital Statuses for Household Members in Ankara								
	Married		Never Married		Other		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalists	12	50.0	12	50.0			24	1.5	
Small Employers	32	65.0	20	33.3	1	1.7	60	3.8	
Pety Bourgeoisie	203	59.7	122	35.9	15	4.4	340	21.6	
Petty Traders	10	66.7	5	33.3			15	1.0	
Managers	77	61.1	43	34.1	6	4.8	126	8.0	
Supervisors	99	60.0	58	35.2	8	4.8	165	10.5	
Experts	56	72.7	19	24.7	2	2.6	77	4.9	
Skilled Workers	156	63.7	81	33.1	8	3.3	245	15.5	
UnSkilled Workers	291	60.1	171	35.3	22	4.5	484	30.7	
Casual Workers	25	61.0	16	39.0			41	2.6	
Total (Column %)	968	61.4	547	34.7	62	3.9	1577	100.0	
Chi Square = 13.16765		DF = 18		Significance = 0.78152		P > 0.05			

In other words, Kırıkkale has two time less amounts of people who can get marriages in accordance to their own and partners' free will.

In Kırıkkale, experts have seen as the locations with more amount of persons who got marriages by flirt. But they have only one members at this category. Capitalists are the second and petty bourgeoisie is third largest locations with members who have got marriages by flirt. However, no locations have such members more than half. On the other side, there are two locations with persons who have got marriages by flirt as more than their fifty in Ankara where namely experts, managers, supervisors, and small employers.

Traditional or commonly realized way of marriage is 'görücü usulü' in both cities. But it has disproportionately high weight in Kırıkkale although becomes diminishing into 65 percents in Ankara. Basic groups who got marriages in this way are belong to the locations of skilled workers, small employers and petty traders in Kırıkkale and belong to petty traders, (with their five persons) casual workers, capitalists, skilled workers and petty bourgeoisie in Ankara. On the other hand, members of class locations have different aspirations about their children's marriages than their past ceremonies.

Table-16: Numbers and Propotions of Respondents by Types of Marriage within Class Locations

	Actual Way of Marriage of Respondents in Kirikkale									
	By Flirt		Görücü		Religious		Total			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Capitalists	1	33.3	2	66.7			3	0.8		
Saall Employers	1	7.7	12	92.3			13	3.4		
Petty Bourgeoisie	12	21.1	45	78.9			57	15		
Petty Traders	1	9.1	10	90.9			11	2.9		
Managers	5	19.2	21	80.8			26	6.8		
Supervisors	6	13.6	38	86.4			44	11.6		
Experts	9	37.5	15	62.5			24	6.3		
Skilled Workers	7	7.7	84	92.3			91	23.9		
UnSkilled Workers	16	17.2	77	82.8			93	24.5		
Casual Workers	3	16.7	15	83.3			18	4.7		
Total (Column %)	61	16.1	319	83.9			380	100		
Chi Square = 16.18644		DF = 9		Significance = 0.06309		P>0.05				
	Actual Way of Marriage of Respondents in Ankara									
	By Flirt		Görücü		Religious		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists	1	16.7	5	83.3					6	1.3
Saall Employers	8	42.1	11	57.9					19	4.1
Petty Bourgeoisie	26	26.8	70	72.2	1	1			97	21.1
Petty Traders			5	100					5	1.1
Managers	23	60.5	14	36.8	1	2.6			38	8.3
Supervisors	23	45.1	27	52.9			1	2	51	11.1
Experts	18	64.3	10	35.7					28	6.1
Skilled Workers	16	23.2	51	73.9	2	2.9			69	15
UnSkilled Workers	35	26.1	96	71.6			3	2.2	134	29.2
Casual Workers	1	8.3	11	91.7					12	2.6
Total (Column %)	151	32.9	300	65.4	4	0.9	4	0.9	459	100
Chi Square = 56.69432		DF = 27		Significance = 0.00070		P<0.001				

On the other hand, social pressure is not only towards to marry their children but also to find necessary condition, i.e. employment. Extended and shrinking families are probably two consequences of these pressures over parents. New members have been added into family when unemployed children have married. Then, domestic spaces for person necessarily be diminished.

4. 4. Illiterate vs Educated Intellectuals?

Education will be considered as fourth structural-classificatory variable of class locations. Table-17 shows that Kırıkkale is less educated than Ankara. Proportional rate of people with secondary school and higher level diploma is only 42.1 % in Kırıkkale whereas it is 51.2 % for Ankara. University graduates have also three times less weight in Kırıkkale. On the other hand, there is also an established correspondence in Kırıkkale and Ankara in the sense of relations between class locations and educational level. These correspondences have been achieved because most of the people have only primary school diploma in both cities. Also, most of managers have grade of lycee; whereas most of the experts have diploma of vocational schools, especially in Kırıkkale. Also, university graduates largely belong to experts in Kırıkkale whereas they belong to managers in Ankara.

Table-17: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Levels of Education within Class Locations

	Degree of Education for respondents in Kirikkale																	
	Illiterate		Literate		Primary		Secondary		Lycee		Vocation		Voc. hg		Univ		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists					2	66.7	1	33.3									3	0.7
Small Employers					10	62.5	2	12.5	1	6.3			1	6.3	2	12.5	16	3.8
Petty Bourgeoisie			4	6.1	30	45.5	15	22.7	10	15.2	2	3	2	3	3	4.5	66	15.8
Petty Traders	1	9.1			9	81.8			1	9.1							11	2.6
Managers					6	21.4	3	10.7	5	17.9	4	14.3	6	21.4	4	14.3	28	6.7
Supervisors			4	8.2	19	38.8	7	14.3	6	12.2	5	10.2	5	10.2	3	6.1	49	11.7
Experts					5	18.5	3	11.1	2	7.4	3	11.1	9	33.3	5	18.5	27	6.5
Skilled Workers	1	1.1			42	44.2	19	20	13	13.7	16	16.8	1	1.1	3	3.2	95	22.7
UnSkilled Workers	5	5.1	3	3	59	59.6	11	11.1	19	19.2	1	1			1	1	99	23.7
Casual Workers	3	12.5	2	8.3	11	45.8	3	12.5	3	12.5	2	8.3					24	5.7
Total	10	2.4	13	3.1	193	46.2	63	15.1	61	14.6	33	7.9	24	5.7	21	5	418	100
Chi Square = 169.84375			DF = 63			Significance = 0.0000			P < 0.001									
	Degree of Education for respondents in Ankara																	
	Illiterate		Literate		Primary		Secondary		Lycee		Vocation		Voc. hg		Univ		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists					65	95.9			1	16.7			1	16.7	2	33.3	6	1.3
Small Employers			1	5.3	5	26.3	2	10.5	1	5.3	1	5.3			9	47.4	19	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	1	1	3	3.1	39	40.2	15	15.5	20	20.6	4	4.1	4	4.1	11	11.3	97	20.3
Petty Traders	1	20			2	40	1	20	1	20							5	1
Managers			1	2.5	2	5	2	5	5	12.5	2	5	7	17.5	21	52.5	40	8.4
Supervisors	1	1.9			13	25	9	17.3	8	15.4			3	5.8	18	34.6	52	10.9
Experts					2	6.7	2	6.7	2	6.7	4	13.3	5	16.7	15	50	30	6.3
Skilled Workers	1	1.4	4	5.4	43	58.1	9	12.2	12	16.2	3	4.1	2	2.7			74	15.5
UnSkilled Workers	4	2.8	9	6.3	60	42	25	17.5	37	25.9	4	2.8	2	1.4	2	1.4	143	29.9
Casual Workers	3	25	2	16.7	5	41.7			2	16.7							12	2.5
Total	11	2.3	20	4.2	173	36.2	65	13.6	69	18.6	18	3.8	24	5	78	16.3	476	100
Chi Square = 249.14186			DF = 63			Significance = 0.0000			P < 0.001									

Managers and supervisors are generally lycee or vocational school graduate in Kırıkkale. They have the power of managing and supervising experts, skilled and unskilled workers with university graduation although they have lesser degrees of education.

Table-17 also proofs that education has not been restricted for some social classes. Agglomeration through primary and secondary school largely shows small kids. That is, education is a way of cross class transmission rather than class formation. Levels of education for household members makes educational differences much more clear, as indicated in Table-18.

Table-18: Numbers and Proportions of Household Members by Levels of Education within Class Locations.

	Degree of Education for Household Members in Kirikkale																	
	Illiterate		Literate		Primary		Secondary		Lycee		Vocation		Voc. high		University		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists					10	62.5	3	18.8	3	18.8							16	1.0
Small Employers	4	5.5	1	1.4	42	57.5	1	15.1	7	9.6			2	2.7	6	8.2	73	4.4
Petty Bourgeoisie	25	9.4	14	5.3	106	38.8	56	21.1	43	16.2	7	2.6	5	1.9	10	3.8	266	16.1
Petty Traders	7	17.5	1	2.5	20	50.0	5	12.5	6	15.0	1	2.5					40	2.4
Managers	6	5.6	1	0.9	29	27.1	17	15.9	26	24.3	8	7.5	10	9.3	10	9.3	107	6.5
Supervisors	24	11.5	17	8.2	80	38.5	36	17.3	29	13.9	9	4.3	6	2.9	7	3.4	208	12.6
Experts	7	8.1	4	4.7	24	27.9	19	15.1	11	12.8	4	4.7	13	15.1	10	11.6	86	5.2
Skilled Workers	34	9.4	19	5.2	158	43.5	70	19.3	47	12.9	22	6.1	5	1.4	8	2.2	363	22.0
UnSkilled Workers	42	10.3	20	4.9	199	48.7	71	17.4	53	13.0	9	2.2	3	0.7	12	2.9	409	24.8
Casual Workers	13	16.0	9	11.1	39	48.1	11	13.6	6	7.4	3	3.7					81	4.9
Total	162	9.8	86	5.2	707	42.9	293	17.8	231	14.0	63	3.8	44	2.7	63	3.8	1649	100.0
Chi Square = 198.27399				DF = 63				Significance = 0.0000				P < 0.001						
	Degree of Education for Household Members in Ankara																	
	Illiterate		Literate		Primary		Secondary		Lycee		Vocation		Voc. high		University		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists					5	20.8	5	20.8	10	41.7			2	8.3	2	8.3	24	1.5
Small Employers			3	5.1	19	32.2	6	10.2	8	13.6	3	5.1	2	3.4	18	30.5	59	3.8
Petty Bourgeoisie	13	3.8	19	5.6	131	38.6	52	15.3	67	19.8	7	2.1	12	3.5	38	11.2	339	21.6
Petty Traders	2	13.3	1	6.7	9	60.0	1	6.7	2	13.3							15	1.0
Managers	1	0.8	3	2.4	22	17.5	12	9.5	34	27.0	3	2.4	9	7.1	42	33.3	126	8.0
Supervisors	4	2.4	4	2.4	55	33.3	35	21.2	30	18.2	2	1.2	5	3.0	30	18.2	165	10.5
Experts	2	2.8			12	15.6	5	6.5	19	24.7	5	6.5	5	6.5	29	37.7	77	4.9
Skilled Workers	14	5.7	19	7.7	121	49.0	30	12.1	44	17.8	10	4.0	4	1.6	5	2.0	147	15.7
UnSkilled Workers	32	6.7	32	6.7	209	43.7	78	16.3	96	20.1	12	2.5	6	1.3	13	2.7	478	30.4
Casual Workers	8	19.5	4	9.8	24	58.5	1	2.4	3	7.3	1	2.4					41	2.6
Total	76	4.8	85	5.4	607	38.6	225	14.3	313	19.9	43	2.7	45	2.9	177	11.3	1571	100.0
Chi Square = 347.85756				DF = 63				Significance = 0.0000				P < 0.001						

4. 5. Poor vs Rich?

I will define concepts of poverty and richness on the basis of income and consumption. Also, income has been accounted considering main income of respondents, their supplementary sources of income, and house ownership. Thus, ownership of means production which have been considered at construction of class locations have not been considered again. On the other hand, consumption has basically been identified on the basis of building and living standards rather than daily consumption.

4. 5. 1. Main Income

Income has not been constructed as regular or irregular income of respondents alone. It has been accounted as total income, consisting of incomes from respondent's, partner's and other household members' primary and secondary jobs; also supplementary income in cash from other sources. In my opinion, question of income inequality which has a dominance at discussion in literature has no theoretical room at this study. Income inequality has a significance if only stratificatory class model has been possessed, which has, in fact, not been used here. For Marxist understanding of history, income inequality is a natural consequence of economic relations based on

private property and CMP. Thus, the question is simply how much each class have earned. It can be argued that locations belong to CMP can have more earnings than locations belong to SCMP. Also, sources of income will be much more modern-urbanized for locations of capitalism as they are rural for others.

In this context, income diversification in Kırıkkale has shaped in between ranges of minimum 120 000 TL and maximum 12 500 000 TL, with mean 1 416 000 TL, median 850 000 TL, mode 600 000 TL, and standard deviation 1556.988. Same values are as follows for Ankara: minimum:150 000 TL, maximum:520 000 000 TL, mean: 4 843 000 TL, median: 1 988 000 TL, mode: 1 500 000 TL, standard deviation 25360.266 (See table-19). In other words, income inequality, if there is any, is less visible on Kırıkkale in contrast to Ankara. In order to make income differences more visible, seven income groups have been constructed in which ranges of intervals have been decided in accordance with mode value; based to income diversification illustrated at table-20.

Table-19 and its graph shows proportional rates of population and income per each income group as they are defined at table-20 in Kırıkkale. Lowest income group has only share 6.88 % of total income whereas they made of 22.33 % of total population; although highest

income group has share 28.73 % of total income whereas they have made only of 6.80 % of population in Kirikkale. Income inequality is more visible in Ankara. 33.61 % of population have only 6.43 % of total income in Ankara whereas 5.53 % of population have got 52.98 % of total income.

Table-19 shows some correspondences between class locations and income groups. Petty bourgeoisie, experts and unskilled workers, supervisors, skilled workers and managers has a little bit normal curve of income distribution within themselves, respectively. They have members from poorest and richest income groups. Managers and skilled workers have a curve which has largely been skewed toward lower income groups in Kirikkale. However, poorest groups are largely made of petty traders and casual workers. Petty traders and casual workers have any member with money more than 1 799 000 TL and 2 399 000 TL, respectively. Their poverty is more visible in Ankara where petty traders have members of only two lowest income groups, whereas casual workers have members from tree lowest ones. Also experts and skilled workers have no member at highest income group in Ankara; whereas unskilled workers have. It should also be pointed out that more members of experts, skilled and unskilled class locations have been stayed at lowest two groups of income in Ankara; whereas

capitalist, small employers, and managers have no such members. (See table-21)

Table-19: Proportions of Populations within Income Groups

Income Distribution in Kirikkale				Income Distribution in Ankara			
Income Groups	% in Population	% in Income	Averages	Income Groups	% in Population	% in Income	Averages
Less than 600	22.33	6.88	441 467 ₺	Less than 1 500	33.61	6.43	926 709 ₺
600 - 1199	45.14	25.87	821 668 ₺	1 501 - 3 000	32.99	13.67	2 007 626 ₺
1200 - 1799	13.35	13.67	1 468 745 ₺	3 001 - 4 500	15.32	11.31	3 573 889 ₺
1800 - 2399	6.31	8.89	2 018 308 ₺	4 501 - 6 000	6.60	6.70	5 131 452 ₺
2400 - 2999	1.21	2.27	2 690 000 ₺	6 001 - 7 500	3.83	5.05	6 383 444 ₺
3000 - 3600	5.05	13.67	3 230 720 ₺	7 501 - 9 000	2.13	3.58	8 135 000 ₺
More than 3600	6.80	28.73	6 059 071 TL	More than 9 001	5.53	52.98	94 167 000 TL

Graph-2: Proportions of Income and Population within Income Groups

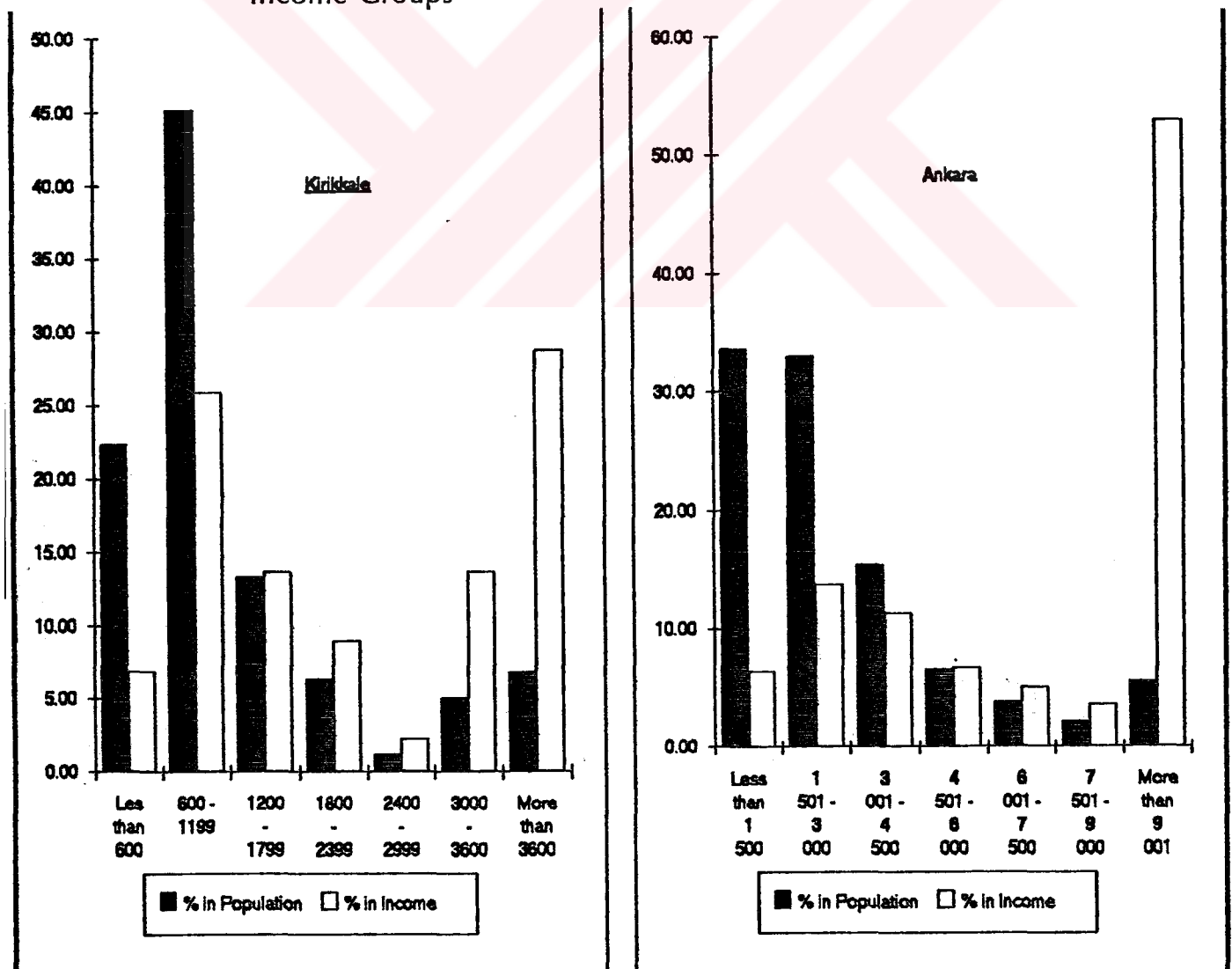


Table-20: Number and Proportions of Respondents by Income Groups within Class Locations

	Income Groups in Kırıkkale														Total	
	Less than 600		600 - 1199		1200 - 1799		1800 - 2399		2400 - 2999		3000 - 3600		More than 3600			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Capitalist							1	25			1	25	2	50	4	1
Small Employers	2	12.5	5	31.3	2	12.5	2	12.5			1	6.3	4	25	16	3.8
Petty Bourgeoisie	3	4.8	17	27	16	25.4	3	4.8	2	3.2	13	20.6	9	4.3	63	15.1
Petty Traders	6	54.5	3	27.3	2	18.2									11	2.6
Managers	1	3.6	20	71.4	3	10.7	1	3.6			2	7.1	1	3.6	28	6.7
Supervisors	12	24	20	40	7	14	8	16			1	2	2	4	50	12
Experts	3	10.7	11	39.3	4	14.3	2	7.1	1	3.6	3	10.7	4	14.3	28	6.7
Skilled Workers	22	22.7	56	57.7	10	10.3	4	4.1			1	1	4	4.1	97	23.3
Un-Skilled Workers	29	29.3	51	51.5	10	10.1	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	99	23.7
Casual Workers	14	66.7	3	14.3	1	4.8	3	14.3							21	5.1
Total (Column %)	92	22.1	186	44.6	55	13.2	26	6.2	5	1.2	25	6	28	6.7	417	100
Chi Square = 168.28956		DF = 54				Significance = 0.00000						p < 0.001				

	Income Groups in Ankara														Total	
	Less than 100		1001 - 2500		2501 - 4000		4001 - 5500		5501 - 7000		7001 - 8500		More than 8500			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Capitalist			1	16.7	1	16.7							4	66.7	6	1.3
Small Employers			8	42.1	5	26.3	1	5.3			1	5.3	4	21.1	19	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	10	10.6	23	24.5	24	25.5	10	10.6	11	12	4	4.3	12	12.8	94	20
Petty Traders	2	40	3	60											5	1.1
Managers			15	37.5	10	25	7	17.5	4	10	1	2.5	3	7.5	40	8.5
Supervisors	3	6	26	52	11	22	6	12	2	4	1	2	1	2	50	10.6
Experts	2	6.7	14	46.7	10	33.3	2	6.7	2	6.7					30	6.4
Skilled Workers	29	39.2	30	40.5	10	13.5	4	5.4	1	1.4					74	15.7
Un-Skilled Workers	56	38.9	68	47.2	9	6.3	4	2.8	2	1.4	3	2.1	2	1.4	144	30.6
Casual Workers	4	50	2	25	2	25									8	1.7
Total (Column %)	106	22.6	109	40.4	82	17.4	34	7.2	22	4.7	10	2.1	26	5.5	470	100
Chi Square = 203.37874		DF = 54				Significance = 0.00000						p < 0.001				

Table-21: Number of Respondents, Averages and Unadjusted Deviant Eta's of Income within Class Locations

	Total Income of Household Members					
	in Kirikkale			in Ankara		
			Unadjusted			Unadjusted
	N	Mean	Dev'n Eta	N	Mean	Dev'n Eta
Capitalists	4	5425	4008	6	94167	89323
Small Employers	14	2547	1130	19	6738	1894
Petty Bourgeoisie	63	2350	933	94	8041	3198
Petty Traders	11	655	-760	5	1277	-3556
Managers	28	1320	-95	40	4099	-744
Supervisors	50	1342	-74	50	3076	-1767
Experts	28	1997	580	30	2803	-2040
Skilled Workers	97	1067	-348	74	1814	-3028
Un-Skilled Workers	96	970	-446	144	1892	-2951
Casual Workers	21	638	-778	8	1558	-3285
Grand Mean		1416			1416	
Significance of F	= 0.000		F = 11.205	0.000		F = 10.471
Multiple RSquared	= 0.199		r = 0.45	0.170		r = 0.41
			p < 0.001			p < 0.001

4. 5. 2. Supplementary Sources of Income

There are two basic ways to get supplementary sources of income theoretically. That is, to work on a secondary job and to get grants. These two ways can also be considered as indicators of social dynamics for economic development. If number of people occupying a secondary job as supplementary sources of income have increased,

social dynamics will also be increased and vice versa. Conceptualizations of persons who get a secondary job either as entrepreneurs or exploited workers at informal activities have no relation with level of their dynamics. They are more dynamic than rentiers in any case. There are 37 persons in Kırıkkale and 47 persons in Ankara who have a secondary job who composed 8.9 % and 10 % of total populations.

On the other hand, there are 160 property owners, i.e. rentiers who have made of 37.67 % of total population in Kırıkkale, also there are only 64 persons (13.4 %) with supplementary sources of income in Ankara. Thirty-one persons have two supplementary sources; and 5 persons have three sources of supplementary income in Kırıkkale. There are 14 persons and 5 persons who have two and three additional sources of income in Ankara, respectively (See table-22). Total number of sources and their distribution was shown in Table-22. Most of these rentiers get their income from land in village in Kırıkkale; whereas they have houses in rent in Ankara.

Table-22: Numbers of Respondents by Types of Supplementary Sources of Income within Class Locations

	Supplementary Sources of Income in Kirikkale								
	Land	Land	Shop	Parent Family	House	Shop	Animal	Other	Total
	in Village	in City	in City	Support	in Rent	in Rent	Husbandry		
Capitalists					2	1			3
Small Employers		1		1	3	1			6
Petty Bourgeoisie	20		3	8	8	2			41
Petty Traders		1						1	2
Managers	5	1	2	1	2			1	12
Supervisors	11		2	5	3		1	1	23
Experts	4	1		3	6	2		1	17
Skilled Workers	18	1		7	14		1	1	42
UnSkilled Workers	24	3	2	5	9				43
Casual Workers	4	1						1	6
Total	86	9	9	30	47	6	2	6	195
	Supplementary Sources of Income in Ankara								
	Land	Land	Shop	Parent Family	House	Shop	Animal	Other	Total
	in Village	in City	in City	Support	in Rent	in Rent	Husbandry		
Capitalists	1	1			1				3
Small Employers					2	1			3
Petty Bourgeoisie	4	1	2	2	10	5		2	26
Petty Traders									0
Managers			1		3	1			5
Supervisors			3		4				7
Experts		1		2	2				5
Skilled Workers	2			3	4				9
UnSkilled Workers	9			5	5			1	20
Casual Workers	1				1	2		1	5
Total	17	3	6	12	32	9	0	4	83

Also a large amount of rentiers have got supplementary sources of income from their parent families in both cities. Petty bourgeoisie and unskilled workers are major groups who have supplementary sources of income in rant in both cities. Skilled workers and supervisors have also considerable supplementary sources of income in Kırıkkale and Ankara. However, it is difficult to argue that class locations have totally different from each other, if we take supplementary sources of income as criterion, except petty traders with only one single members in Kırıkkale with a supplementary source of income. Therefore, it seems to me, as it is at most of the other cases, any locations have their own internal diversifications as owners and non-owners of supplementary sources of income.

**4. 5. 3. House Ownership: House
Owners vs Tenants**

In Kırıkkale, (See table-23) there are no significant differences between class locations with respect to house ownership, except petty traders and experts in Kırıkkale with small employers and supervisors in Ankara. Most of the people have stayed on their own homes. Only 21 % and 29.8 % of total respondents have stayed as tenant in Kırıkkale and Ankara, respectively. There are two extreme cases as un-skilled workers and petty traders in Kırıkkale and capitalists

and experts for Ankara. Eighty two percent of unskilled workers has their own houses at Kırıkkale, and only 45.5 percent of petty traders have their own dwelling. In Ankara, 100 percent of capitalists have their own houses and only 37.9 percent of experts have their houses.

In this situation, there is no need for struggle with each other in order to hold public estate for most of population. Thus, there is no social basis of 'housing class' and consequent ethnic segregation because, there is no pre-constructed public estates. However, there can be a struggle to hold public land as own private property by illegal ways. Squatting (Gecekondulaşma) is commonly used way of such formation.

On the other hand, person with more than one houses, whom largely belonged to locations of petty traders, casual un-skilled and skilled workers, supervisors and experts as well as petty bourgeoisie and petty traders in Kırıkkale can also be 'rentiers' who have economic benefits by urbanization. As the urbanization grow; house prices will also grow. Also, not only house owners becomes more 'affluent' but also it becomes more expensive to live in city who have no houses i.e. newcomers, if further squatting has been obscured by governors. Thus, everyone has an advantage just only by occupying

their territory. This may be one of the reason for strengthening of identity of ethnic locality rather than of class.

Most common type of houses is independent houses in Kırıkkale whereas it is apartment flats and squatters in Ankara (See at table-24). Kırıkkale has very limited numbers of squatters (11.7 % of total houses); but most of the class locations have some squatter dwellers, except capitalist, small employers and experts. Petty traders are the major group who use squatting in order to meet their need for accommodation. Petty traders, casual workers and un-skilled workers are major groups of squatter dweller in Kırıkkale.

Urban dwellers of both cities would like to stay at their own accommodation, free from quality of houses considering building and furniture. House ownership has seen as an end by itself for urban Turks.

Table-23: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Accommodation Types within Class Locations.

	House Ownership in Kirikkale									
	Owners		Tenants		Official		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist	2	50	1	25			1	25	4	1
Small Employers	12	75	4	25					16	3.8
Petty Bourgeoisie	52	78.8	12	18.2	1	1.5	1	1.5	66	15.6
Petty Traders	5	45.5	5	45.5			1	9.1	11	2.6
Managers	15	53.6	7	25	5	17.9	1	3.6	28	6.6
Supervisors	34	68	10	20	5	10	1	2	50	11.8
Experts	15	53.6	11	39.3			2	7.1	28	6.6
Skilled Workers	74	76.3	19	19.6	3	3.1	1	1	97	22.9
Un-Skilled Workers	82	82	14	14	1	1	3	3	100	23.6
Casuals	15	62.5	6	25			3	12.5	24	5.7
Total (Column %)	306	72.2	89	21	15	3.5	14	3.3	424	100
Chi Square = 62.20155			DF = 27		Significance = 0.00013				p < 0.001	
	House Ownership in Ankara									
	Owners		Tenants		Official		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist	6	100							6	1.3
Small Employers	12	63.2	7	36.8					19	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	73	75.3	22	22.7			2	2.1	97	20.3
Petty Traders	4	80	1	20					5	1
Managers	25	62.5	9	22.5	5	12.5	1	2.5	40	8.4
Supervisors	25	49	18	35.3	8	15.7			51	10.7
Experts	11	37.9	15	51.7	1	3.4	2	6.9	29	6.1
Skilled Workers	48	64.9	22	29.7	3	4.1	1	1.4	74	15.5
Un-Skilled Workers	80	55.6	45	31.3	14	9.7	5	3.5	144	30.2
Casuals	9	75	3	25					12	2.5
Total (Column %)	293	61.4	142	29.8	31	6.5	11	2.3	477	100
Chi Square = 47.23570			DF = 27		Significance = 0.00933				p < 0.005	

Table-24: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by House Types within Class Locations

	House Types in Kirikkale							
	Gecekondu		Single		Apartment		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist					4	100	4	1
Small Employers			8	50	8	50	16	3.9
Pety Bourgeoisie	6	9.1	33	50	27	40.9	66	16.1
Pety Traders	3	30	4	40	3	30	10	2.4
Managers	3	10.7	13	46.4	12	42.9	28	6.8
Supervisors	4	8.2	27	55.1	18	36.7	49	12
Experts			9	34.6	17	65.4	26	6.4
Skilled Workers	9	9.9	49	53.8	33	36.3	91	22.2
Un-Skilled Workers	18	18.2	55	55.6	26	26.3	99	24.2
Casuals	5	25	15	75			20	4.9
Total (Column %)	48	11.7	213	52.1	148	36.2	409	100
Chi Square = 44.73666	DF = 18		Significance = 0.00045				p < 0.001	
	House Types in Ankara							
	Gecekondu		Single		Apartment		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist					6	100	6	1.3
Small Employers	2	10.5	1	5.3	16	84.2	19	4
Pety Bourgeoisie	23	24	11	11.5	62	64.2	96	20.1
Pety Traders	4	80			1	20	5	1
Managers	2	5	3	7.5	35	87.5	40	8.4
Supervisors	11	21.2	5	9.6	36	69.2	52	10.9
Experts	4	13.8	2	6.9	23	79.3	29	6.1
Skilled Workers	26	45.1	11	14.9	37	50	74	15.5
Un-Skilled Workers	62	43.1	16	11.1	66	45.8	144	30.2
Casuals	8	66.7	2	16.7	2	16.7	12	2.5
Total (Column %)	142	29.8	51	10.7	284	59.5	477	100
Chi Square = 63.12646	DF = 18		Significance = 0.00000				p < 0.001	

4. 5. 3. 1. Values of Rent for Accommodation

First, it should be pointed out that range in between lowest and highest rents is significantly lower in Kırıkkale than Ankara. This also shows two realities. First, rent is not a regular supplement of income for house owners; and second, class differences have no correspondence with territorial divisions through urban quarters. But, differences among class locations have also been obviously significant when possible rent values of already stayed houses.

As it is indicated at table-25 capitalists have stayed at houses with highest rent values in both cities. Second and third groups have occupied by small employers in both cities also. However, small employers have stayed at second rank in Kırıkkale whereas they stay at third one in Ankara, although managers have stayed at third rank in Kırıkkale and second one in Ankara. Lowest rent groups are petty traders, casual workers and interestingly supervisors in Kırıkkale whereas they are casual workers, unskilled workers and skilled workers in Ankara. In other words, in Kırıkkale, as a middle sized city, petty traders, casual workers and supervisors have been comprehended, by following Akşit, (1975) leading obstacles against urbanization and modernity which could also be seen as obstacles on increasing life quality measured at building and living standards.

Table-25: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Actual and Potential Values of Rent within CL's

	Rent in Kirikkale (as thousands of TL)											
	Less than 61		61-121		122-180		181-260		More than 260		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist			1	33.3					2	66.7	3	0.9
Small Employers	2	13.3	6	40	3	20	1	6.7	3	20	15	4.4
Petty Bourgeoisie	8	14	16	28.1	18	31.6	13	22.8	2	3.5	57	16.7
Petty Traders	5	62.5	3	37.5							8	2.3
Managers	3	13	7	30.4	5	21.7	7	30.4	1	4.3	23	6.7
Supervisors	15	31.3	16	33.3	10	20.8	5	10.4	2	4.2	48	14.1
Experts	2	8.7	5	21.7	9	39.1	4	17.4	3	13	23	6.7
Skilled Workers	7	9.2	32	42.1	19	25	12	15.8	6	7.9	76	22.3
UnSkilled Workers	12	16.4	30	41.1	14	19.2	14	19.2	3	4.1	73	21.4
Casuals	8	53.3	5	33.3	1	6.7	1	6.7			15	4.4
Total (Column %)	62	18.2	121	35.5	79	23.2	57	16.7	22	6.5	341	100
Chi Square = 78.30814			DF = 36			Significance = 0.00006			p < 0.001			
	Rent in Ankara (as thousands of TL)											
	Less than 181		181-360		361-540		541-720		More than 720		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist									6	100	6	1.3
Small Employers	1	5.9	6	35.3	1	5.9	1	5.9	8	47.1	17	3.8
Petty Bourgeoisie	4	4.3	27	29	18	19.4	12	12.9	32	34.4	93	20.9
Petty Traders			2	50	2	50					4	0.9
Managers	4	11.4	4	11.4	4	11.4	3	8.6	20	57.1	35	7.8
Supervisors	9	18.8	14	29.2	13	27.1	5	10.4	7	14.6	48	10.8
Experts	3	10.7	6	21.4	7	25	5	17.9	7	25	28	6.3
Skilled Workers	7	10	35	50	17	24.3	9	12.9	2	2.9	70	15.7
UnSkilled Workers	23	17.2	64	47.8	30	22.4	12	9	5	3.7	134	30
Casuals	1	9.1	7	63.6	3	37.3					11	2.5
Total (Column %)	52	11.7	165	37	95	21.3	47	10.5	87	19.5	446	100
Chi Square = 140.91017			DF = 36			Significance 0.00000			p < 0.001			

4. 5. 4. **Housing Standards: Low Standards vs High Standards**

I will look at housing standards as indicator of life style which can also indicate urbanization and modernization processes. Housing standards will be accounted under the main titles of building standards and living standard. Particularly, building standards have decidedly been illustrated the family types when we look at size and density of family members who live under the same roof i.e. household.

4. 5. 4. 1. **Building Standards**

Building standards have been constructed on nine items. They are namely, house type, number of rooms, house size, kitchen, bath, toilet in house, savage, water and electricity. The scale range from 0 to 105 points. There are also five group on the basis of housing scale, as they are illustrated at table-27. These five groups have been constructed on the bases of following items (illustrated at table-26) besides size and number of rooms.

Table-26: Ownership of some selected Consuming Facilities in Houses

	have		have not		have		have not	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kitchen	114	97.6	10	2.4	474	99.0	4	.8
Bath	388	91.7	35	8.3	456	95.4	22	4.6
Toilet	378	89.4	45	10.6	475	99.4	3	.6
Savage	396	93.6	27	6.4	455	95.2	23	4.8
Water	416	98.1	8	1.9	475	99.4	3	.6
Electricity	423	99.5	1	.2	478	99.8	1	.2

Table-27 and 28 shows more visible differences among class locations which are also indicated by size analysis which these differences have been blinded when one look at crude statistics on number of rooms and square meters of houses. It illustrates a counter argument against equality at number of rooms. There are no members of capitalists, small employers who live in houses with low standards in Kirikkale and Ankara as well as no managers, supervisors and petty bourgeoisie have stayed at same quality houses in Kirikkale. Houses with low standards also largely occupied by casual workers and petty traders in both Kirikkale and Ankara.

Table-27: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Building Standards within Class Locations

	Building Standards in Kirikkale											
	Lower		Lower Middle		Middle		Upper Middle		Upper		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist					1	25	3	75			4	1
Small Employers					4	26.7	9	60	2	13.3	15	3.8
Petty Bourgeoisie			5	7.9	17	27	37	58.7	4	6.3	63	15.8
Petty Traders	2	20	2	20	3	30	3	30			10	2.5
Managers			3	10.7	6	21.4	19	67.9			28	7
Supervisors			4	8.3	10	20.8	30	62.5	4	8.3	48	12.1
Experts	1	4			5	20	15	60	4	16	25	6.3
Skilled Workers	1	1.1	8	8.9	23	25.6	56	62.2	2	2.2	90	22.6
Un-skilled Workers	7	7.4	12	12.6	27	28.4	48	50.5	1	1.1	95	23.9
Casual Workers	5	25	4	20	7	35	4	20			20	5
Total (Column %)	16	4	38	9.5	103	25.9	224	56.3	17	4.3	398	100
Chi Square = 77.75863			DF = 36			Significance = 0.00007				p < 0.001		
	Building Standards in Ankara											
	Lower		Lower Middle		Middle		Upper Middle		Upper		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist							3	50	3	50	6	1.3
Small Employers					5	27.8	9	50	4	22.2	18	3.8
Petty Bourgeoisie	1	1	7	7.2	28	28.9	55	56.7	6	6.2	97	20.3
Petty Traders			2	40	1	20	2	40			5	1
Managers	1	2.5			10	25	24	60	5	12.5	40	8.4
Supervisors	4	7.7	3	5.8	17	32.7	25	48.1	3	5.8	52	10.9
Experts	2	6.9	1	3.4	7	24.1	17	58.6	2	6.9	29	6.1
Skilled Workers	3	4.1	14	18.9	29	39.2	25	33.8	3	4.1	74	15.5
Un-skilled Workers	3	2.1	32	22.2	61	42.4	46	31.9	2	1.4	144	30.2
Casual Workers	1	8.3	5	41.7	4	33.3	1	8.3	1	8.3	12	2.5
Total (Column %)	15	3.1	64	13.4	162	34	207	43.4	29	6.1	477	100
Chi Square = 106.50494			DF = 36			Significance = 0.00000				p < 0.001		

Table-28: Mean Analysis of Building Standards by CL's

	Building Standards			
	in Kirikkale		in Ankara	
		Unadjusted		Unadjusted
	Mean	Dev'n Beta	Mean	Dev'n Beta
Capitalists	90.00	7.69	97.50	16.62
Small Employers	87.67	5.36	89.72	8.84
Petty Traders	85.00	2.69	85.15	4.27
Petty Bourgeoisie	70.00	-12.31	74.00	-6.88
Managers	84.29	1.97	88.75	7.87
Supervisors	85.30	3.00	81.35	0.47
Experts	87.40	5.09	83.62	2.74
Skilled Workers	83.44	1.13	77.16	-3.72
UnSkilled Workers	79.05	-3.26	76.32	-4.56
Casual Workers	68.50	-13.81	70.42	-10.46
Average	82.312	r=0.36	80.881	r= 0.38
Significance -	0.000	F=6.432	0.000	F = 9.003
r squared -	0.130		0.148	

4. 5. 4. 2. Size Analysis: Extended and Large-Scale vs Nuclear and Small Scale Families?

Differences at household structure may be also interpreted as indicators of modernization processes. Thus, it can be argued on class locations belonged to CMP will have more small size, less density, more nuclear, more employment, and fewer dependency ratios in contrast to locations belong to SCMP. It is generally argued modernization goes parallel with disappearing of extended family and occurrences of nuclear family which has been characterized not only of a couple of partners but also lesser size than extended one. In this

frame of references, it should be studied on where is Kırıkkale and Ankara with their particular class locations taking place on transition towards modernization, i.e. disappearance of extended and large scale families and construction of nuclear and small sized ones. It should also be assumed that class locations belong to capitalist modes of production will have more nuclear type family in any cases.

Table-29 and table-30 demonstrate that Kırıkkale has approximately one more persons per each household than Ankara as well as more than averages of Turkey in which it is 5.22 for rural and urban places together, and it is 4.47 for urban places alone. Largest families have been in locations of capitalists, small employers, petty traders, supervisors and petty bourgeoisie whereas they are belonging to casual workers, skilled workers, capitalists and petty bourgeoisie in Ankara, respectfully. Also, experts have smallest families in both cities; whereas managers and small employers have second more small sized families in Kırıkkale and Ankara. On the other hand, both tables (29 and 30) also pointed out low level of differences between class locations considering of family sizes. In other words, both large scale and small scale families have been at every location in itself.

Table-29: Number and Proportions of Members per Household within Class Locations

	Number of Household Members in Kikkala													
	Less than		Three		Four		Five		Six		More than		Total	
	3 Persons		Persons		Persons		Persons		Persons		6 Persons			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist							3	75			1	25	4	0.9
Small Employers	1	6.3			2	12.5	5	32.3	3	18.8	5	31.3	16	3.8
Petty Bourgeoisie	4	6.1	11	17	16	24.2	8	12.1	10	15.2	17	25.8	66	15.6
Petty Traders			3	27	1	9.1	2	18.2	3	27.3	2	18.2	11	2.6
Managers	2	7.1	3	11	6	21.4	9	32.1	4	14.3	4	14.3	28	6.6
Supervisors	4	8	3	6	10	20	12	24	9	18	12	24	50	11.8
Experts	3	10.7	4	14	11	39.3	7	25	1	3.6	2	7.1	28	6.6
Skilled Workers	12	12.5	11	12	15	15.6	24	25	15	15.6	19	19.8	96	22.6
Non-Skilled Workers	3	3	9	8.9	25	24.8	23	22.8	21	20.8	20	19.8	101	23.8
Casuals	3	12.5	3	13	8	33.3			4	16.7	6	25	24	5.7
Total (Column %)	32	7.5	47	11	94	22.2	93	21.9	70	16.5	88	20.8	424	100
Chi Square = 53.93581			DF = 45				Significance = 0.16974						P > 0.85	
	Number of Household Members in Ankara													
	Less than		Three		Four		Five		Six		More than		Total	
	3 Persons		Persons		Persons		Persons		Persons		6 Persons			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist			2	33	1	16.7	3	50					6	1.3
Small Employers	5	26.3	4	21	4	21.1	5	26.3	1	5.3			19	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	4	4.2	24	25	37	38.5	20	20.8	6	6.3	5	5.2	96	20.3
Petty Traders	1	20	1	20	2	40							5	1.1
Managers	6	15	11	28	14	35	6	15	2	5	1	2.5	40	8.4
Supervisors	8	15.4	13	25	15	28.8	8	15.4	4	7.7	4	7.7	52	11
Experts	7	24.1	11	38	9	31	2	6.9					29	6.1
Skilled Workers	12	16.7	11	15	22	30.6	11	15.3	9	12.5	7	9.7	72	15.2
Non-Skilled Workers	18	12.6	35	25	39	27.3	29	20.3	16	11.2	6	4.2	143	30.2
Casuals	2	16.7	3	25	1	8.3	1	8.3	3	25	2	6.7	12	2.5
Total (Column %)	63	13.3	115	24	144	30.4	85	17.9	41	8.6	26	5.5	474	100
Chi Square = 55.82428			DF = 45				Significance = 0.12933						P > 0.05	

Table-30: Mean Analysis of Family Sizes by CL's

	CL's with Family Members in Kirikkale			Unadjusted Dev'n Eta
	N	Mean	Total	
Capitalists	4	6.25	25	1.07
Small Employers	16	5.8125	93	0.63
Petty Bourgeoisie	66	5.303	349.998	0.12
Petty Traders	11	6.7273	74.0003	0.55
Managers	28	4.9286	138.0008	-0.25
Supervisors	50	5.4	270	0.22
Experts	28	4.25	119	-0.93
Skilled Workers	96	5.0208	481.9968	-0.16
UnSkilled Workers	101	5.297	534.997	0.12
Casual Workers	24	5.0417	121.0008	-0.14
Total	425	5.179	2206.9937	r = 0.16
Significance of F = 0.268			F = 1.240	
Multiple R Squared = 0.026			P > 0.05	
	CL's with Family Members in Ankara			Unadjusted Dev'n Eta
	N	Mean	Total	
Capitalists	6	4.1667	25.0002	0.13
Small Employers	19	3.6316	69.0004	-0.4
Petty Bourgeoisie	96	4.1458	397.9968	0.11
Petty Traders	5	4	20	-4
Managers	40	3.75	150	-0.29
Supervisors	52	4.0577	211.0004	0.02
Experts	29	3.2069	93.0001	-0.83
Skilled Workers	72	4.2778	308.0016	0.24
UnSkilled Workers	143	4.0679	581.7097	0.03
Casual Workers	12	4.75	57	0.71
Total	479	4.036	1912.7092	r = 0.19
Significance of F = 0.040			F = 1.979	
Multiple R Squared = 0.037			P > 0.05	

On the other hand, there are three main groups of family in both cities, that is, extended, transitional extended and nuclear ones. It could be expected that class locations belong to capitalist mode of production will have more nuclear or transitional extended forms whereas petty bourgeoisie and casual workers will have more extended ones. However, distribution of respondents by family types within class locations shows low level of differences although some agglomerations can also be seen (See table 31).

Proportional rates of extended families have roughly equal to proportional rates of large scale families which have been defined as families with six or more persons. Extended families have largely been within supervisors, small employers and petty bourgeoisie in Kırıkkale; whereas they are at locations of skilled workers and petty bourgeoisie. Also, experts have least numbers of extended families in their own class locations in both cities.

Table-31: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Family Types within Class Locations

	Family Types in Kirikkale							
	Extended		Transitional		Nuclear		Total	
	Family		Extended Fa.		Family			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist					4	100.0	4	0.9
Small Employers	4	25.0			12	75.0	16	3.8
Petty Bourgeoisie	14	21.2	5	7.6	47	71.2	66	15.6
Petty Traders	2	18.2			9	81.8	11	2.6
Managers	5	17.9	1	3.6	22	78.6	28	6.6
Supervisors	13	26.0	3	6.0	34	68.0	50	11.8
Experts	2	7.1	3	10.0	23	82.1	28	6.6
Skilled Workers	16	16.7	8	8.3	72	75.0	96	22.6
Non-Skilled Workers	17	16.8	12	11.9	72	71.3	101	23.8
Casuals	4	16.7	4	16.7	16	66.7	24	5.7
Total (Column %)	77	18.2	36	8.5	311	73.3	424	100.0
Chi-Square=13.94779		DF=18		Significance=.73249		P>.05		
	Family Types in Ankara							
	Extended		Transitional		Nuclear		Total	
	Family		Extended Fa.		Family			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist				6	100.0	6	1.3	
Small Employers			1	5.3	18	94.7	19	4.0
Petty Bourgeoisie	10	10.3	2	2.1	85	87.6	97	20.4
Petty Traders					5	100.0	5	1.1
Managers	2	5.1	1	2.6	36	92.3	39	8.2
Supervisors	3	5.8	3	5.8	46	88.5	52	10.9
Experts	1	3.3	1	3.3	28	93.3	19	6.3
Skilled Workers	12	16.2	3	4.1	59	79.7	74	15.5
Non-Skilled Workers	14	9.9	10	7.0	118	83.1	142	29.8
Casuals	1	8.3			11	91.7	12	2.5
Total (Column %)	43	9.0	21	4.4	412	86.6	476	100.0
Chi-Square=16.03247		DF= 18		Significance=.59028		P>.05		

**4. 5. 4. 3. Density Analysis: Expanded vs
Shrinking Families**

Table-32 and table-33 indicate that number and proportions of persons per room (density 1) and domestic spaces as square meters per person (density 2) in Kırıkkale and Ankara. These two measures will be evaluated as indicators of population density in household. It should make some sense on how many members have opportunity to have private spaces in home. Density analysis should not be considered as a simple analysis of housing space. Domestic spaces of houses have necessarily indicated a particular way of life dependent upon objective conditions-possibilities of private spaces for persons in home. Possibility or reality of private life in houses is one of the very basic conditions for modernization. And, such a possibility can largely be calculated on available spaces for individual persons in domestic spaces of homes.

First, Kırıkkale, with also more deviation within itself, has more dense families than Ankara. In Kırıkkale where capitalists, petty traders, casual workers and small employers have top grades on density-1, only experts of Kırıkkale have lesser grade of density-1 than average grade of Ankara. Experts' houses have more spaces for their members in Kırıkkale than all other locations. Supervisors and small

employers have following grades of density-2 in Kırıkkale. On the other hand, small employers and capitalists have top scores on density-2, in which experts have third rank. However, experts have also less amount of persons per room in Ankara.

Table-32: Density(1): Number of Persons per Room by CL's

	Person per Room				
	in Kırıkkale		in Ankara		
		Unadjusted		Unadjusted	
	Mean	Dev'n eta	Mean	Dev'n eta	
Capitalists	2.2917	0.43	1.2222	-0.37	
Small Employers	2.0000	0.18	1.2451	-0.34	
Petty Bourgeoisie	1.8402	-0.02	1.5174	-0.07	
Petty Traders	2.5076	0.65	1.5833	-0.01	
Managers	1.8155	-0.03	1.3479	-0.24	
Supervisors	1.8332	-0.05	1.7532	0.16	
Experts	1.4815	-0.41	1.2126	-0.38	
Skilled Workers	1.7659	-0.11	1.7106	0.12	
UnSkilled Workers	2.0376	0.09	1.6754	0.09	
Casual Workers	1.9604	0.24	2.0556	0.47	
Grand Mean	1.8793	r = 23	1.5885	r = 0.24	
Significance of F	=	0.016	F = 2.301	0.001	F = 3.231
Multiple r square	=	0.052		0.059	

Table-33: Density (2): Domestic Spaces per Persons by CL's

	Domestic Space			
	per Person in Kirikkale		per Person in Ankara	
		Unadjusted		Unadjusted
	Mean	Dev'n eta	Mean	Dev'n eta
Capitalists	17.0500	0.43	30.0833	4.24
Small Employers	22.4556	0.18	32.6667	6.83
Petty Bourgeoisie	22.7721	-0.02	26.3835	0.54
Petty Traders	16.2824	0.65	25.6429	-0.20
Managers	22.4118	-0.03	28.6015	2.76
Supervisors	23.2130	-0.05	27.1807	1.34
Experts	24.3782	-0.41	29.5747	3.73
Skilled Workers	22.4668	-0.11	23.7786	-2.06
UnSkilled Workers	20.1430	0.09	23.7383	-2.10
Casual Workers	20.7792	0.24	22.5139	-3.33
Grand Mean	21.8733	r = 0.23	25.8398	r = 0.17
Significance of F =	0.549	F = 0.673	0.112	F = 1.602
Multiple r square =	0.020		0.030	

In this context, experts have more expanded families in Kirikkale and one of them in Ankara. Capitalists and small employers have still live in shrinking backgrounds in Kirikkale where supervisors and skilled workers have some potential of getting more expanded family types. Expansion of domestic life has also mean that an increase in privacy of personal lives as a necessary condition for individualism; whereas shrinking on domestic spaces can lead persons either to be in tensions against other or tribalization.

4. 5. 4. 4. **Living Standards: Levels and
Patterns of Consumption**

Consumption will be conceptualized in a gradational approach as consumption levels on the basis of living standards as it is defined in following paragraph. In other words, question is not to classify and conceptualize consumption within itself, as Maslow, Illich or any other do it. It is simply to see whether there is any significant relation between class locations and consumption level or not. However, it can also be argued that high level of consumption means also an increase in modernity of consumption; because consumption goods have largely been supplied by money and market economy in Turkey. In this sense, it can be argued that capitalist locations will have high levels of consumption as well as they have also more modern consumption pattern.

Living standards have made basically of 20 items indicating permanent consumer goods in houses, which are indicated at table-34 with information whether respondents have or not them. The scale of consumption ranges from 0 to 110 points.

Table-34: Ownership of Some Selected Consumer Goods

Consumer Goods	Kirikkale				Ankara			
	Have		Have not		Have		Have not	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Radio	354	83.9	68	16.1	242	50.6	236	49.4
Tape Recorder	263	62.5	158	37.5	120	25.1	358	74.9
Music Box	122	28.9	300	17.1	214	44.8	264	55.2
Television	412	96.9	13	3.1	473	98.7	6	1.3
Video Player	48	11.4	372	87.5	135	28.2	343	71.8
Refrigerator	397	93.9	26	6.1	470	98.3	8	1.7
Washing Machine	247	58.3	177	41.7	431	90.2	47	9.8
Dish Washer	19	4.5	404	95.5	73	15.3	405	84.7
Wacuum Cleaner	233	54.8	189	44.5	366	76.6	112	23.4
Camera	107	25.4	315	74.6	272	56.9	206	23.1
Livingroom Set	242	57.5	179	42.5	387	81.0	91	19.0
Diningroom Set	178	42.3	243	57.7	333	69.7	145	33.0
Bedroom Seet	218	51.9	202	48.1	398	83.3	80	16.7
Sewing Machine	351	82.8	73	17.2	369	77.4	108	22.6
Iron	387	91.3	37	8.7	463	96.9	15	3.1
Telephone	222	52.6	200	47.4	409	85.6	69	14.4
Automobile	73	17.3	349	82.7	134	28.2	342	71.8
Computer	4	1.0	417	99.0	25	5.3	449	94.7
Type Writer	21	5.0	400	95.0	58	12.2	416	87.7
Book Selves	142	33.7	279	66.3	320	67.4	115	32.6

Also, qualities of TV and oven have also be considered within scaling, mentioned above. When we transformed these items into a scale of living standard with five interval groups; following results have appeared into picture (See table-35).

Table-35: Number and Proportions of Respondents by Levels of Living Standards within Class Locations

	Living Standards in Kırıkkale												
	Lower		Lower Middle		Middle		Upper Middle		Higher		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalist							4	100			4	0.9	
Small Employers			5	31.3	8	50	1	6.3	2	12.5	16	3.8	
Petty Bourgeoisie			12	18.2	24	36	23	34.8	7	10.6	66	16.6	
Petty Traders	3	23	8	72.7							11	2.6	
Managers			4	14.3	8	29	13	46.4	3	10.7	28	6.6	
Supervisors	2	4	11	22	19	38	16	32	2	4	50	11.8	
Experts	1	3.6	4	14.3	8	29	13	46.4	2	7.1	28	6.6	
Skilled Workers	7	7.3	30	31.3	34	35	21	21.9	4	4.2	96	22.7	
Un-Skilled Workers	6	6	31	31	44	44	18	18	1	1	100	23.6	
Casual Workers	9	38	10	41.7	5	21					24	5.7	
Total (Column %)	28	6.6	115	27.2	150	36	109	25.8	21	5	423	100	
Chi Square = 127.81242		DF = 36		Significance = 0.00000						p < 0.001			
	Living Standards in Ankara												
	Lower		Lower Middle		Middle		Upper Middle		Higher		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalist									6	100	6	1.3	
Small Employers			1	5.3	3	16	4	21.1	11	57.9	19	4	
Petty Bourgeoisie	1	1	3	3.1	15	16	33	34	45	46.4	97	20.3	
Petty Traders			2	40	2	40	1	20			5	1	
Managers			1	2.5	4	10	14	35	21	52.5	40	8.4	
Supervisors			3	5.8	10	19	23	44.2	16	30.8	52	10.9	
Experts	1	3.3	1	3.3	4	13	19	63.3	5	16.7	30	6.3	
Skilled Workers	3	4.1	15	20.3	24	32	25	33.8	7	9.5	74	15.5	
Un-Skilled Workers	1	0.7	20	14.1	56	39	59	41.5	6	4.2	142	29.8	
Casual Workers	1	8.3	3	25	4	33	3	25	1	8.3	12	2.5	
Total (Column %)	7	1.5	49	10.3	122	26	181	37.9	118	24.7	477	100	
Chi Square = 162.27670		DF = 36		Significance = 0.00000						P < 0.001			

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DOĞUMANTASYON MERKEZİ

Capitalists, small employers, petty bourgeoisie, and managers have no member who live in group with living standards of lowest in Kirikkale. Whereas, petty bourgeoisie have a member at this level as well as petty traders and supervisors have no member at lowest grade in Ankara. In this frame of references, some of supervisors and skilled workers looks like resisting to increase their living standards at home, whereas managers have a well improved living standards or way of life from their location on income. Capitalists also have no adequate way of life corresponding to their income. Inter class differences are more visible on mean values, as they are indicated in Table-36.

Table-36: Mean Analysis for Levels of Living Standard by CL's

	Living Standards			
	in Kirikkale		in Ankara	
		Unadjusted		Unadjusted
	Mean	Dev'n Beta	Mean	Dev'n Beta
Capitalists	70.00	18.43	99.17	31.91
Small Employers	55.00	3.43	82.11	14.81
Petty Bourgeoisie	60.30	3.73	76.80	9.55
Petty Traders	25.00	-26.57	51.00	-16.25
Managers	62.32	10.75	79.00	11.75
Supervisors	54.80	3.23	70.96	3.71
Experts	59.64	8.07	69.67	2.41
Skilled Workers	50.31	-1.26	57.50	-9.75
UnSkilled Workers	46.60	-4.97	59.40	-7.85
Casual Workers	31.46	-20.11	49.17	-18.09
Average	51.572	r=0.46	67.254	R=0.50
Significance =	0.000	F = 12.176	0.000	F = 16.986
r squared =	0.210		0.247	

CHAPTER V

CLASS FORMATION

Process of class formation has been identified by Giddens, with his decisive emphasis on structuration rather than structures (1983) on the basis of mediators providing inter-class transmissions. These mediators have been identified as 1) ownership of property; 2) possession of educational or technical qualifications; and lastly, 3) possession of labour power. Wright's model consists precisely of last two aspects of Giddens' structuration within the conception of class locations rather than formation through the items of controlling and using other's labour. Wright's model also necessarily excludes ownership of property as a factor determining class locations, except ownership of means of production.

On the other hand, there are two basic ways of analysis for class formation in Marxist theory. First, traditional Marxism, under a strong influence of Lenin has generated some basic concepts on the analysis of class formations. They are 'class in itself' and 'class for itself,' 'class interest,' 'true consciousness,' 'false consciousness'

(Poulantzas, 1978: 104-115). Class in itself defines objective conditions i.e. economic bases of social classes; whereas class for itself defines social classes which act in accordance with its own particular class interests, determined by class's position in economic relations. Class interest made of the economic interests of social classes at national and international (i.e. abstract-theoretical) level but not the material interests of individual members. If it could be reversal of particular interests of individuals; individuals have to act in accordance not to their particular interests but to the interest of social classes as a totality. False consciousness and true consciousness has been exemplified through the first and second ways of actions, respectfully.

Although, Lenin identifies objective conditions as necessary and enough conditions for identifications of social classes, it can also be argued that social class exists, if only it exists as class for itself in political arena (Poulantzas, 1975:14). In this context, basic question is deciding what is the true consciousness of economic class interest. Marxism identifies a central political organization either as 'international' or 'socialist party' as the final decision maker. This generates a fatalistic mode of reasoning which advice obedience to political leader, a fetish who is alone at the top of central organization with his attached supernatural perfectness. An ordinary, party member has no potential to get such characteristics. Also, this frame of

references generates not only fatalism and ambiguity for ordinary people deciding to what class interests are in daily lives; but also generates problem of operationalization for sociological analysis.

On the other hand, it can also be argued that Marxism, free from leaders' definition of true consciousness, should have some clues for analysis of social, cultural and other superstructural occurrences. From the beginning, it must be distinguished that Marxism has a 'capitalism bias,' occurring on the examples of urban and industry bias. Because, Marxist understanding of history, under a great suppression of Darwin's model of evolution, not only identifies communism as an end to historical development but also conceptualizes the history as a chain of succeeded stages of growth in which each stage has necessarily be more or less developed with respect to other. Human history accelerated from apes began with production and reproduction of means of production and human life. This is the reason why Marxism identifies societies in accordance with economics. Mind is not a cause but a result of this process. Process of 'humanization' is a kind of struggle against wild nature, necessarily proposing men and women to work and being productive not only to win nature but also to become a human being. In this context, existing human history has been defined as a combination of four stages of growth, namely primitive commune, slave society, feudalism and

capitalism, respectfully, in which capitalism is most developed stages of human history.

Capitalism biased of Marxism generates very characteristic conception of urbanization and urbanism which are available to get an 'objective' formulation of true consciousness for Marxism. Urbanism has also been defined as industrialism and capitalism or commoditization through money and market economy. Also, it is identified with negations of historically given habits i.e. traditions and beginning and accomplishing a pragmatically oriented mind. Man at urbanism, industrialism or capitalism has a better reasoning than men of previous times. Urbanism or industrialism or capitalism have already been defined in contrast to peasantry. Marxism, even when it argues how peasantry has a respectful importance for socialism, has an undeniable hostility against peasantry. In my opinion, this kind of cognition has been well constructed by Weberians and Modernization theories rather than Marxism.

Second, fluidity and permeability controversy has been constructed for analyzing class formation by Marxist analysts. Fluidity meant that low level of class formation whereas permeability shows an increase in formation. Levels of fluidity and permeability have been accounted through inter and intra generational mobilities; and also

cross class relations in family, friendship, organization etc. Thus, process of concept formation fused two different level of analyses into each other; that is, historical and structural. Inter and intra generational mobilities are historical evidences; whereas cross class relations are structural evidences. Because, these two categories have necessarily make sociological analysis be limited within the frame of class formation; and excluded some other social processes from the analysis, such as migration and urbanization. Theoretical categories should be available to see the differences among, for example, petty bourgeois of small town, middle town and national capital, who has same scores of fluidity and permeability. Then, I prefer the terms of social mobility and cross-class relations rather than fluidity and permeability.

Therefore, I studied on class formation under two basic titles of social mobility and social relations as they are also further divided into sub-titles rather than permeability and fluidity controversy and theories of urbanism generated within Marxism in itself.

5. 1. Social Mobility

Concept of social mobility has been defined loosely and heuristically as spatial mobility and cross-class mobility. A high rate of

social mobility should also be expected in two cities as cities of a rapidly changing society. There will be at least two basic groups of people, that is, ones with high rate of mobility (less rate of stability) and ones with low rate of mobility (high rate of stability). With less hesitation on social and ideological functions of stability, I will look at whether there is any relations between class locations and these 'mobility groups'. That is, groups shaping through urbanization. Then, spatial mobility has also meaning of migration and urbanization. Thus, there are two other groups, as migrants and natives, which can also be identified as urban basis of social conflict rather than class conflict. In this context, question is whether class formation has been succeeded over other group formations based on spatial mobility, migration and urbanization.

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Spatial Mobility: Migration and Urbanization

Spatial mobility has been conceptualized through migration and consequent urbanization processes. Migration will be comprehended as a personal action which realized in accordance with personal expectation and decision making processes (Harris and Todaro 1970). Modernization theory explicitly and marxist theories of urbanism implicitly argue that voluntaristically migrated persons are the

persons who have more rates of entrepreneurship, modernity than persons who have no changes on their dwellings. They are the persons who have migrated from rural to urban, from periphery to central, from agricultural area to industrial one etc. On the other hand, their modernity i.e. urbanism have been increased by increase of their duration of residence at urban areas, and vice versa. Migrated persons's modernity is more than their rural equivalents but lesser than urban dwellers (Kiray, 1972a).

There are also possible differences among migrated persons on the basis of their personal relations both to rural or peripheral backgrounds and to urban environment. If their relation concentrates on their countrymen in urban areas; on their rural or peripheral background they will have probably less modernity and urbanism. If they will be more integrated to urban environment they will be more modern.

5. 1. 1. **1. Migrants vs Natives?**

One of the very basic question for urban analysis should be deciding to whether urbanism means being a native of urban places or not. Long term of duration of residence at urban places really means of being urban? I will discuss on nativeness and being migrants on two

basic variables, hometown of respondents parents and birth place of respondents. In fact, these variables will also indicate level of urbanization for respondents and belonged class locations. Table-37, shows whether respondents' old family is permanent residence or newcomers. Although majority of population in both cities is newcomers; their proportional rates higher in Kırıkkale.

Ayata (1987, 1990) argued that segregation between natives and migrants are real basis of social conflict realized through labour market and housing-squatting areas in urban places. But, all newcomers or migrants are not real migrants, particularly in Kırıkkale. Some of the newcomers have come from Kırıkkale's and Ankara's own rural and urban hinterlands; whereas some of them have really migrated from other territories. First group has a tendency to label themselves as natives and others as migrants, especially in Kırıkkale. Thus, there are also two main groups within natives themselves as non-migrant natives and migrant natives of surrounding hinterlands. In this context, natives consists of non-migrants and migrants from neighboring territories; whereas migrants are migrated persons from other provinces of Turkey. Indeed, migrants natives have been originated from rural areas in Kırıkkale (61 %) in which there are only 16.7 % of migrants with urban origins whereas they have mainly come from small urban areas to

Ankara (49.6%) where there are only 26.6 % of migrants with rural origins.

Table-37: Migrants and Natives in Kirikkale and Ankara

	Natives and Migrants					
	Kirikkale		Ankara		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Town residents	29	6.8	105	22.8	134	14.82
Town Residents from Hinterland	207	48.7	4	0.8	211	23.34
Migrants	189	44.0	370	76.0	559	61.83
Total	425		479		904	99.99

Excesses of migrant natives within total number of population have some considerable influences on social constructions. They try to legitimize themselves as natives i.e. owners of urban and rural county although they are not real natives but migrants. Then, in order to evidence their nativeness, they cultivate a hostility against migrants, stronger than hostility of non-migrant natives, if they have any.

This hostility is consequence of development of economy and politics as a symbiotic totality in Turkey, which is very obvious in Kirikkale. This coexistence make politics to be a kind of clientalism where patronage relations have predominance (Ayata, 1990). Both

capitalists, salaried and wage workers have mostly generated by state interventions. Hence, personal interventions which are able to affect state interventions are determinants both of being a rich employer for capitalists, small employers, petty bourgeoisie and traders; and of getting an employment in state offices for other locations. 'Rüşvet' (bribery) and specifically 'torpil' (nepotism) has commonly been accepted as the only way of getting such success from state officers-bureaucracies in Turkey. Torpil which is more widely used also a political mean of solidarity, i.e. nepotism; whereas bribery is a crude mean of economic marketing, i.e. favoritism. Thus, nepotism can easily and necessarily be used not only for getting a regular employment in public works but also promotion in work place. Promotion is under control of political leaders in official work places whereas it is also affected by union leaders. In other words, trade unionism under control of political leaders directly or indirectly has also a parallel with politics in Turkey, as it will also be discussed later.

In this context, the nativeness means having votes more than migrants have. This may not only make nativeness be more important for political representatives (even candidates) who have great influences on bureaucracy and other official activities; but also for countrymen themselves. Being a native becomes very important moral issue for persons of territory. On the other hand, identifications of

boundaries for natives has no end. There are three major sub-groups among migrant natives at Kırıkkale, namely Keskinlis (Keskinli'ler), Obalis (Obalı'lar) and Ahılis (Ahılı'lar) who have been already struggling with each other to get political leadership in community.

Particular emphasis on ethnic locality (hemşehrilik) in migrated urban areas of Kırıkkale and Ankara could probably generate it's antagonist, that is, ethnic locality constituted around country migrated off. Foreigners also become well aware of their power to shape politics in their own favor by increasing their group cohesiveness or closure for themselves. In this frame of references, question is not simply whether or not any significant relations between class location with natives and migrants; but also class locations and hometown identified around.

Table-38 and Table-39 indicating birth provinces of respondents and last places of residence before migration to Kırıkkale and Ankara within class locations also verify that Kırıkkale has disproportionately more numbers of migrant natives than Ankara. In fact, natives have largely been challenged by foreigners at certain locations, namely managers, experts and petty traders. It is also important that major group that is challenging is made of Kırşehirli, ones of neighboring city of Kırıkkale, who are probably alavis also. Strength of natives at supervision indicates relative power of natives within trade unions. Supervision has not necessitated work actively whereas activities of management and expert needs active interventions on work. Then, natives make themselves promote into the status of supervisors through probably of their accumulated effect in trade unions which one of nation wide union's president is also from Kırıkkale (oba) who have necessarily look for votes in union elections. On the other hand, largest proportion of natives within unskilled workers has shown that Kırıkkale already lost its pull effect, ability of creating employment opportunities for foreigners.

Table-38: Proportions of Respondents by Birth Places within Class Locations

Birth Places of Respondents in Kirikkale													
	Kirikkale	Kirsehir	Cankiri	Corum	Yozgat	Ankara	Central A	EastSeA	BlackSe	Others	Total	%	
Capitalist				25			50		25		4	0.9	
Small Employers	56.3	12.5		6.3	12.5		6.3		6.3		16	3.8	
Party Bourgeoisie	72.7	9.1	1.5		3		1.5	6.1	6.1		66	15.6	
Party Traders	54.5	18.2			9.1	9.1		9.1			11	2.6	
Managers	46.4	21.4		7.1	10.7		7.1			7.1	28	6.6	
Supervisors	72	10	6		2	4				2	50	11.8	
Experts	50	21.4			3.6	7.1		3.6		14.3	28	6.6	
Skilled Workers	61.5	7.3	4.2	7.3	2.1	5.2	7.3	3.1	1	1	96	22.6	
Non-Skilled Workers	67.3	11.9		3	4	3	5	2	2	2	101	23.8	
Casual Workers	58.3	8.3		12.5	16.7		4.2				24	5.7	
Total (N)	267	48	8	17	20	13	21	11	9	10	424	100	
Column %	63	11.3	1.9	4	4.7	3.1	5	2.6	2.1	2.4	N		
Chi Square= 164.27289	DF = 117											Significance = 0.00261	P < 0.005

Birth Places of Respondents in Ankara																
	Ankara	Erzurum	Isarta	Kars	Kayseri	Sivas	Kirsehir	Cankiri	Corum	Yozgat	Central A	EastSeA	BlackSe	Others	Total	%
Capitalist		16.7				33.3						16.7	16.7	16.7	6	1.3
Small Employers	31.6	5.3	5.3	5.3				5.3	15.8		15.8	10.5	5.3		19	4
Party Bourgeoisie	42.3	3.1	6.2	1	4.1	4.1	1	1	8.2	4.1	5.2	7.2	9.3	3.1	97	20.3
Party Traders						60			20	20					5	1
Managers	15	7.5	2.5	2.5	7.5	2.5	5		2.5	2.5	7.5	17.5	7.5	20	40	8.4
Supervisors	32.7	1.9	1.9	7.7	3.8	3.8	3.8		3.8	5.8	7.7	7.7	9.6	9.6	52	10.9
Experts	13.3	6.7			6.7	10	3.3	13.3	3.3	3.3	10	10	3.3	16.7	30	6.3
Skilled Workers	32.4	1.4		1.4	1.4	2.7	6.8	8.1	13.5	2.7	6.8	9.5	5.4	8.1	74	15.4
Non-Skilled Workers	25	2.1	0.7	2.1	2.8	5.6	4.2	6.8	4.9	14.6	10.4	8.3	8.3	4.2	144	30.1
Casual Workers	16.7	8.3							25	16.7	16.7	16.7			12	2.5
Total (N)	29	3.3	2.1	2.3	3.3	4.6	3.5	4.6	7.5	7.3	8.4	9.4	7.5	7.1	479	100
Column %	139	16	10	11	16	22	17	22	36	35	40	45	36	34		
Chi Squares = 140.6143	DF = 81											Significance = 0.00005	P < 0.001			

Table-39: Proportions of Response by Last Places of Residence Before Migration within CL's

	Last Places of Residences of Respondents' Family											Total	
	Kırıkkale	Kirsehir	Cankiri	Corum	Yozgat	Ankara	Central A	EastSea	Black Sea	Others	%		
Capitalist				25			50		25			4	0.9
Small Employers	37.5	12.5		6.3	12.5	18.8		6.3	6.3			16	3.8
Petty Bourgeoisie	66.7	7.6		3	7.6	1.5	6.1	6.1	6.1	1.5		66	15.5
Petty Traders	54.5	18.2			18.2		9.1					11	2.6
Managers	42.9	17.9		7.1	3.6	10.7	10.7	3.6		3.6		28	6.6
Supervisors	58	16	6		2	8	6		2	2		50	11.8
Experts	39.3	21.4			3.6	10.7		7.1	3.6	14.3		28	6.6
Skilled Workers	56.7	8.2	4.1	5.2	2.1	6.2	6.2	4.1	2.1	5.2		97	22.8
Non-Skilled Workers	60.4	11.9		2	5	8.9	5	2	2	3		101	23.8
Casual Workers	50	8.3		8.3	16.7	4.2	8.3	4.2				24	5.6
Total (N)	236	50	7	13	18	36	22	16	12	15		425	100
Column %	55.5	11.8	1.6	5.2	4.2	8.5	5.2	3.8	2.8	3.5		N	100
Chi Square = 118.33917	DF = 81											Significance = 0.00432	P < 0.0005

	Last Places of Settlement of Respondents' Family before Ankara											Total					
	Ankara	Isparta	Istanbul	Kars	Kayseri	Sivas	Erzurum	Kirsehir	Cankiri	Corum	Yozgat		Central A	EastSea	Black Sea	Others	%
Capitalist			16.7			33.3	16.3						16.7	16.7		6	1.7
Small Employers		15.4		7.7			7.7		7.7	23.1		15.4	7.7	15.4		13	3.6
Petty Bourgeoisie		16.2	3.4	1.7	6.8	8.5	5.1	1.7	1.7	13.6	6.8	10.2	11.9	13.6	5.1	59	16.5
Petty Traders										50	50					2	0.6
Managers		2.9	11.4		17.1	2.9	5.7	5.7		2.9	5.7	8.6	22.9	5.7	8.6	35	9.8
Supervisors	5.1	2.6		10.3	2.6	5.1	5.1	5.1	2.6	7.7	7.7	7.7	15.4	12.8	10.3	39	10.9
Experts	3.7		3.7	3.7	7.4	3.7	7.4		14.8	7.4		11.1	11.1	7.4	18.5	27	7.5
Skilled Workers	1.9		1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	9.3	11.1	20.4	5.6	7.4	13	7.4	11.1	54	15.1
Non-Skilled Workers		0.9	2.7	1.8	4.4		2.7	4.4	8.8	5.3	17.7	15.9	13.3	10.6	9.5	113	31.6
Casual Workers							10			30	20	20	10		10	10	2.8
Total (N)	4	11	12	10	19	23	16	15	23	38	35	41	49	36	26	358	100
Column %	1.1	3.1	3.4	2.8	5.3	6.4	4.5	4.2	6.4	10.6	9.8	11.5	13.7	10.1	7.3	N	100
Chi Square = 164.83150	DF = 126											Significance = 0.01151	P < 0.01				

5. 1. 1. 2. **Hometown Linkages: Urbanite vs Peasants?**

It could also be questioned whether natives are really more natives than the others; also whether natives are more urbanized than foreigners. For this purpose, I will use data on duration and hometown linkages of respondents in Kırıkkale and Ankara. But, for class analysis, question is only whether there is any significant differences between class locations with respect to duration of residence or residential time or not.

Table-40, shows that no location is more native or more urbanized than the others; or in other words, each locations have their own internal segregation as natives and newcomers. Also, Kırıkkale have more established i.e. urbanized community than Ankara if we take the residential time or duration of residence as criterium. Most established groups are petty traders and skilled workers whereas most new ones is capitalists and managers in Kırıkkale.

On the other hand, table-41 indicates that urban dwellers have disproportionately closely knit relationships with their hometown in Kırıkkale than Ankara. More than 22 % of total respondents have gone into their hometown once in a month in Kırıkkale whereas people with

same kind of relationship have consisted only of 5.4 % of total population in Ankara. In my opinion, it is relatively important to point out that 21 % of total populations have lesser amounts of relations with their hometown in both cities. These people are probably real citizens of Turkey rather than of Kirikkale and Ankara.

Table-40: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Duration of Residence within Class Locations

	Duration of Residence			
	in Kirikkale		in Ankara	
	Mean	Unadjusted	Mean	Unadjusted
		Dev'n Eta		Dev'n Eta
Capitalists	20.7500	-4.61	21.6667	1.26
Small Employers	25.9231	0.56	26.8462	6.44
Petty Bourgeoisie	28.4590	3.10	23.1356	2.73
Petty Traders	21.1818	-4.18	16.0000	-4.40
Managers	20.7600	-4.60	19.0857	-1.32
Supervisors	20.8889	1.53	22.8718	2.47
Experts	21.1154	-4.25	19.5926	-0.81
Skilled Workers	26.6848	1.32	22.5556	2.15
Unskilled Workers	25.2826	-0.08	17.3423	-3.06
Casual Workers	20.9000	-4.46	15.6000	-4.80
Grand Mean	25.3625	$r = 0.19$	20.4045	$r = 0.27$
Multiple R Squares =		0.035		0.073
Significances of F =		0.129		0.002
F =		1.549		3.024

Table-41: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Levels of Relationships with Hometown within Class Locations.

	Relationships with Hometowns in Kirikkale											
	Once in a Week		Once in Mounth		Twice in a Year		Once in a year		Lesser		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists			1	25	2	50			1	25	4	1.2
Small Employers			1	7.1	2	14.3	7	50	4	28.6	14	4.3
Petty Bourgeoisie	4	7.5	6	11.3	13	24.5	20	37.7	10	18.4	53	16.5
Petty Traders			1	16.7	1	16.7			4	66.7	6	1.9
Managers			3	14.3	8	38.1	4	19	6	28.6	21	6.5
Supervisors	3	7.5	10	25	10	25	8	20	9	22.5	40	12.4
Experts	1	5	5	25	9	45	4	20	1	5	20	6.2
Skilled Workers	2	2.7	17	22.7	21	28	21	28	14	18.7	75	23.3
UnSkilled Workers	4	5.6	10	13.9	26	36.1	15	20.8	17	23.6	72	22.4
Casual Workers			3	17.6	8	47.1	4	23.5	2	11.8	17	5.3
Total	14	4.3	57	17.7	11	31.1	83	25.8	68	21.1	322	100
Chi Square = 39.85498			DF = 36			Significance = 0.30256			P > 0.05			
	Relationships with Hometowns in Ankara											
	Once in a Week		Once in Mounth		Twice in a Year		Once in a year		Lesser		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists							3	75	1	25	4	1.5
Small Employers			1	11.1	1	11.1	3	33.3	4	44.4	9	3.4
Petty Bourgeoisie	1	2.2			6	13	29	63	10	21.7	46	17.6
Petty Traders							2	100			2	0.8
Managers			3	12	5	20	13	52	4	16	25	9.6
Supervisors					7	29.2	8	33.3	9	37.5	24	9.2
Experts			2	11.8			10	58.8	5	29.4	17	6.5
Skilled Workers			4	9.8	7	17.1	26	63.4	4	9.8	41	15.7
UnSkilled Workers			3	3.6	11	13.1	54	64.3	16	19	84	32.2
Casual Workers							7	77.8	2	22.2	9	3.4
Total	1	0.4	13	5	37	14.2	155	59.4	55	21.1	261	100
Chi Square = 40.37803			DF = 36			Significance = 0.28287			P > 0.05			

In short, we can argue that Kirikkale residents with their all class locations have seen as divided into three main groups through urbanization; that is, 1) migrants, 2) migrant natives from surrounding hinterland, and 3) non-migrant natives. Last two groups have three sub-groups on the basis of their relationships with their hometown which could be called as groups with middle, highest, and lowest relations with their backgrounds, respectively. Also, it must be pointed out that urbanism doesn't mean high level of duration of residence at stayed urban place. Class locations have no significant differences on these processes, except experts. They are younger, more feminine, more educated etc. In this context, a probable conflict, if it will be got shape will be realized between a group combining natives to migrants who have lowest grades of relations with their hometown, and experts and a group combining migrant natives and plus all other class locations.

5. 1. 2. Cross-Class Mobility

Cross-class mobility will focus specifically on what has been conceptualized on the bases of inter and intra generational mobility: the types of 'class trajectory'. In this sense, it could be argued that there will be more permeability between parents class locations and respondents class locations if the class formation increase. There will

probably no significant differences among class locations, considering inter-generational social mobility due to rapid process of social change.

5. 1. 2. 1. Inter-Generational Mobility

First, cross-class mobility should be identified with respect to father's class locations, because most of the mothers have no regular income. I will also combine capitalists and small employers into the category of employers; combined petty traders and casual workers into the same category, as they are indicated in Table-42. Table-42 have pointed on low level of significant differences among respondents class locations with respect to their fathers class location in Kırıkkale than Ankara. In other words, Kırıkkale have a population with high level of cross-class mobility; high level of instability. Society is full of chances and risks: every body can go top as well as go down. Most of persons in all class locations are made of children of petty bourgeoisie i.e peasants. It should also be noted that class polarization has any social basis. Percentage ratios of workers who are children of employers, petty bourgeoisie, managers and supervisors and workers are as follows, respectfully: 60 %, 52.5 %, 60%, and 54.2 %. In other words, there is no well established and strictly closed borders among class locations.

Workers have most stable continuities between fathers and children' class locations. Majority of workers' children have also be a worker. However, workers' children have also hold class positions at other locations where they are skewed toward managers and supervisors at 16.2 %. Also, majority of present workers is not workers' children but children of petty bourgeoisie i.e. peasants in Kirikkale.

Table-42: Correspondences between Father and Respondents' Class Locations

		Fathers' Class Locations in Kirikkale									
Respondents' Class	Employers		Petty Bourgeoisie		Managr's and Super's		Workers		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Employers	1	20	9	4.1			7	4.9	17	4.6	
Petty Bourgeoisie	1	20	37	16.7	1	20	22	15.5	61	16.4	
Managr's and Super's			42	19	1	20	23	16.2	66	17.6	
Workers	3	60	116	52.5	3	60	77	54.2	199	53.4	
P Traders and Casuals			17	7.7			13	9.2	30	8	
Total (Column %)	5	1.3	221	59.2	5	1.3	142	38.1	377	100	
Chi Square = 5.65171		DF = 12		Significance = 0.93261				P > 0.05			
		Fathers' Class Locations in Ankara									
Respondents' Class	Employers		Petty Bourgeoisie		Managr's and Super's		Workers		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Employers	3	9.1	11	4.4	1	11.1	6	4.2	21	4.8	
Petty Bourgeoisie	9	27.3	57	22.7			20	14.1	86	19.8	
Managr's and Super's	8	24.2	37	14.7	3	33.3	39	27.5	87	20	
Workers	11	33.3	133	53	5	55.6	76	53.5	225	51.7	
P Traders and Casuals	2	6.1	13	5.2			1	0.7	16	3.7	
Total (Column %)	33	7.6	251	57.7	9	2.1	142	32.6	435	100	
Chi Square = 24.99186		DF = 12		Significance = 0.01486				P < 0.01			

Ankara has little bit more permeability i.e. stable continuity on cross-class mobility as it has been defined through continuity between fathers' and children' class locations. Majority of children of managers, supervisors and workers have also hold fathers class locations later. However, petty bourgeoisie still keep his position as major suppliers of urban social classes at Ankara also.

It is not necessary to look for mothers class locations because only few of them have a regular occupation. Only 22.5 % and 36.7% of mothers have been declared as employed in Kirikkale and Ankara. And also, only 7.5 % and 6.1 % of mothers who are declared as working are wage workers. In fact, mothers with wage work have made of 1.5 % and 2.1 % of total numbers of mothers in Kirikkale and Ankara.

5. 1. 2. 2. Intra-Generational Mobility

Intra-generational mobility has also been comprehended deciding to the level of fluidity and permeability in class formation. For this purpose, due to the lack of available data to identify respondents' previous class location, I will look at changes in occupations within respondents own life times (See Table-43).

In this context, Kirikkale has more permeability with average score on changes in occupation, 1.26 which is less than the score of Ankara, 1.77. Experts, supervisors and unskilled workers have seen as most permanent locations in Kirikkale whereas they are casual workers and petty traders and managers in Ankara. On the other hand, small employers, petty traders and casual workers in Kirikkale; and supervisors, skilled workers and unskilled workers in Ankara are most fluid class locations. In other words, although there is less correspondence between changes in class locations in both cities, Kirikkale has a more stable class structure than Ankara.

Table-43: Changes in Occupation through Respondents' Life Time

	Changes in Occupations			
	Kirikkale		Ankara	
		Unadjusted		Unadjusted
	Mean	Dev'n Eta	Mean	Dev'n Eta
Capitalists	1.2500	-0.01	1.6667	-0.11
Small Employers	1.9333	0.67	1.7368	-0.04
Petty Bourgeoisie	1.2923	0.03	1.7083	-0.07
Petty Traders	1.5455	0.28	1.6000	-0.17
Managers	1.3214	0.06	1.6000	-0.17
Supervisors	1.0612	-0.20	2.0577	0.28
Experts	1.0000	-0.26	1.6429	-0.13
Skilled Workers	1.3814	0.12	1.8378	0.06
UnSkilled Workers	1.1000	-0.16	1.8252	0.05
Casual Workers	1.5238	0.25	1.1667	-0.61
Grand Mean	1.2632	r = 0.14	1.7747	r = 0.10
Significance of F =	0.501	F= 0.928	0.861	F = 0.519
Multiple R Squares =	0.020		0.01	

5. 2. Cross-Class Relations

Analysis on cross-class relations looks like a somewhat network analysis which looks for group formations and institutionalization. In fact, I have not illustrated a formal network analysis which produces a map of domains, identified as central and secondary-peripheral areas of human life in daily activities. Here, I will simply look at positions of respondents partners' and friends' class locations. These analyses will also enable us to comprehend something on fluidity or permeability of class locations, although fluidity have largely be defined with inter-generational cross-class mobility.

5. 2. 1. Class Correspondence among Partners

Table-44 provides evidence for a discussion about whether is there any significant differences among class locations with respect to their partners class locations.

But, table has given no sense, because, there are only a few female partners who have a regular employment in Kırıkkale; whereas there are for times more employed females in Ankara which have in fact four times lesser than employment ratio of males.

Table-44: Correspondences between Partners' Class Locations

	Partners' Class Locations in Kirikkale										
	Employers		Petty Bourgeoisie		Mangr's and Super's		Workers		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Employers			1	16.7			1	6.7	2	8.3	
Petty Bourgeoisie											
Mangr's and Super's							4	26.7	4	16.7	
Workers	2	100	5	83.3	1	100	10	66.7	18	75	
Petty Traders and Casuals											
Total (Column %)	2	8.3	6	25	1	4.2	15	62.5	24	100	
Chi Square = 3.64444		DF = 6		Significance = 0.72466				P > 0.05			
	Partners' Class Locations in Ankara										
	Employers		Petty Bourgeoisie		Mangr's and Super's		Workers		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Employers	2	33.3					5	5.6	7	6.9	
Petty Bourgeoisie	1	16.7	3	23.1			9	10.1	13	12.7	
Mangr's and Super's	2	33.3			4	100	27	30.3	33	32.4	
Workers	1	16.7					48	53.9	49	48	
P Traders and Casuals											
Total (Column %)	6	5.9	3	2.9	4	3.9	89	87.3	102	100	
Chi Square = 37.77183		DF = 9		Significance = 0.00002				P < 0.001			

5. 2. 2. Class Correspondence among Friends

Friendship is the second step of human relations between private family networks and public domains. There are three basic alternative for employed persons to constitute friendships, namely, neighborhood, job maid, and friendship at other spheres of life. Question for this study is not deeply analyze mechanisms of

neighborhood, job maid relations or any other networks of friendship; but it is simply to illustrate how much friendship constructed among class locations and to decide to whether is there any significant correspondence between class locations on this basis.

Tables 45, 46 and 47 shows that there are significant differences among class locations on friend preferences in Kırıkkale. However, it doesn't mean that all locations can close within themselves. Increase in significance is probably a result of workers' proportional weight in total population in which 66 % of total friends are made of workers. In this context, workers have appeared as the location with high level of social closure if the social closure has been defined as friendship between persons belonged to same class location both in Kırıkkale and Ankara. Petty bourgeoisie and managers have also high levels of social closure in Kırıkkale.

Table-45: Correspondences between Respondent and First Close Friend's Class Locations

	First Friend's Class Locations in Kirikkale										
	Employers		Petty Bourgeoisie		Mangr's and Super's		Workers		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Employers	3	10.3	3	6.8	1	2.4	10	4.5	17	5	
Petty Bourgeoisie	12	41.4	14	31.8	4	9.5	22	9.9	52	15.4	
Mangr's and Super's	2	6.9	5	11.4	16	38.1	39	17.5	62	18.3	
Workers	10	34.5	18	40.9	20	47.6	136	61	184	54.4	
Petty Traders and Casuals	2	6.9	4	9.1	1	2.4	16	7.2	23	6.8	
Total (Column %)	29	8.6	44	13	42	12.4	223	66	338	100	
Chi Square = 48.00970		DF = 12		Significance = 0.00000				P < 0.001			
	First Friend's Class Locations in Ankara										
	Employers		Petty Bourgeoisie		Mangr's and Super's		Workers		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Employers	5	8.8			3	7.1	8	3.6	16	4.2	
Petty Bourgeoisie	24	42.1	32	55.2	7	16.7	19	8.6	82	21.6	
Mangr's and Super's	12	21.1	4	6.9	20	47.6	34	15.3	70	18.5	
Workers	16	28.1	18	31	12	28.6	152	68.5	198	52.2	
Petty Traders and Casuals			4	6.9			9	4.1	13	3.4	
Total (Column %)	57	15	58	15.3	42	11.1	222	58.6	379	100	
Chi Square = 123.17996		DF = 12		Significance = 0.00000				P < 0.001			

Table-46: Correspondences between Respondent and Second Close Friend's Class Locations

	Second Friend's Class Locations in Kirikkale										
	Employers		Petty Bourgeoisie		Mangr's and Super's		Workers		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Employers	3	13.6	4	8.9	2	7.7	7	3.2	16	5.1	
Petty Bourgeoisie	12	54.5	8	17.8	1	3.8	23	10.4	44	14	
Mangr's and Super's	1	4.5	11	24.4	9	34.6	41	18.5	62	19.6	
Workers	5	22.7	19	42.2	12	46.2	135	60.8	171	54.3	
P Traders and Casuals	1	4.5	3	6.7	2	7.7	16	7.2	22	7	
Total (Column %)	22	7	45	14.3	26	8.3	222	70.5	315	100	
Chi Square = 50.52432		DF = 12		Significance = 0.00000				P < 0.001			
	Second Friend's Class Locations in Ankara										
	Employers		Petty Bourgeoisie		Mangr's and Super's		Workers		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Employers	7	15.6	1	1.5	2	4.5	8	3.6	18	4.8	
Petty Bourgeoisie	20	44.4	26	40	5	11.4	28	12.6	79	21	
Mangr's and Super's	8	17.8	8	12.3	21	47.7	35	15.7	72	19.1	
Workers	9	20	23	35.4	16	36.4	144	64.6	192	50.9	
Petty Traders and Casuals	1	2.2	7	10.8			8	3.6	16	4.2	
Total (Column %)	45	11.9	65	17.2	44	11.7	223	59.2	377	100	
Chi Square = 97.99799		DF = 12		Significance = 0.00000				P < 0.001			

Table-47: Correspondences between Respondent and Third Close Friend's Class Locations

	Third Friend's Class Locations in Kirikkale										
	Employers		Petty Bourgeoisie		Mangr's and Super'		Workers		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Employers	4	30.8	1	3.8			3	1.8	8	3.6	
Petty Bourgeoisie	6	46.2	9	34.6	2	13.3	12	7	29	12.8	
Mangr's and Super's	1	7.7	4	15.4	3	20	34	19.9	42	18.7	
Workers	2	15.4	10	38.5	10	66.7	113	66.1	135	60	
P Traders and Casuals	1		2	7.7			9	5.3	11	4.9	
Total (Column %)	13	5.8	26	1.6	15	6.7	171	76	255	100	
Chi Square = 64.89926		DF = 12		Significance = 0.00000				P < 0.001			
	Third Friend's Class Locations in Ankara										
	Employers		Petty Bourgeoisie		Mangr's and Super'		Workers		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Employers	7	20.6			6	16.7	4	1.9	17	5.1	
Petty Bourgeoisie	13	38.2	21	38.2	5	13.9	28	13.5	67	20.2	
Mangr's and Super's	4	11.8	10	18.2	13	36.1	33	15.9	60	18.1	
Workers	10	29.4	16	29.1	11	30.6	139	67.1	176	53	
Petty Traders and Casuals			8	14.5	1	2.8	3	1.4	12	3.6	
Total (Column %)	34	10.2	55	16.6	36	10.8	207	62.3	332	100	
Chi Square = 102.40951		DF = 12		Significance = 0.00000				P < 0.001			

On the other hand, more interestingly, friendship lost its power in Kırıkkale rather than Ankara. There are only 65.2 % of persons who can declare a third friend, whereas 77 % of respondent have a third friend in Ankara. In other words, Kırıkkale has relatively more close knit ties at friendship networks. Individuals have closed their rooms to others after they have selected their friends; and strictly defined life domains for themselves and for their limited number of friend. Also, most of urban dwellers in Kırıkkale have declared their relatives as their friends. That is, they have concentrated into their given biological networks.

Table-48 pointed out that gender relations in public domains, free from class locations, have also largely been disappeared. This disappearance make people to get marriage. There are probably no healthy places for non-married persons at Kırıkkale. Thus it can be argued that there will be a conflict, if will be any, between tendencies, open and closed social relations but not social groups and social classes.

Table-48: Gender Relations by Friendships within Class Locations

	Males and Females in Friendship in Kirikkale											
	Among Females' Friends						Among Males' Friends					
	1th Friend		2nd Friend		3rd Friend		1th Friend		2nd Friend		3rd Friend	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Capitalists							3	1	3	1	3	
Small Employers		1		1			15		14		7	
Petty Bourgeoisie	1	1		1		2	58	3	55	2	38	1
Petty Traders							11		10		6	
Managers	1	1	2		2	1	24	2	23		12	
Supervisors	1	1	1	1	1	4	43	1	42		31	1
Experts	2	6	2	6	3	5	17	1	16	2	12	2
Skilled Workers		1		1	1		90	3	84	5	65	1
UnSkilled Workers		7		6	2	3	85	4	78	5	66	
Casual Workers							17	2	18	1	11	1
Total	5	18	5	16	9	11	363	17	343	16	251	6
%	21	78.3	22.7	77.3	45	55	95.5	4.5	95.5	4.5	97.7	2.3
	Males and Females in Friendship in Ankara											
	Among Females' Friends						Among Males' Friends					
	1th Friend		2nd Friend		3rd Friend		1th Friend		2nd Friend		3rd Friend	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Capitalists							2	2	4		4	
Small Employers	4		4		3		10	2	10	2	10	1
Petty Bourgeoisie	12		12		12		71	3	68	1	58	2
Petty Traders	3		3		2	1	2		2		1	
Managers	3	2	5		4		27	4	29	1	27	2
Supervisors	8	2	10		8	1	30	3	32		26	2
Experts	1	2	2	1	1	2	16	5	17	2	14	4
Skilled Workers	15	1	15	2	16		50		46	2	38	3
UnSkilled Workers	32	2	29	4	29	3	94	6	91	5	78	7
Casual Workers	6	1	7		6	1	3	1	3	1	3	
Total	84	10	87	7	81	8	303	26	302	14	259	21
%	89.4	10.6	92.6	7.4	91	8	92.1	7.9	95.6	4.4	92.5	7.5

5. 2. 3. **Class Segregation vs Integration in Associations**

5. 2. 3. 1. **In Associations in General**

From the very beginning, it must be pointed out that only 29.17 % and 20.25 % of total populations have membership in formal organizations in Kirikkale and Ankara respectively (See table 49). Also, it must be pointed out at most of the membership into organizations have largely realized as the memberships of vocational associations which are a legal necessity for entering into labour market (See table 50).

Table-49: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Associations within Class Locations

	Membership on Organization in									
	Kirikkale					Ankara				
	Organized		UnOrganized		Total	Organized		UnOrganized		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	N	%	N	%	N
Capitalists	3	75.00	1	25.00	4	4	66.66	2	33.34	6
Small Employers	7	43.75	9	56.25	16	8	50.00	8	50.00	19
Petty Bourgeoisie	33	50.00	33	50.00	66	42	43.29	55	56.71	97
Petty Traders	2	18.18	9	81.82	11	1	20.00	4	80.00	5
Managers	9	32.14	19	66.86	28	6	15.00	36	85.00	40
Supervisors	19	36.00	31	62.00	50	7	13.46	45	86.54	52
Experts	2	7.14	26	92.86	28	5	16.66	35	83.35	30
Skilled Workers	24	24.74	73	75.26	97	8	10.81	66	89.19	74
UnSkilled Workers	23	22.77	78	77.23	101	16	11.11	128	88.89	144
Casual Workers	3	12.50	21	87.50	24			12	100.00	12
Total (Column %)	125	29.17	300	70.83	425	97	20.25	382	382.00	479

Table-50: Numbers and Proportions of Member Respondents by Types of Associations within Class Locations

	Membership by Types of Association by CL's in Kirikkale														
	Vocational		Social Help		Spor		Religious		Countrymanship		Political		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalists	1	33.3							1	33.3	1	33.3	3	2.4	
Small Employers	4	57.1							3	42.9			7	5.6	
Petty Bourgeoisie	21	63.6	1	3			2	6.1	4	12.1	5	15.2	33	26.4	
Petty Traders	2	100											2	1.8	
Managers	5	55.6					1	11.1	1	11.1	2	22.2	9	7.2	
Supervisors	7	36.8			1	5.3	3	15.8	2	10.5	6	31.6	19	15.2	
Experts									1	50	1	50	2	1.6	
Skilled Workers	6	25			2	8.3	2	8.3	3	12.5	11	45.8	24	19.2	
UnSkilled Workers	5	21.7	1	4.3	2	8.7	1	4.3	8	34.8	6	26.1	23	18.4	
Casual Workers	1	33.3			1	33.3					1	33.3	3	2.4	
Total	52	41.6	2	1.6	6	4.8	9	7.2	23	18.4	33	26.4	125	29.17	
Chi Square = 44.83226		DF = 45		Significance = 0.47900								P > 0.05			
	Membership by Types of Association by CL's in Ankara														
	Vocational		Social Help		Spor		Religious		Countrymanship		Political		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalists	2	50	1	25	1	25							4	4.2	
Small Employers	7	67.5			1	12.5							8	8.3	
Petty Bourgeoisie	35	85.4									6	14.6	41	42.7	
Petty Traders											1	100	1	1	
Managers	4	66.7							1	16.7	1	16.7	8	6.3	
Supervisors	5	71.4			1	14.3					1	14.3	7	7.3	
Experts	2	40	2	40					1	20			5	5.2	
Skilled Workers	4	50	1	12.5					2	25	1	12.5	8	8.3	
UnSkilled Workers	4	25	2	12.5	1	6.3	1	6.3	4	25	4	25	16	16.7	
Casual Workers															
Total	63	65.6	6	6.3	4	4.2	1	1	8	8.3	14	14.6	96	20.25	
Chi Square = 63.52510		DF = 40		Significance = 0.01037								P > 0.01			

Table-50 does not only shows that there is no significant differences among class locations with respect to their membership into formal associations; but also shows that membership into formal associations is grater in Kırıkkale than Ankara. I think that this also proofs that residents of Kırıkkale are well aware and hopeful from central government. They are conscious enough to comprehend politics as a patronage relation, free from their differences through class locations.

5. 2. 3. 2. In Trade-Unions

As it will also been mentioned in discussion on politics and religion, trade union-ism has also very basic characteristics of clientalism in Turkey. As politics and religion disseminated over local community, trade unionism has also been introduced from above/center. Thus, trade unions has available to be used in patronage relations in order to get maximum benefits for their 'ruling oligarchy' which have been settled not only at the top of union organization but also through work places. Thus, ruling oligarchy have not only composed of top level executives but also lowest level executives in work places. This second group of ruling oligarchy consists of masses in Kırıkkale who may take position in social, cultural and political

conflict. They are not real workers, but they are mainly union's professionals.

Table-51: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Differences of Opinions on Trade Union-ism within Class Locations

	UnNecessay		Positive Comprehensions on Trade Unions in Kirikkale											
			ForPolitics		ForWorkers		Solidarity		ForService		ForWage		ForManaging	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist			1	33.3	3	100	1	33.3	3	100	3	100	1	33.3
Small Employers			2	15.4	8	66.7	1	7.7	9	69.2	7	53.8	1	8.3
Petty Bourgeoisie	1	7.7	8	17	39	83	10	21.3	22	46.8	13	27.7	5	10.6
Petty Traders			5	50	9	90	7	70	7	70	7	70	5	50
Managers	1	4	7	26.9	15	60	6	25	15	60	13	54.2	7	28
Supervisors			9	20	37	84.1	13	28.9	24	53.3	21	46.7	10	22.7
Experts	1	4.5	7	36.8	15	78.9	9	47.4	12	63.2	8	42.1	5	26.3
Skilled Workers	1	1.1	21	24.4	71	84.5	30	35.3	51	60.7	45	53.6	23	26.7
Un-Skilled Workers	4	4.8	15	18.1	65	78.3	29	35.4	50	61.7	55	67.9	22	27.2
Casual Workers	3	25	3	37.5	6	75	5	62.5	4	50	5	62.5	3	37.5
Total (Column %)	11	3.2	78	22.9	268	80	111	33	197	58.8	177	53	82	24.7
Kirikkale														
	UnNecessay		Positive Comprehensions on Trade Unions in Ankara											
			ForPolitics		ForWorkers		Solidarity		ForService		ForWage		ForManaging	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist			2	33.3	3	50	2	33.3	2	33.3	2	33.3	2	33.3
Small Employers	1	5.3	11	61.1	14	77.8	14	77.8	13	72.2	14	77.8	10	55.6
Petty Bourgeoisie	9	9.4	48	55.2	59	67.8	68	78.2	67	77	64	73.6	57	65.5
Petty Traders	1	20	3	75	3	75	3	75	3	75	3	75	3	75
Managers	4	10	20	55.6	24	66.7	26	72.2	27	75	27	75	25	69.4
Supervisors	4	7.7	25	52.1	35	72.9	36	75	42	87.5	37	77.1	34	70.8
Experts	3	10	21	77.8	22	81.5	25	92.6	24	88.9	25	92.6	25	92.6
Skilled Workers	7	9.6	44	65.7	55	82.1	53	79.1	54	80.6	54	80.6	50	74.6
Un-Skilled Workers	12	8.4	96	72.7	108	81.8	107	81.1	113	85.6	113	85.6	102	77.3
Casual Workers			8	66.7	11	91.7	10	83.3	11	91.7	11	91.7	10	83.3
Total (Column %)	41	8.6	278	63.6	334	76.4	344	78.7	356	81.5	350	80.1	318	72.8

Table-51 indicates personal responses for question given like "whether trade unions have any necessity for national politics; increasing workers rights in any kind, increasing workers' solidarity among each other, improving workers social rights, increasing workers wage, and improving firm managing at work places." In Kırıkkale, only 3.2 % of total population have declared their opinions on trade unions as that they are unnecessary; whereas Ankara has more people who declared their opinions as such.

On the other hand, people of Kırıkkale have sharp differences on their opinions on other functions of trade unions. In Kırıkkale, approximately 78 % of total respondents have saw no necessity for politics as well as 76 % and 67 % have also seen no necessity for managing at work places and working class solidarity respectively. For peoples of Kırıkkale, unions are necessary mainly for workers benefits. In other words, these persons see unions are necessary; but they have less ability to define why they are necessary.

In Kırıkkale, only 53 % of persons argue that unions are necessary for improving wages. Also, 59 % of persons declare that unions are necessary for improving workers social rights; which these rights are also social wages added on net wages. Everybody in aware of unionism in Kırıkkale is wage unionism but if the wages have been

defined as social rights i.e. supplementary wages paid in cash and kind. In other words, unionism is not a way for class formation, even for workers.

5. 2. 3. 3. In Politics: Modernist vs Ottoman Followers

Politics and social changes in Turkey have generally been discussed on the basis of model 'revolution from above' (Trimberger, 1978). In this model, question is how much Turkish revolution can get success on social transformation and modernization. This model has also correspond to the issues presented by Turkish revolutionaries of 1920'es who got the power before a nation has no reality under occupied land; and to the issues of nation building approach put forward.

After their success on independence war, modernist elites identify their goal as 'to arrive at state of contemporary civilizations' (Oran, 1993). In other words, they look for western capitalism as their basic goal. They identified two basic obstacles preventing arriving at this goal: 1) western capitalist nations by themselves; 2) sharia and its organized body, Ottoman State (Timur, 1993).

In this context, Turkish politics has structured on a debate questioning around how [ottoman] state can be salvated (Mardin, 1983a). This state centered emphasis make politics be a kind of tutelage and clientalism, where structure of politics have also been identified as corporatism, authoritarianism etc.. Basic questions have largely been formulated on the basis of a very common question `how we can go into masses, how can we get precise relations with them, or how can we organized them within our preconstructed political party, with its own pre-decided truths etc.. Thus, political ideologies and behaviors should be comprehended as answers against such questions.

There are four basic answers, proposing pan-Islamism, pan-Ottomanism, pan-Turkism under a strong central state and lastly, federalism. Pan-Islamism and pan-Ottomanism has lost their power via both alliance of muslim Arabs with christian nations against Ottomans in World War First, and also flee of Padişah's, head of Islam from istanbul, capital of Islam, to a christian land after a long period of struggling against revolutionaries who look, in fact, for state's salivation. Pan-Turkism, as a racist attempt, has also lost its feasibility by October Revolution in Russia. Most of the Turkish communities have joined into the revolution either by their free will or by physical suppresses. Federalist advises have largely been realized by last Ottoman Governments but they gave away state to disappear. Thus, new

republic through its official part CHP, formulate his ideology, as a synthesis of world civilizations on the basis of Turkism as the turks who have been identified as Turkish speakers and men who live in land under the control of new ruling elite.

In other words, new republic identifies his basic enemy as Islam and Ottoman followers rather than any other thing. Western capitalist nations are also second basic antagonist of new republic because they have already prevented any attempt toward modernization, industrialization and entering into conditions of money and market economy based on private property. New ruling elite challenging western nations and sharia by his argument on secularism. Secularism looks for international relations free from religious prejudices. It invites western state to be free from their religious pasts. Also, secularism looks for separation government bodies from hegemony of religion i.e. sunnite Islam in Turkey (Berkes, 1978). New elites looks for new laws and court regulations from European states; and immediately applied them in Turkey. Last, secularism advises for people as a new way of life. New elites identifies this new way by various ways, such as dressing, music, dancing, education etc. For these purposes, new elites have suppressed not only of leading followers of sharia by also ordinary people belong to Islam in crude

ceremonies. This probably makes some of the ordinary people be hostile against new elites also.

At late 1940'es, a new group, namely Democratic Party have emerged at political scene as followers of the ideas of federalists at late Ottoman period. But they also appropriated the sunnite Islam as a tool to pick up votes in a decisively opportunistic approach. They took the power at 1950; and rule the state and society until military coup of 1960, which had ended by assassination of three leaders of Democratic party. This assassination has also strengthening hostility of masses against modernist elites. These masses identifies their ideologies at late 1960'es as rightwing politics after modernist elites of CHP define their ideology as 'left of the middle.' Thus, there are two basic groups and various sub-sects within themselves at Turkish political arena (Kongar, 1981: 139-41).

Modernist elites of 1920'es formulated a strong centralist ruling model for nation. And then, began to organize local communities as parts of new totality, from above. Politics as one of the way of the organization has been conceptualized as a system of tutelage. This conceptualization make politics be a system of clientalism at later moments in time. DP had no counter action against model; in turn, DP has properly used established political mechanism

in order to increase its social basis. Politics began to be conceptualized as a way of transforming money-capital from center to the periphery; distributing wealth to the members of political parties stayed at local areas. Thus, politics have increasingly become a pragmatic apparatus of pick up wealth and statuses for rightists, whereas it has still been valid as a moral issue for leftists.

Thus, followers of 1920'es modernist elites both in CHP and out of CHP overtly began to oppose against central state at late 1960'es. They are rapidly beginning to formulate their ideologies within general terminology of socialism. But, in fact they are not radical Marxists but socially minded intellectuals who formulate their ideologies under great influences of Kemalist formulations of 1920'es (Karpat, 1973). On the other side, followers of sheria, federalists and all other followers of Ottomans reformulate themselves as conservatives whereas they are also labeling leftists as communists on political arena. Rightists began to compete to each other to use Islamic cultural codes as political materials. Thus, Islam becomes a relatively well cultivated political storage of votes where the vote owners have probably be in aware of value of their own votes.

In any case, although systematic military coups destroying political system, there was a relatively established system of political

parties in Turkey where actors have characterized themselves under two basic titles, as leftists-progressives and right wing-conservatives or similar terms. Thus, politics must be conceptualized in accordance with these historical evidences rather than evidences of developed capitalist societies. In other words, affiliations on political ideology are more important than political party preferences in Turkey. And, left and right have not necessarily show class based politics on working class and others.

I will construct politics on the basis of respondents' affiliation on political ideologies operationalized through political parties at local and nation-wide elections rather than their relations with political organizations because only 7.76 % and 2.92 % of them are members of political organizations in Kırıkkale and Ankara, respectively. From the very beginning, it must be pointed out that membership into political parties for employees of public firms are forbidden by legal codes in Turkey. However, high rate of membership in political parties in Kırıkkale; although it is a city of public employees can only be comprehended by clientalist nature of politics in Turkey, as it has already be mentioned.

In this context, right wing political parties are argued as ANAP, DYP, MÇP, RP, IDP as they are in survey time; and leftist

parties are argued as SHP, DSP, SP by the same way. Some of the population have also no clearly defined affiliations on political parties. I call them as a-politics heuristically, without any precisely constructed argument of my own. Some of the people have also no answer or no relations to politics. Proportional rate of respondents who have declared their political affiliations are 93.41 % and 94.73 % of total population in Kırıkkale and Ankara. If we can add these non-respondents to number of the a-political respondents; we can also argue that 13.39 % 18.56 % of total population would like to live out of political domains in both cities.

Table-52: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Political Affiliations within Class Locations.

	Political Party Affiliations in Kirikkale							
	Rigth Wing		Leftists		Apolitics		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists	4	100					4	1
Small Employers	9	60	4	26.7	2	13.3	15	3.8
Pety Bourgeoisie	46	71.9	15	23.4	3	4.7	64	16.1
Pety Traders	6	54.5	4	36.4	1	9.1	11	2.8
Managers	21	77.8	5	18.5	1	3.7	27	6.8
Supervisors	25	54.3	18	39.1	3	6.5	46	11.6
Experts	13	48.1	12	44.4	2	7.4	27	6.8
Skilled Workers	60	67.4	23	25.8	6	6.7	89	22.4
UnSkilled Workes	54	59.3	32	35.2	5	5.5	91	22.9
Casual Workers	11	47.8	8	34.8	4	17.4	23	5.8
Total (Column %)	249	62.7	121	30.5	27	6.8	397	100
Chi-Square= 19.71805		DF = 18		Significance = .34882		P > .05		
	Political Party Affiliations in Ankara							
	Rigth Wing		Leftists		Apolitics		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists	2	33.3	4	66.7			6	1.3
Small Employers	6	35.3	11	64.7			17	3.8
Pety Bourgeoisie	52	54.7	36	37.9	7	7.4	95	21.1
Pety Traders	3	60	1	20	1	20	5	1.1
Managers	11	28.2	18	46.2	10	25.6	39	8.7
Supervisors	19	40.4	16	34	12	25.5	47	10.4
Experts	5	18.5	15	55.6	7	25.9	27	6
Skilled Workers	31	46.3	28	41.8	8	11.9	67	14.9
UnSkilled Workes	65	47.8	58	42.6	13	9.6	136	30.2
Casual Workers	3	27.3	6	54.5	2	18.2	11	2.4
Total (Column %)	197	43.8	193	42.9	60	13.3	450	100
Chi-Square= 37.40743		DF = 18		Significance = .00464		P > .005		

Table-52 have also no significant differences among class locations concerning affiliation on political parties in both cities, although there is a relatively lesser significance in Kırıkkale and vice versa. More than fifty of persons belonged to all class location have right wing political party affiliation, except experts with their 48.1 % in Kırıkkale. In Kırıkkale, more then 60 % of total population have stayed in right at political arena, where a leftist tendency can be expected because it is a city of proletariat. There are no class location with leftists have more than fifty of respondent within itself in Kırıkkale (See graph 3 and 4). Leading locations of right politics in Kırıkkale are capitalists, managers, petty bourgeoisie, skilled workers, unskilled workers and petty traders with respect to proportional weights of right affiliation within total populations of each location. Largest groups are composed of skilled workers and petty bourgeoisie in Kırıkkale.

In other words, economic bases of class locations have no significant influence on political party affiliations as the bases have been defined as capitalist and small commodity modes of production in Kırıkkale. Capitalist, workers and petty bourgeoisie can easily be come together. On the other hand, there are four class locations who have skewed into leftism in Ankara, with more than fifty percent of leftist affiliation within themselves, Ankara have also more leftist vote than rightwing affiliation in total population. These locations have been

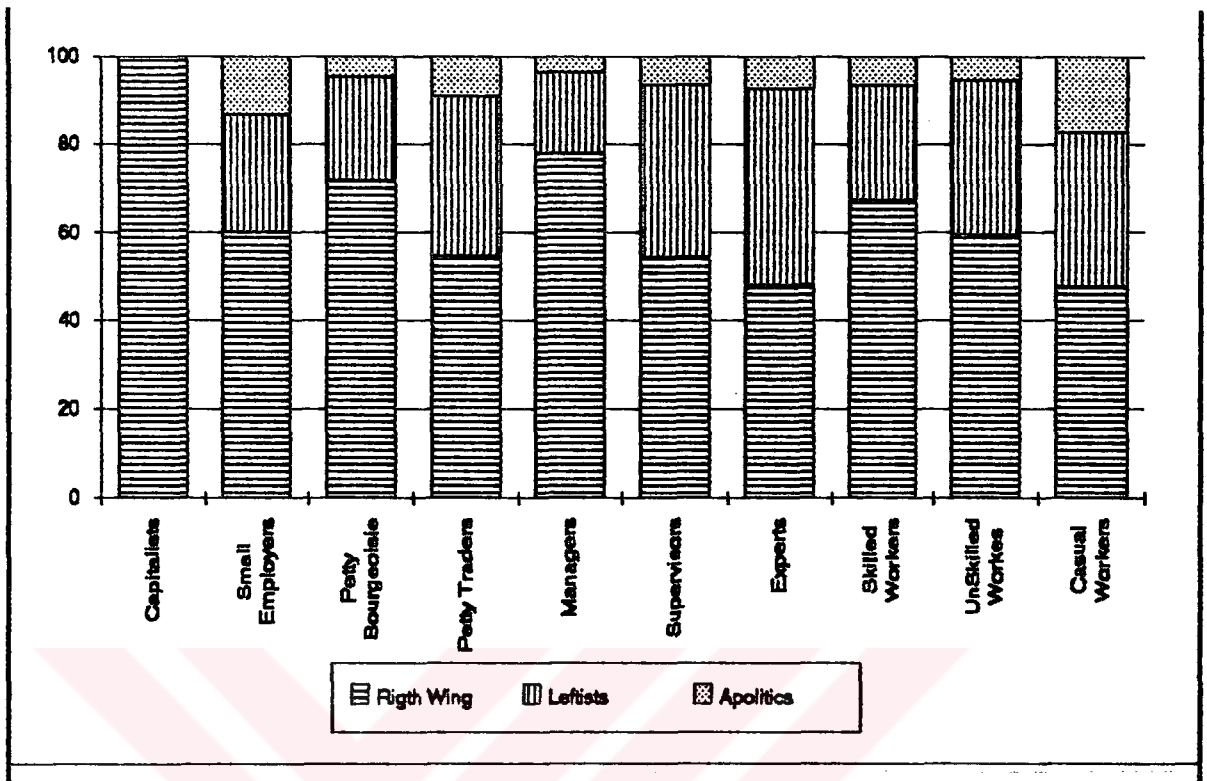
stratified as follows, capitalists, small employers, experts, and casual workers with respect to proportions of leftists within total populations of locations, separately from each other. Although, there are also definitely rightist class locations in Ankara, namely, petty traders and petty bourgeoisie. Continuously, there are also a similar distribution of political party preferences at last national and local elections in both cities.

Political party preferences can change in particular, but affiliations of political ideologies have not. Seventy one percent of people has declared their affiliation towards rightwing politics and 71.4 % of people have vote for rightwing politics in Kırıkkale; as well as 27.8 % of people have declared themselves as leftist and 26.9 % of people have vote for left at national elections (See table 53 and its graph-3). However, Ankara have a little bit more floating votes than Kırıkkale. There are 46.8 % of people who say that they are right wing political affiliation whereas there 50.3 % for right wing political parties in national elections. That is to say, there are approximately four percent of floating votes in Ankara, whereas same proportion can probably be less than one % for Kırıkkale.

Table-53: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Political Party Preferences within Class Locations

	Party Preferences at Last National Election in Kirikkale								
	Rigth Wing		Letists		Other		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalist	3	100					3	0.8	
Small Employers	8	66.7	3	25	1	8.3	12	3.4	
Petty Bourgeoisie	44	81.5	10	18.5			54	15.3	
Petty Traders	7	63.6	3	27.3	1	9.1	11	3.1	
Managers	18	78.3	5	21.7			23	6.5	
Supervisors	27	64.3	15	35.7			42	11.9	
Experts	17	68	8	32			25	7.1	
Skilled Workers	59	72	23	28			82	23.2	
UnSkilled Workers	57	68.7	26	31.3			83	23.5	
Casual Workers	12	66.7	5	27.8	1	5.6	18	5.1	
Total (Colun %)	252	71.4	98	27.8	3	0.8	353	100	
Chi Square = 30.24861		DF = 18		Significance = 0.03510		P < .05			
	Party Preferences at Last National Election in Ankara								
	Rigth Wing		Letists		Other		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalist	2	33.3	4	66.7			6	1.4	
Small Employers	7	41.2	10	58.8			17	3.9	
Petty Bourgeoisie	56	58.9	37	38.9	2	2.1	95	21.8	
Petty Traders	3	75	1	25			4	0.9	
Managers	14	37.8	17	45.9	6	16.2	37	8.5	
Supervisors	24	53.3	17	37.8	4	8.9	45	10.3	
Experts	5	19.2	17	65.4	4	15.4	26	6	
Skilled Workers	37	58.7	25	39.7	1	1.6	63	14.5	
UnSkilled Workers	65	50	64	49.2	1	0.8	130	29.9	
Casual Workers	6	50	6	50			12	2.8	
Total (Colun %)	219	50.3	198	45.5	18	4.1	435	100	
Chi Square = 46.47339		DF = 18		Significance = .00025		P < .001			

Graph-3: Political Party Preferences within Class Locations in Kirikkale



Graph-4: Political Party Preferences within Class Locations in Ankara

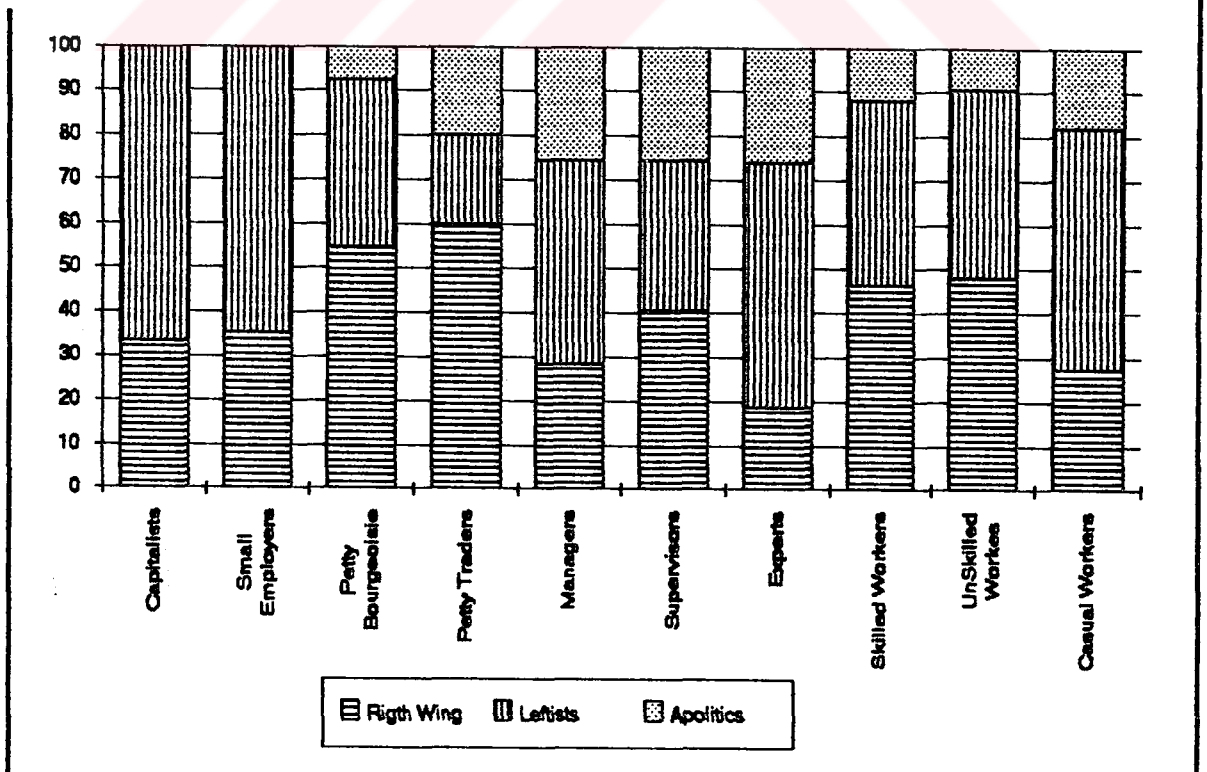


Table-54: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Their Reasons about Political Party Affiliations within Class Locations

	Reasons of Political Party Affiliation in Kirikkale													
	Religiosity		Efficiency		Pragmatism		Ideo-Moral		Integrative		Familiarity		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist			3	75			1	25					4	1.1
Small Employers	1	6.7	7	46.7	1	6.7	3	20	1	6.7	2	13.3	15	4.1
Petty Bourgeoisie	10	18.5	16	29.6	9	16.7	11	20.4	8	14.8			54	14.7
Petty Traders	1	9.1	3	27.3	2	18.2	1	9.1	3	27.3	1	9.1	11	3
Managers	6	24	10	40	3	20	4	16	2	8			25	6.8
Supervisors	7	15.6	13	28.9	12	26.7	5	11.1	8	17.8			45	12.2
Experts	2	7.7	4	15.4	9	34.6	5	19.2	6	23.1			26	7.1
Skilled Workers	7	8.4	29	34.9	18	21.7	12	14.5	17	20.5			83	22.6
UnSkilled Workers	15	17.9	24	28.6	14	16.7	12	14.3	16	9	3	3.6	84	22.8
Casual Workers	5	23.8	1	4.8	7	33.3	3	14.3	4	19	1	4.8	21	5.7
Total (Colun %)	54	14.7	110	29.9	75	20.4	57	15.5	65	17.7	7	1.9	368	100
Chi Square = 56.93286		DF = 45				Significance = 0.10932				P > 0.05				
	Reasons of Political Party Affiliation in Ankara													
	Religiosity		Efficiency		Pragmatism		Ideo-Moral		Integrative		Familiarity		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist			1	16.7	1	16.7	3	50	1	16.7			6	1.3
Small Employers			5	27.8	2	11.1	10	55.6	1	5.6			18	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	4	4.3	22	23.9	12	13	41	44.6	10	10.9	3	3.3	92	20.7
Petty Traders			2	50	1	25					1	25	4	0.9
Managers	1	2.5	7	17.5	6	15	22	55	4	10			40	9
Supervisors	4	8.9	5	11.1	8	17.8	24	53.3	4	8.9			45	10.1
Experts			5	16.7	3	10	15	50	7	23.3			30	6.7
Skilled Workers	3	4.4	16	23.5	11	16.2	31	45.6	7	10.3			68	15.3
UnSkilled Workers	6	4.6	34	26.2	20	15.4	55	42.3	10	7.7	5	3.8	130	29.2
Casual Workers	1	8.3	1	8.3	1	8.3	7	58.3	1	8.3	1	8.3	12	2.7
Total (Colun %)	19	4.3	98	22	65	14.6	208	46.7	45	10.1	10	2.2	445	100
Chi Square = 43.72459		DF = 45				Significance = 0.52600				P > 0.05				

It seems that political party affiliations have largely been affected by political tradition which has already been mentioned political traditions in Turkey. In Kirikkale right wing political parties have got the majority of votes by combining exploited and exploiters class Location. In Ankara, more interestingly, leftist affiliations have largely been shared by capitalists and small employers. In this context, one of the very basic political question is which one has true consciousness of their economic interests. Table-54 indicates causes of party affiliations for Kirikkale and Ankara.

Disproportionately huge amounts of people have declared 'pragmatic' causes in Kirikkale whereas majority of people has declared ideological and moral issues in Ankara. I think that these responses indicate that right wing political parties, from their ruling elites to rule masses have much more successfully used political apparatuses for their own benefits, whereas leftists seek to moral issues.

CHAPTER VI

EXPLANATORY POWER OF SOCIAL CLASS FOR HUMAN ACTION

Sociological analysis and consequent conceptualizations are not ends by themselves but means for further goals. One of the very basic question for class analysis and class conceptions must be deciding to whether they have any significant relationship to social relations or not. If class conceptions, as paradigm in Kuhnian sense, has no power of explorations and explanation on social relations or any other social occurrences-constructions, they must be eradicated by sociologists (Kuhn, 1970). Then, there are two basic questions for class analyses. One of them as it has already been put forward is identification of what social class is an a dependent variable with it's constituting elements. Second question, on the other hand, is conceptualization of social classes as independent variables influencing over dependent ones, i.e. other spheres of social reality.

Marxist and Weberian models which conceive social classes as economic categories also determine generic problems for such a class analysis. Both Marxism and Weberianism looks for a parallelism

between economic and social spheres of human realities. Marxism, by a constructional analogy, comprehend society as a combination of economics and other levels which are reflections of economic base. Economic level is called as base-structure i.e. base for all other levels consisting of culture, politics, social relations which are called as super structural levels. Marxism is necessarily economic reductionist. Therefore, it is, in fact, no decisive discussion on whether economic base has a direct determinance or determinance in the last instance on social or political actions at overstructural frame of references, as it has already discussed by Althusser, Balibar and Poulantzas. This is what makes Poulantzas (Poulantzas, 1978) be already continued to study on the relationship between economic base and political actions although he has shared an argument on determinance of political actions for social class.

Also, as it has partly been discussed through chapter on class formation, Marxist model of social change conceptualizes human being as capitalism or modernist theory defines it as 'homo economicus'. Thus, it could be argued that persons belong to class locations of capitalist mode of production will be much more modern, democratic etc. than the members of precapitalistic locations. I will look at following items to think about.

6. 1. 1. On Gender Relations in Family

Gender relations one of the basic indicators for modernization theory. I will look for male participation into routine house tasks and female participation into decision making process in family networks in order to decide on gender relations. If male participation becomes higher; democracy, modernity, or liberty on family relations is also be higher, and vice versa. In this sense, for this study, question is not decided on whether females have been exploited or not; and if they are exploited, to measure how much and through which mechanisms they have been exploited. But question is simply observe whether male partner of household have been participated into routine house-tasks or not.

6. 1. 1. Male Participation into Routine House-Tasks: Fallacy of Shopping

Male's participation into routine house tasks will be comprehended through two basic ways. First, it will be observed as single items of cleaning of houses and dishes, cooking meal, laundry, shopping, and child caring. Second, these items will be combined as a scale. But scale will also be constructed in three different ways. First, four items of cleaning up dishes and house, shopping and cooking

meal will be comprehended together. In this stage, child caring will not be taken into consideration because, it is not a perfect routine hose tasks but only for ones with child. Second, shopping will be excluded because it doesn't show male participation into tasks but females' exclusion from public domains. Third, child care will be added into the table which shopping is excluded.

Table-55: Male Participation into Routine House Tasks

Male Participation on Routine House Tasks in Kirikkale												
	Dishes		Cooking Meal		Laundry		House Cleaning		Shoping		Child Care	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Never	330	87.8	285	76.0	343	91.0	319	84.8	34	9.0	150	46.7
Less than 25 %	13	3.5	34	9.1	7	1.9	16	4.3	4	1.1	131	40.8
25 % - 50 %	20	5.3	38	10.1	14	3.2	25	6.6	108	28.6	29	9.0
51 % - 75 %	2	0.6	1	0.3	2	0.6	2	0.6	8	2.1	8	2.5
76 % - 100 %	11	2.9	9	2.4	11	2.9	14	6.5	224	59.3	3	0.9
Total	376	100	375	100	377	100	376	100	378	100	321	100

Male Participation on Routine House Tasks in Ankara												
	Dishes		Cooking Meal		Laundry		House Cleaning		Shoping		Child Care	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Never	366	82.1	323	72.4	390	87.8	372	84.0	105	23.5	50	13.1
Less than 25 %	33	7.4	58	13.0	19	4.3	29	6.5	8	1.8	199	52.0
25 % - 50 %	37	8.5	58	13.0	29	6.3	38	8.6	163	36.5	72	18.8
51 % - 75 %	3	0.7	3	0.6	1	0.3	1	0.2	21	4.7	56	14.6
76 % - 100 %	5	1.3	4	0.9	5	1.1	3	0.7	149	33.4	6	1.6
Total	444	100	446	100	444	100	443	100	446	100	383	100

Table-56: Mean Analyses of Male Participation into Routine House Tasks within Class Locations

	Male Participation in to Routine House-Tasks Kirikkale					
	On Wright' s Construct		Minus Shopping		Plus Child Care	
		Unadjusted		Unadjusted		Unadjusted
	Mean	Dev'n Eta	Mean	Dev'n Eta	Mean	Dev'n Eta
Capitalists	25.0000	-68.98	0.0000	-19.33	1.5000	-26.51
Small Employers	122.3077	34.35	43.0769	27.33	48.4167	20.4
Petty Borgeoisie	79.6491	-11.43	6.9828	-10.33	19.0000	-9.01
Petty Traders	70.0000	-27.32	5.4545	-14.89	5.8889	-22.12
Managers	104.2857	9.93	25.7143	8.49	25.3478	-2.66
Supervisors	125.9302	26.66	48.4864	23.87	34.6667	6.65
Experts	105.2174	7.07	30.4348	6.98	100.3684	72.36
Skilled Workers	95.1149	-1.48	19.1379	-1.56	25.1250	-2.89
UnSkilled Workers	89.3333	-7.73	13.0220	-8.77	19.1125	-8.9
Casual Workers	93.3333	-13.63	28.3333	-9.69	10.8571	-17.16
Grand Mean	95.9677	r = 26	21.0963	r = 0.24	28.0127	r = 0.28
Multiple r =	0.068		0.057		0.7700	
Significance =	0.009	P < 0.005	0.034	P < 0.05	0.0030	P < 0.005
Maximum =	500.0000	F = 2.467	400.0000	F = 2.050	500.0000	F = 2.822
	Male Participation in to Routine House-Tasks Ankara					
	On Wright' s Construct		Minus Shopping		Plus Child Care	
		Unadjusted		Unadjusted		Unadjusted
	Mean	Dev'n Eta	Mean	Dev'n Eta	Mean	Dev'n Eta
Capitalists	61.8333	-12.48	38.5000	17.84	40.3333	15.71
Small Employers	91.5789	8.54	43.6842	14.34	37.4286	12.81
Petty Borgeoisie	68.7717	-6.14	15.7826	-7.54	15.4048	-90.22
Petty Traders	60.0000	-24.31	0.0000	-20.66	2.7500	-21.87
Managers	76.9730	-0.02	19.8108	-3.3	22.0313	-2.59
Supervisors	87.5532	16.78	29.5745	12.51	44.2381	19.62
Experts	148.1481	62.69	85.0000	48.59	71.8000	47.18
Skilled Workers	52.1493	-24.33	6.5522	-16.1	6.9492	-17.67
UnSkilled Workers	70.1154	-5.18	16.0769	-4.21	20.3393	-4.28
Casual Workers	122.9167	63.19	53.7500	43.84	67.2000	42.58
Grand Mean	76.4367	r = 0.32	22.8620	r = 0.34	24.6214	r = 0.33
Multiple r =	0.105		0.116		0.109	
Significance =	0.000	P < 0.001	0.000	P < 0.01	0.000	P < 0.001
Maximum =	500.0000	F = 4.834	400.0000	F = 5.403	500.0000	F = 5.046

Table-55 with single items and table-56 with mean scores of constructs shows that male partners have obviously 'newer' participated into routine house tasks, except shopping and child caring. They have surely no less participation than they are declared in child caring. They have participated probably into child caring as part time play maid and supervisors when *mamas* have make routine house tasks. But, *daddies* have no places when baby bodies and dresses have been cleaning up. Unfortunately, males of industrial-working class city of Kirikkale have less rates of participation into such tasks than the males of Ankara. Fortunately, they have began to enter into Kitchen to prepare something although they have no place after eating.

On the other hand, table-56 also shows significant differences among class locations considering males's participation into such tasks. In first construct, small employers and supervisors of Kirikkale and experts and casual workers of Ankara have seen as two basic locations of males who participated into tasks. However, small employers of Kirikkale lost their top rank when their grade on participation into shopping has been excluded. But all these four locations have still keep their places at top two ranks when shopping has been excluded. In other words, as a repetition, shopping can not an indicator of male participation into routine house tasks but it is

simple and indicator of females exclusion from public; if shopping will be evaluated within itself.

Last, experts have top grades when grades of males' participation into child caring have also been added into the total point. Experts hold the top in both cities in this last comprehension where small employers of Kırıkkale and casual workers of Ankara hold second groups. Also, capitalist and petty traders of Kırıkkale and petty bourgeoisie and petty traders of Ankara are the groups who have less participated into routine house tasks. However, these last distribution can not necessarily show non-democratic household structure; but it shows that petty bourgeoisie and petty traders have single employed families in general. Also, high level of males participation among casual workers of Ankara have also indicated that female partners have also casual works.

6. 1. 2. Female Participation into Decision Making

Level of participation of female partners into decision making process has also been accepted as an indicator of family types on modernization processes. Family types can be identified as a modern and democratic one if female's participation into decision making

processes is higher enough. In order to decide on female position at decision making processes through three items, decision on visiting and guesting; paying or bringing credits, decision on general family budget (See table-57). Then they are combined into a kind of roughly structured scale as indicated in table-34.

At first, table-58 shows that only 3.2 % and 10.2 % of females have get dominance in family decisions in Kırıkkale and Ankara. Also, they have a kind of equality at 27 % and 51 % of females on decision making processes in both cities. Thus, 33 % and 62 % of females have a balance at families' decision making processes with respect generally to their husbands declarations. Within the frame of given conditions, class locations in which female partners have largest authority are capitalists, managers, small employers in Kırıkkale and managers, skilled workers and supervisors in Ankara.

These evidences are generally in conflict with the evidences of male participation into routine house tasks. In this context, I think either it is non-sense to believe in male partners' speech on females partners' position within family relations or some more items have to be identified in order to get decide on females authority in decision making processes. Also, it is possible that males get success on creating a moral-cognitive climate in which their authority have been legitimate

enough to shape a table of equality or balance. Nevertheless, we can also infer from above data that females have less integrated into their families in Kırıkkale than Ankara. In any locations, males have keep the power on decision making more than 50 %.

Table-57: Numbers and Proportions of Male and Female Partners by Various Decision Making Processes

	Decision on Neighbourhood				Decision on Expenditure				Decision on Budget			
	Kırıkkale		Ankara		Kırıkkale		Ankara		Kırıkkale		Ankara	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male Alone	187	49.5	64	14.5	233	61.3	148	33.2	232	61.1	148	33.2
Together	176	46.5	301	66.1	141	37.1	274	61.4	139	36.5	274	61.4
Female Alone	15	4	77	17.4	6	1.6	24	5.4	9	2.4	24	5.4
Total	378	100	442	100	380	100	446	100	380	100	446	100

Table-58: Numbers and Proportions of Male and Female Partners in to Decision Making Processes within Class Locations on a Scale

	Partners on Decision Making in Kirikkale							
	Male		Together		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist	2	50.0	2	50.0			4	1.1
Small Employers	9	56.3	6	37.5	1	6.3	16	4.2
Petty Bourgeoisie	37	63.8	19	32.8	2	3.4	58	15.3
Petty Traders	8	72.7	2	18.2	1	9.1	11	2.9
Managers	14	58.3	10	41.7			24	6.3
Supervisors	33	76.7	9	20.9	1	2.3	43	11.4
Experts	19	67.9	4	14.3	5	17.9	28	7.4
Skilled Workers	52	62.7	29	34.9	2	2.4	83	22.0
Non-Skilled Workers	76	84.4	14	15.6			90	23.8
Casual Workers	14	66.7	7	33.3			21	5.6
Total (Column %)	264	69.8	102	27.0	12	3.2	378	100
Chi Square = 43.76797					DF = 18			
Significance = 0.00062					P < 0.001			
	Partners on Decision Making in Ankara							
	Male		Together		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist	2	33.3	2	33.3	2	33.3	6	1.4
Small Employers	8	44.4	8	44.4	2	11.1	18	4.1
Petty Bourgeoisie	48	51.6	36	38.7	9	9.7	93	21
Petty Traders	1	25	3	75			4	0.9
Managers	8	21.6	26	70.3	3	8.1	37	8.4
Supervisors	11	23.4	28	59.6	8	17	47	10.6
Experts	6	23.1	14	53.8	6	23.1	26	5.9
Skilled Workers	24	35.3	42	61.8	2	2.9	68	15.4
Non-Skilled Workers	54	41.2	66	50.4	11	8.4	131	29.6
Casual Workers	8	66.7	2	16.7	2	16.7	12	2.7
Total (Column %)	170	38.5	227	51.4	45	10.2	442	100
Chi Square = 40.54640					DF = 18			
Significance = 0.00176					P < 0.001			

6. 2. **On Religious Beliefs: Secular-
Westernists vs Religious-Pan-Arabists**

Religion has been seen as a social fact of Durkheim which it has also be comprehended as an 'dependent variable.' It should not be understood as free from human beings given by out; but it should be understood as a human creature. It is a 'dependent variable' of peoples action; which has been created, accumulated and transmitted to present generation from older ones in a continuous process of production and reproduction in Marxian sense or construction and reconstruction in Bergerian sense. It is not only cognitive elements of 'strong ideology' but also social appearances of 'soft ideology' (Mardin, 1983b; 1992). Basic unit of observation for this study is not the religion in the form of strong ideology but soft one as possession of strong ideology by people on their daily routines. In other words, question is not to decide on how much respondents adequately behaves in accordance to strong religious commands; but it is simply how much they have been legitimized themselves under the traditional patterns of religious behaviors; and how persons have being diversified from each other by considering these traditional patterns.

6. 2. 1. Pessimistic Expectations

Within general frame of modernization theories in Turkey, there are two main contrasting arguments about role of religion i.e islam. First, religion, particularly as in the form of sunnite sect, major sect in Turkey, has been comprehended by Kemalist elites as the ideology of Ottoman Empire which has been abolishing at 1910s (Timur, 1993). As it is pointed above, religiosity of sunnite sect is the ideology of opposition for new republic. In fact, it is not only a strong ideology but also a soft one which has been modified into daily routines of people. Thus, elites of new republic have also a list of proposed behavior conceptualized under the name of secularism formulated generally on imitation of western or modern patterns challenging to what religion i.e. sunnite islam proposed. In short, for new republic, sunnite islam both as an ideology in itself and as a guide for both court, government, and daily life regulations have to be broken down.

6. 2. 2. Optimistic Expectations

On the other hand, there are also some more optimistic opinions on islam. From the very beginning, successors of Ottoman bureaucracy, especially court i.e. sheria attempt to reformulate islam as

a better ideology for muslims (Ersoy, 1920) Western civilization is identified as the basic enemy of human kind. Integration of muslims as a whole is better than integration of Turks. New republic should not be limited itself by the goal of integration of Turks, defined either as native muslims of Anatolia or Turkish spoken people on all over the world in order to get success against western civilization. Breaking the channels with other muslim communities will also diminish power of new republic. This radical evaluation has no followers in Turkey due not only to muslims have been suppressed by Kemalist governments; but also muslims have no such goals, except Akif Ersoy who have died in an absolute poverty and loneliness. However, Present islam radicals who have defined themselves as rebellious against Westernism have seen still dependent upon either Persian or Arabian schools of thought, rather than Turkish ones.

At the second stage of growth of Turkish Republic, which may be identified by the years in between 1945es and 1960'es, islam has been began be to occupied to pick up votes by political parties at local and national elections. In this sense, islam has been comprehended as an integrative cement of Turkish Nation rather than as a challenge to western civilization but simply as an alternative to secularism of Kemalist governments. As it has been well formulated at later moments of time in Turkish political arena, secularism has

perceived as an expensive tool with respect to religion. Islam can also be hold as a disproportionately more cheap agent to control people. These kinds of opinions generally been cultivated and appropriated by right wing political parties rather than leftists.

There are also some academicians who have no explicitly declared political color but very critical on Kemalism who argues that suppressed sunnite islam by Kemalist elites as the real basis of democracy and modernization in Turkey. Kemalism with secular commands make ordinary people be alienated from central governments and politics (Mardin, 1983b; 1992). In this contexts, various sects of sunnite islam have been flourished as the voices of majority of people under alienated rule of secularist Kemalism. Then, if the sunnite islam can not get political rule at own hands, there will be any democracy in Turkey. So, it is necessary to make islam be strong not only to make national integration be cheaper but also in order to get a final democracy.

In this second stage of growth of Turkish Republic there are also some optimistic formulations about islam among successors of Kemalism and socialism. In this frame of references, islam is comprehended as a democratic ideology in its core implicitly. Then, muslims have been invited into democracy if they want to be a real

islam. Although this kind of socialist formulations could not have popular basis among socialist communities; it could also be argued that some socialists have some enthusiasms in favor of some sects of islam, namely Alevilik and Bektaşilik. Also, alevi and bektashi have articulated by themselves into democratic, Kemalist and socialist movements. Alevi and Bektaşi traditionally have most of secular behaviors what Kemalism have recently advised for the people.

However, these optimistic expectations have immediately been destroyed directly by muslims themselves. Hostility of sunnite islam have largely been oriented against alevi and socialists in Turkey. Thus, alevi began to be a non-islamic ideology. Recently, alevilik has largely been conceptualized as the islam of Turks in contrast of Arabic and Persian Islams (Arsel, 1993). Organized sunnite islam seem to have no activity on democratization whereas they have a lot of successes of assassinations in theory and practice. Then, It should be relatively valid question why these optimistic expectations on islam are strong enough besides historical falsifications. In my opinion, common characteristics of all pro-islamic opinions is their hostility against Kemalism and Turkish Revolution of 1923.

In this frame of references, sunnite islam is seen as the voice of people felt themselves as the social basis of right wing conservative

political movements; whereas non-religious persons who have been generally called as secularist (laikler) and alevi are the voices of people sat under non-conservative political movements. In fact sunnite religiosity has largely been flourished after rightwing political parties have took the political power. It has been well established especially after 1950'es and 1980'es in Turkey (Yücekök; 1971). Sunnite religiosity as it has declared itself at universities through young girl with 'turban' are not real continuity of traditional religion of Turks-Anatolians; but it is a kind of compulsive response of newly urbanized and probably less educated peoples to western way of life and political regime of 1980'es in Turkey.

But, free from question of how religiosity of sunnite or alevi Islams have been functioning on other spheres of human life; I will just look at correspondence between class locations and differences at religiosity where religiosity has been defined as soft ideology, patterned way of behaviors rather than as strong ideology, Kuran's commands directly; or cognitive and ideological formulations of 'mollas,' islamic fundamentalists.

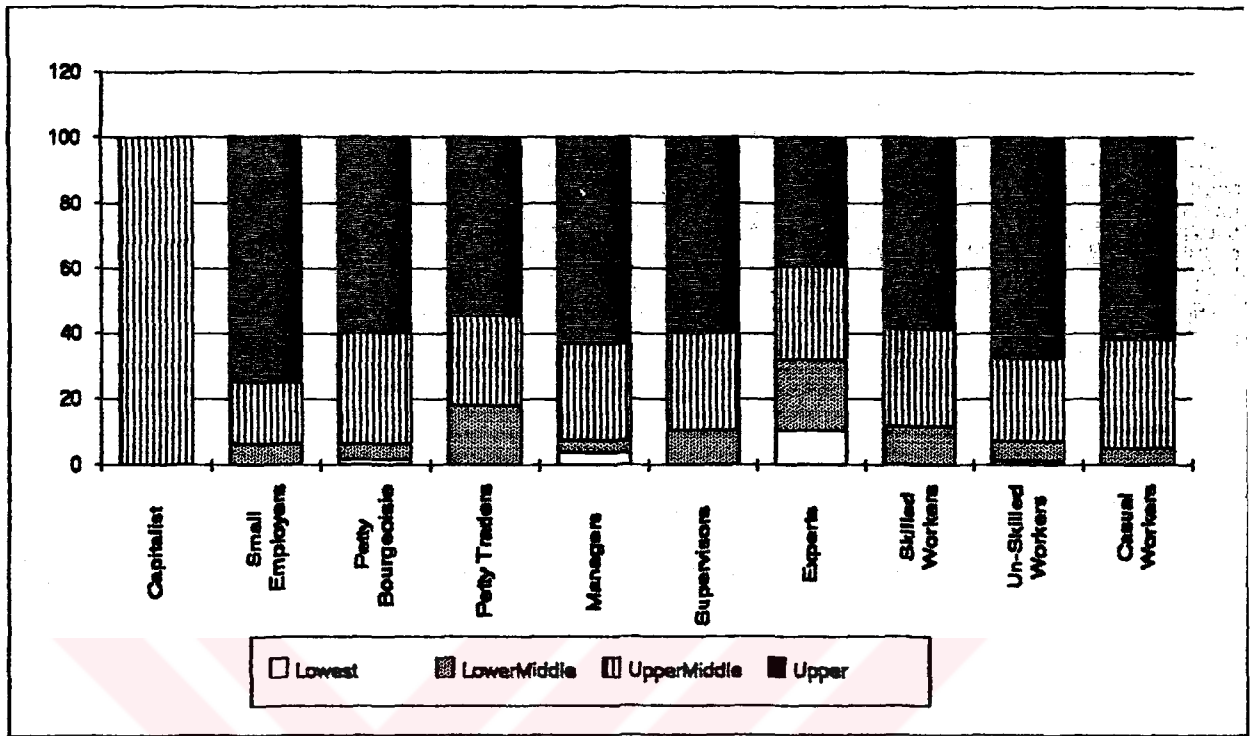
I have operationalized the concept of religiosity in two ways, that is for individual persons and for their family. On the other hand, islam have particularly different commands for males and females. Therefore, I have selected four items valid for both sexes, namely namaz, feast of ramadan, following religious publications and broadcastings. Second, I have added information about whether mother and fathers of respondents have prying namaz and feasting. Also, persons who are less religious should be comprehended as secular ones.

Table-59 shows an obvious condense on religiosity in Kırıkkale whereas there are negatively skewed curve in Ankara. In other words, there is no significant differences between class locations with respect to religiosity but all they are religious in Kırıkkale, except a few of experts. Most religious persons are belonging to the location of small employers, un-skilled workers, managers, casual workers, petty bourgeoisie, supervisors and skilled workers in Kırıkkale. Experts are the more secular group in Kırıkkale.

Table-59: Numbers and Proportions of Respondents by Religiosity within Class Locations

	Kirkkale									
	Lowest		LowerMiddle		UpperMiddle		Upper		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist					4	100			4	1
Small Employers			1	6.3	3	18.8	12	75	16	3.9
Petty Bourgeoisie	1	1.6	3	4.8	21	33.9	37	59.7	62	15.2
Petty Traders			2	18.2	3	27.3	6	54.5	11	2.7
Managers	1	3.7	1	3.7	8	29.6	17	63	27	6.6
Supervisors			5	10.6	14	29.8	28	59.6	47	11.5
Experts	3	10.7	6	21.4	8	28.6	11	39.3	28	6.9
Skilled Workers			11	11.7	28	29.8	55	58.5	94	23
Un-Skilled Workers	1	1	6	6.1	25	25.5	66	67.3	98	24
Casual Workers			1	4.8	7	33.3	13	61.9	21	5.1
Total (Column %)	6	1.5	36	8.8	121	29.7	245	60	408	100
Chi Square = 4535895			DF = 27			Significance = 0.01490			p < 0.01	
	Ankara									
	Lowest		LowerMiddle		UpperMiddle		Upper		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist			1	20	2	40	2	40	5	1.2
Small Employers	3	17.7	3	17.6	3	17.6	8	47.1	17	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	3	3.3	16	17.6	17	18.7	55	60.4	91	21.3
Petty Traders			1	25	1	25	2	50	4	0.9
Managers	7	18.9	6	16.2	13	35.1	11	29.7	37	8.6
Supervisors	4	8.5	11	23.4	10	21.3	22	46.8	47	11
Experts	3	12.5	6	25	6	25	9	37.5	24	5.6
Skilled Workers	3	4.5	9	13.6	14	21.2	40	60.6	66	15.4
Un-Skilled Workers	6	4.7	15	11.7	36	28.1	71	55.5	128	29.9
Casual Workers	1	11.1	1	11.1	1	11.1	6	66.7	9	2.1
Total (Column %)	30	7	69	16.1	103	24.1	226	52.8	428	100
Chi Square = 33.98289			DF 0 27			Significance = 0.16655			p > 0.05	

Graph-5: Respondents by Religiosity within Class Locations in Kırıkkale



Graph-6: Respondents by Religiosity within Class Locations in Ankara

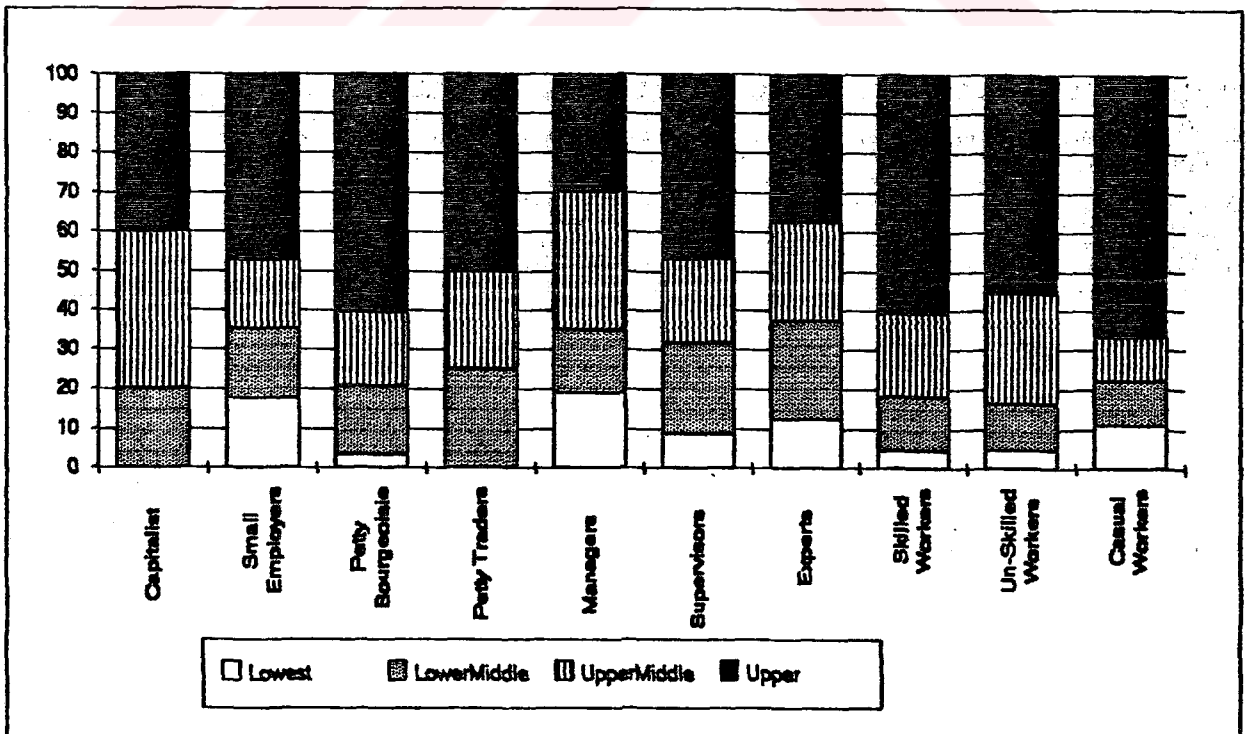
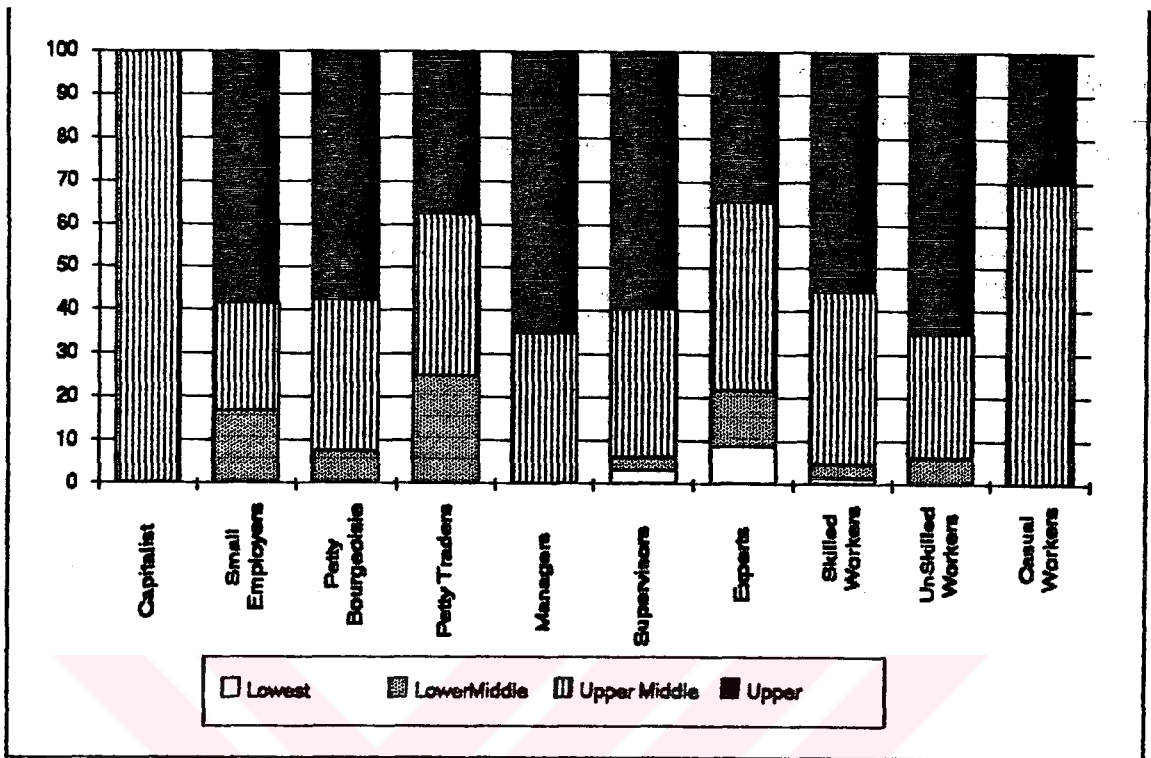


Table-60: Religiosity of Respondents with Parents within Class Locations

		KIRIKKALE									
		Lowest		LowerMiddle		Upper Middle		Upper		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist						3	100.0			3	1.1
Small Employers				2	16.7	3	25.0	7	58.3	12	4.3
Petty Bourgeoisie				3	7.5	14	35.0	23	57.5	40	14.5
Petty Traders				2	25.0	3	37.5	3	37.5	8	2.9
Managers						7	35.0	13	65.0	20	7.2
Supervisors		1	3.1	1	3.1	11	34.4	19	59.4	32	11.6
Experts		2	8.7	3	13.0	10	43.5	8	34.8	23	8.3
Skilled Workers		1	1.5	2	3.1	26	40.0	36	55.4	65	23.6
UnSkilled Workers				4	6.3	18	28.6	41	65.1	63	22.8
Casual Workers						7	70.0	3	30.0	10	3.6
Total (Column %)		4	1.4	17	6.2	102	37	153	55.4	276	100
Chi Square = 38.36416				DF = 27		Significance = 0.07228				p > 0.05	
		ANKARA									
		Lowest		LowerMiddle		Upper Middle		Upper		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist				1	25.0	3	75.0			4	1.3
Small Employers		2	18.2	2	18.2	4	36.4	3	27.3	11	3.6
Petty Bourgeoisie		3	4.4	9	13.2	22	32.4	34	50.0	68	22.2
Petty Traders						1	50.0	1	50.0	2	0.7
Managers		4	15.4	1	3.8	15	57.7	6	23.1	26	8.5
Supervisors		4	10.5	6	15.8	14	36.8	14	36.8	38	12.4
Experts		3	13.6	5	22.7	9	40.9	5	22.7	22	7.2
Skilled Workers		2	4.7	3	7.0	18	41.9	20	46.5	43	14.1
Un-Skilled Workers		6	6.9	11	12.6	30	34.5	40	46.0	87	28.4
Casual Workers		1	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	5	1.6
Total (Column %)		25	8.2	39	12.7	117	38.2	125	40.8	306	100
Chi Square = 27.39307				DF = 27		Significance = 0.44275				p > 0.05	

Graph-7: Religiosity of Respondents with Parents within Class Locations in Kırıkkale



Graph-8: Religiosity of Respondents with Parents within Class Locations in Ankara

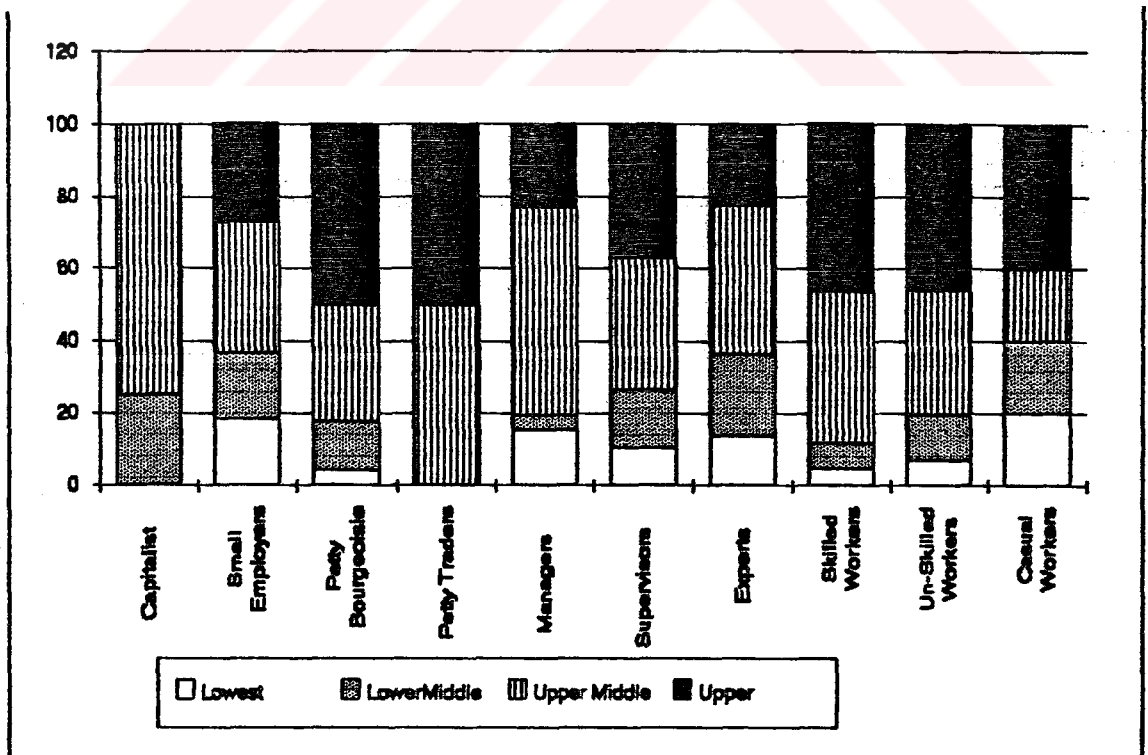


Table-60 shows religiosity of respondents at family level which consists of father and mother religiosity. It is interesting that number of persons belong to extreme group of religiosity has been lowered in Kırıkkale. In other words, parents are less religious than their children in Kırıkkale. They are largely been stayed at middle intervals of religiosity curve. A similar picture is also valid for Ankara; where persons at less religious group have been increased by taking parents into account. In my opinion, differences of religiosity grades of single respondents and families indicates that religious extremism or fundamentalism has no traditional social basis in Turkey. It is a new phenomena introduced to society either from above or below but surely from external areas.

6. 2. 3. 1. Religion as an External Pressure: Expectations for Children's Marriages

This externality has also been evidenced by parents' expected ways of marriages for their boys and daughters. There are sharp differences between parents' ways of marriage and their aspirations from children. However they have also different perceptions on their boys and daughters (table-61 and table-62). Majority of respondents would like to marriage by flirt to their boys in both cities. But, parents who prefer flirt for their daughters have share only of

approximately 38 % in Kırıkkale. It should also be pointed out that proportional weights of parents who declared their aspirations as religious way of marriages for their boys and girls has their maximum points at 6.4 % (for boy) in Kırıkkale. Parents who prefer religious way of marriage has lesser weight in city. I think that the differences between these two aspirations (like differences on aspirations of flirt for boys and daughters) indicates negative comprehension on females. Parents prefer marriage for his daughters in any kind, not necessarily religious, as they are also fearing that their daughters become a permanent old maid. The reason of negative preferences against flirt for girl is probably a comprehension which is commonly sharing in Turkey arguing that girl who have flirt is not good for marriage. In other word, if daughter have been labelled as such, she will probably be an old maid who have to be survived by the family members until the end of life. Because, she has generally get no employment opportunity. In other words, their future may be left into the hands of future husband and his family.

Table-61: Aspiring Ways of Marriage for Boys within CL's

	Aspiring Way of Marriage for Boy in Kirikkale								
	By Flirt		Görücü		Religious		Total		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Capitalists	2	50	2	50			4	1	
Small Employers	7	43.8	9	56.3			16	3.9	
Petty Bourgeoisie	33	52.4	24	38.1	6	9.5	63	15.5	
Petty Traders	6	60	4	40			10	2.5	
Managers	14	51.9	13	48.1			21	6.7	
Supervisors	26	57.8	16	35.6	3	6.7	45	11.1	
Experts	18	64.3	7	25	3	10.7	28	6.9	
Skilled Workers	49	52.7	36	38.7	8	8.6	93	22.9	
UnSkilled Workers	52	53.1	42	42.9	4	4.1	98	24.1	
Casual Workers	12	54.5	8	36.4	2	9.1	22	5.4	
Total (Column %)	219	53.9	161	39.7	26	6.4	406	100	
Chi Square = 12.14970		DF = 18		Significance = 0.83941		P > 0.0			

	Aspiring Way of Marriage for Boy in Ankara									
	By Flirt		Görücü		Religious		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists	4	66.7	2	33.3					6	1.3
Small Employers	15	78.9	4	21.1					19	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	60	61.9	32	33	3	3.1	2	2.1	97	20.3
Petty Traders	2	40	3	60					5	1
Managers	34	85	4	10	1	2.5	1	2.5	40	8.4
Supervisors	36	69.2	14	26.9	1	1.9	1	1.9	52	10.9
Experts	27	90	2	6.7			1	3.3	30	6.3
Skilled Workers	53	71.6	18	24.3	3	4.1			74	15.4
UnSkilled Workers	101	70.1	39	27.1	1	0.7	3	2.1	144	30.1
Casual Workers	8	66.7	3	25	1	8.3			12	2.5
Total (Column %)	340	71	121	25.3	10	2.1	8	1.7	479	100
Chi Square = 27.31348		DF = 27		Significance = 0.44698		P > 0.05				

Table-62: Aspiring Ways of Marriage for Daughters within Class Locations

	Aspiring Way of Marriage for Girl in Kirikkale									
	By Flirt		Görücü		Religious		Total			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Capitalists	2	50	2	50			4	1		
Small Employers	4	25	12	75			16	4.1		
Petty Bourgeoisie	25	41	31	50.8	5	8.2	61	15.5		
Petty Traders	3	27.3	7	63.6	1	9.1	11	2.8		
Managers	8	32	17	68			25	6.4		
Supervisors	21	46.7	22	48.9	2	4.4	45	11.5		
Experts	15	53.6	11	39.3	2	7.1	28	7.1		
Skilled Workers	30	33.7	53	39.6	6	6.7	89	22.6		
Unskilled Workers	32	34.8	57	62	3	3.3	92	23.4		
Casual Workers	8	36.4	12	54.5	4	2	22	5.6		
Total (Column %)	148	37.7	224	57	21	5.3	393	100		
Chi Square = 15.04432		DF = 18		Significance = 0.65892		P > 0.05				
	Aspiring Way of Marriage for Girl in Ankara									
	By Flirt		Görücü		Religious		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists	4	66.7	2	33.3					6	1.3
Small Employers	14	73.7	5	26.3					19	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	58	59.8	34	35.1	3	3.1	2	2.1	97	20.3
Petty Traders	2	40	3	60					5	1
Managers	34	85	4	10	1	2.5	1	2.5	40	8.4
Supervisors	34	65.4	17	32.7			1	1.9	52	10.9
Experts	27	90	2	6.7			1	3.3	30	6.3
Skilled Workers	52	70.3	19	25.7	3	4.7			74	15.4
Unskilled Workers	88	61.1	50	34.7	2	1.4	4	2.8	144	30.1
Casual Workers	6	50	5	41.7	1	8.3			12	2.5
Total (Column %)	319	66.6	141	29.4	10	2.1	9	1.9	479	100
Chi Square = 32.84077		DF = 27		Significance = 0.20238		P > 0.05				

6. 3. Conception on Children's Future

I will comprehend conceptions on children through five questions about expectations on boys' and daughters' educations and marriages; and conceptions on boys' and Daughters' shares of inheritances. Expectations for education can easily be evaluated from lowest to higher education. Expectations for marriages have been operationalized through the ways of religious, 'görücü usülü' (blindfold style) and flirt. Thus, I generated a table scaled reflecting parents expectations on their children as they are differentiated from lowest to highest ones with no hesitation on how much they are interrelated to each other statistically (See table-63).

Table-63 indicates that people of Kırıkkale have disproportionately lower expectations for their children than Ankara levels of expectations are probably lowest for daughters, as it has already been indicated in tables 61 and 62. This means that, people in Kırıkkale grow up their daughters with the traditional values. Only petty traders and casual workers of Ankara have lower levels of expectations for their children than the highest one in Kırıkkale. Also members of each class locations have relatively normal curves with respect to their expectation

Table-63: Expectation for Children by Class Locations

	Levels of Expectations from Children in Kirikkale											
	Lowest		Lower Middle		Middle		Upper Middle		Upper		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist			1	25			3	75			4	1.1
Small Employers	1	6.7	3	20	4	26.7	3	20	4	26.7	15	4.1
Petty Bourgeoisie	9	15	7	11.7	14	23.3	10	16.7	20	33.3	60	16.2
Petty Traders			1	11.1	2	22.2	4	44.4	2	22.2	9	2.4
Managers	2	8	1	4	3	12	12	48	7	28	25	6.8
Supervisors	3	7.3	3	7.3	4	9.8	16	39	15	36.6	41	11.1
Experts	2	7.4	2	7.4	4	14.8	6	22.2	13	48.1	27	7.3
Skilled Workers	8	9.8	12	14.6	21	25.6	21	25.6	20	24.4	82	22.2
Un-Skilled Workers	7	7.9	10	11.2	27	30.3	21	23.6	24	27	89	24.1
Casual Workers	2	11.1	4	22.2	4	22.2	3	16.7	5	27.8	18	4.9
(Total Column %)	34	9.2	44	11.9	83	22.4	99	26.8	110	29.7	370	100
Chi Square = 40.18555			DF=36			Significance = 0.29003			P > 0.05			
	Levels of Expectations from Children in Ankara											
	Lowest		Lower Middle		Middle		Upper Middle		Upper		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist							2	33.3	4	66.7	6	1.3
Small Employers					2	10.5	3	15.8	14	73.7	19	4.1
Petty Bourgeoisie	1	1.1	6	6.4	11	11.7	21	22.3	55	58.5	94	20.2
Petty Traders					2	40	2	40	1	20	5	1.1
Managers	1	2.7			1	2.7	4	10.8	31	83.8	37	8
Supervisors			1	2	3	5.9	14	27.5	33	64.7	51	11
Experts					2	7.1	1	3.6	25	89.3	28	6
Skilled Workers			3	4.1	15	20.5	8	11	47	64.4	73	15.7
Un-Skilled Workers	2	1.4	3	2.1	22	15.7	27	19.3	86	61.4	140	30.1
Casual Workers			2	16.7	3	25	2	16.7	5	41.7	12	2.6
(Total Column %)	4	0.9	15	3.2	61	13.1	84	18.1	301	64.7	465	100
Chi Square = 2.40479			DF = 36			Significance = 0.03792			P < 0.05			

on children. But experts have highest expectations for their children in Kirikkale; as well as managers and supervisors have largely been skewed into positive expectations; whereas unskilled workers, skilled workers, small employers and petty traders have largely been stay at middle expectation groups in Kirikkale.

6. 4. Self Perception in Social Stratification

Self perceptions of respondent about their locations should be comprehended in a stratification model in contrast to Wright's model of class location. Categorization has been made on the open ended questions about their location in society in general which generate answers in any kind, from religious to economic perceptions. Respondents have used 42 and 31 different nominal categories in their answers in Kirikkale and Ankara, respectively. I have used available categories for ordinal comprehension considering stratification model.

In this context, it is obvious that majority of people recognize themselves at moderate group in two cities. (See table-64) But persons also, people who recognize themselves at lower and higher groups ha than Kirikkale. This is adequate to the fact that different patterns of income inequality in both cities. In other word, it looks like people have clearly in aware of income inequality; and their

perceptions on stratification have also been determined in accordance to income differences rather than class locations.

On the other hand, locations of small employers and petty bourgeoisie recognize themselves at higher level in Ankara whereas petty traders, supervisors, experts, skilled and unskilled workers have frustration which is obvious for experts. Managers and casual workers have began to see themselves as a more moderate position in Ankara also.



Table-64: Self Perception in Stratification by CL's

	Self Perception in Stratification in Kirikkale							
	Lower		Middle		Upper		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist			2	66.7	1	33.3	3	0.8
Small Employers	4	33.3	7	58.3	1	8.3	12	3.4
Petty Bourgeoisie	14	25.9	39	72.2	1	1.9	54	15.2
Petty Traders	6	60	4	40			10	2.8
Managers	7	28	16	64	2	8	25	7
Supervisors	14	33.3	27	64.3	1	2.4	42	11.8
Experts	1	4	20	80	4	16	25	7
Skilled Workers	27	32.5	49	59	7	8.4	83	23.3
Un-Skilled Workers	34	41.5	45	54.9	3	3.7	82	23
Casual Workers	14	75	5	25			20	5.6
Total (Column %)	122	34.3	214	60.1	20	5.6	356	100
Chi Square = 45.24639			DF = 18			P < 0.001		
Significance = 0.0038			Gamma = -0.20197					
	Self Perception in Stratification in Ankara							
	Lower		Middle		Upper		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalist			3	50	3	50	6	1.4
Small Employers	3	16.7	11	61.1	4	22.2	18	4.1
Petty Bourgeoisie	18	20	57	63.3	15	16.7	90	20.3
Petty Traders	4	80	1	20			5	1.1
Managers	5	13.2	30	78.9	3	7.9	38	8.6
Supervisors	18	39.1	23	50	5	10.9	46	10.4
Experts	7	24.1	19	65.5	3	10.3	29	6.5
Skilled Workers	32	47.1	36	52.9			68	15.3
Un-Skilled Workers	82	61.7	49	36.8	2	1.5	133	30
Casual Workers	8	72.7	3	27.3			11	2.5
Total (Column %)	177	39.9	232	52.3	35	7.9	444	100
Chi Square = 102.24884			DF = 18			P < 0.001		
Significance = 0.0000			Gamma = -0.50349					

6. 5. Cognition on Most Important Social Problems

Cognition of most important social problems have been illustrated through responses given to an open ended question as it has been made on self perceptions. Conclusions have verify that majority of people have appropriated an economical reasoning. For people living in Kırıkkale important problems are poverty, pollution and inflation; for people living in Ankara pollution, unemployment and poverty respectfully.

But, it is also pointed out that Ankara residence has disproportionally more number of people indicates pollution as the most important problems. In other words, Ankara dwellers have questions formulated in much more narrowed local frame of reference whereas Kırıkkale have a strong nationalist recognition, which may be as a result of clientalism in Kırıkkale. Further evidences on recognition on basic social problems have been illustrated in Table-65. Differences among class locations have no significant importance considering members' recognition of social problems. This shows 'collective consciousness' in urban places which may also give clues of peaceful social transformation.

Table-65: Cognition of Most important Social Problems by Class Locations

	Cognition of most important Social Problems in Kirikkale																					
	Poverty		Pollution		Inflation		Unempt		Crime		Immorality		Education		Terror		InfraStruct		Tourism		Dependency	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists	1	25.0			2	50.0			1	25.0												
Small Employers	1	6.7	5	33.3			2	13.3	3	20.0	1	6.7									3	20.0
Petty Bourgeoisie	17	26.6	11	17.2	6	9.4	1	0.6	12	18.8	3	4.7	5	7.8	1	1.6	1	1.6	1	1.6	6	9.4
Petty Traders	4	40.0	1	10.0	1	10.0							2	20.0							2	20.0
Managers	7	25.0	2	7.1	6	21.4	2	7.1	5	17.9									1	3.6	5	17.9
Supervisors	13	27.1	8	16.7	8	16.7	5	10.4	4	8.3					5	10.4	2	4.2			3	6.3
Experts	5	18.5	5	18.5	3	11.1	5	18.5	3	11.1	2	7.4	1	3.7	1	3.7					2	7.4
Skilled Workers	22	23.2	17	17.9	13	13.7	6	6.3	12	12.6	5	5.3	5	5.3	5	5.3	2	2.1	2	2.1	6	6.3
UnSkilled Workers	27	28.4	23	24.2	9	9.5	8	8.4	9	9.5	3	3.2	3	3.2	2	2.1			1	1.1	10	10.5
Casual Workers	7	30.4	5	21.7	1	4.3	1	4.3			3	13.0			1	4.3	1	4.3	1	4.3	3	13.0
Total	104	25.4	77	18.8	49	12.0	30	7.3	49	12.0	17	4.2	16	3.9	15	3.7	6	1.5	8	2.0	38	9.3
Chi Square = 100.71486		DF = 90				Significance = 0.20662						P > 0.05										
	Cognition of most important Social Problems in Ankara																					
	Poverty		Pollution		Inflation		Unempt		Crime		Immorality		Education		Terror		InfraStruct		Tourism		Dependency	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists	1	16.7	3	50.0			2	33.3														
Small Employers	3	15.8	8	42.1							1	5.3							1	5.3	6	31.6
Petty Bourgeoisie	23	24.5	25	26.6	9	9.6	7	7.4	1	1.1	6	6.4	4	4.0			6	6.4	2	2.1	11	11.7
Petty Traders	1	20.0	4	80.0									3	30.0								
Managers	5	12.8	17	43.6	3	7.7	2	5.1	1	2.6	3	7.7							4	10.3	4	10.3
Supervisors	10	19.2	25	48.1	5	9.6	3	5.8			1	1.9	1	1.9	1	1.9	2	3.8			4	7.7
Experts	2	6.7	8	26.7	1	3.3	5	16.7	1	3.3	5	16.7			1	3.3	1	3.3	1	3.3	5	16.7
Skilled Workers	18	25.0	27	37.5	4	5.6	5	6.9	2	2.8	7	9.7	1	1.4	2	2.8	2	2.8	1	1.4	3	4.2
UnSkilled Workers	20	14.4	72	51.8	5	3.6	10	7.2	1	0.7	10	7.2	1	0.7	4	2.9	4	2.9	3	2.2	9	6.5
Casual Workers	4	36.4	3	27.3							2	18.2					1	9.1	1	9.1		
Total	87	18.6	88	41.1	27	5.8	34	34.0	6	1.3	35	7.5	7	1.5	8	1.7	16	3.4	13	2.9	42	9.0
Chi Square = 105.27488		DF = 90				Significance = 0.12948						P > 0.05										

6. 5. Habits and Hobbies

Habits or hobbies in daily routines should also be considered to see personal differences at social relations i.e. individual's linkages to his/her environment. In this context, I will look at whether respondents go to holiday or not; and if they go, where they go; whether they read daily newspapers and weekly magazines; if they read, whether they have bought it or not. These items have been combined into a kind of scale as it is illustrated in table-66. Each level on scale means an occupied activity where lowest category contains persons who have no activity as such. In fact, these categories reflect cultural differences evaluated from local to national frame of references. Thus, I will intend to read each category on table as the states of cultural development although I have no precise argument on issue.

Table shows 20.4 % and 17.5% of people have no activity in Kirikkale and Ankara, respectively. People have a negative skewness in Kirikkale where approximately 39 % of total population have only a single activity which is also generally declared as reading newspaper. Proportional weight of similar persons is approximately 15 % fewer in Ankara. Also, persons among Kirikkale urban dwellers have stay on middle of scale whereas majority of people have stay at category upper

Table-66: Daily Activities by Class locations

	Daily Activities in Kirikkale									
	Lowest		Lower Middle		Middle		Upper Middle		Upper	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists					3	100				
Small Employers	2	14.3	3	21.4	4	28.6	4	28.6	1	7.1
Petty Bourgeoisie	8	13.3	10	16.7	27	45	13	21.7	2	3.3
Petty Traders	6	60	1	10	3	30				
Managers	4	14.8	5	18.5	8	29.6	7	25.9	3	11.1
Supervisors	8	19.5	8	19.5	14	34.1	9	22	2	4.9
Experts	2	8	3	12	10	40	8	32	2	8
Skilled Workers	18	19.8	20	22	33	36.3	17	18.7	3	3.3
UnSkilled Workers	20	23.5	14	16.5	32	37.6	15	17.6	4	4.7
Casual Workers	8	50	4	25	4	25				
Total (Column %)	76	20.4	68	18.3	138	37.1	73	19.6	17	4.6
Chi Square = 42.77319		DF = 36		Significance = 0.20311		P > 0.05				
	Daily Activities in Ankara									
	Lowest		Lower Middle		Middle		Upper Middle		Upper	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Capitalists					1	16.7	3	50	2	33.3
Small Employers	1	5.6	2	11.1			13	72.2	2	11.1
Petty Bourgeoisie	7	7.3	2	2.1	27	28.1	43	44.8	17	17.7
Petty Traders	2	50			2	50				
Managers	1	2.6			8	20.5	15	38.5	15	38.5
Supervisors	4	7.8	3	5.9	15	29.4	13	25.5	16	31.4
Experts	3	10.3	3	10.3	3	10.3	13	44.8	7	24.1
Skilled Workers	15	21.1	10	14.1	30	42.3	14	19.7	2	2.8
UnSkilled Workers	39	28.3	13	9.4	48	34.8	33	23.9	5	3.6
Casual Workers	9	75	1	8.3	1	8.3			1	8.3
	81	17.5	34	7.3	135	29.1	147	31.7	67	14.4
Chi Square = 160.67976		DF = 36		Significance = 0.00000		P < 0.001				

middle in Ankara. Urban dweller of Kırıkkale have probably less colorful than Ankara.

Table-67: Mean Analysis on Daily Activities

	Means on Daily Activities			
	Kırıkkale		Ankara	
		Unadjusted		Unadjusted
	Mean	Dev'n Eta	Mean	Dev'n Eta
Capitalists	20.0000	3.04	31.6667	9.83
Small Employers	19.2857	2.32	27.2222	5.39
Petty Bourgeoisie	18.5000	1.54	26.3542	4.52
Petty Traders	7.0000	-9.96	10.0000	-11.83
Managers	20.0000	3.06	31.0256	9.19
Supervisors	17.3171	0.35	26.6667	4.83
Experts	22.0000	5.04	26.2069	4.38
Skilled Workers	16.3736	-0.59	16.9014	-4.93
UnSkilled Workers	16.3529	-0.61	16.5217	-5.31
Casual Workers	7.5000	-9.46	5.8333	-16
Grand Mean	16.9624	r = 0.28	21.8319	r = 0.48
Multiple r	0.076	F = 3.293	0.229	F = 14.998
Significance	0.001		0.001	

On the other hand, class locations have significantly different colors in both cities (See table-67). In Kırıkkale, petty traders, casual workers, unskilled and skilled workers largely condensed into middle and lower middle categories; although experts, managers and small employers have skewed into upper middle categories. In Ankara, casual

workers, petty traders have stayed at lowest group of daily activities with more than their half. Small employers are seen as most colorful persons with their skeweness towards upper categories in Ankara, where second and third groups are made of capitalists and experts.

Proportional rates of their attendance on some of very basic daily activities are indicated for both cities in table-68.

Table-68: Daily Activities on Selected Fields

	Rate of Recreation on Selected Fields			
	in Kirikkale		in Ankara	
	N	%	N	%
Cinema	15	3.5	57	11.9
Theater	20	4.7	67	13.9
Watching Football	88	18.4	108	22.5
Wedding	176	41.4	103	21.5
Picnic	162	38.1	178	31.2
Coffeehouses	113	26.6	110	22.9
Other	30	7.1	193	10.3

Lowest rates of attendance on cinema should indicate that people satisfy their need for movies from TV at their home. Theater is less visible in Kirikkale, where 4.7 % of people have declared

themselves that they are going to theater. In fact, they are going to plays staged by school students whom are probably their own children, at the end of educational semesters. Going to stadium to look at football matches have disproportionately more share than former hobbies in both cities which, shows sexual segregation on entertainment activities. Stay at coffee houses is also another way of segregated recreational activity largely shared in both cities. On the other hand, there are also recreational activities which are potentially not sex-segregational in both cases, namely going into wedding and picnic. Going into wedding and picnic are major ways of entertainment as they are declared in Kırıkkale. However, wedding ceremonies have largely been in sexually segregated spaces especially in Kırıkkale. Also, housewives probably used as picnic-wives in picnic areas.

Declared numbers of other ways of recreational activities have also evidenced that Kırıkkale have less colorful or dark than Ankara. There are only 7.1 % of people who are able to say that they have an additional way of recreation in Kırıkkale although 40.3 % of people have such ways in Ankara.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Class analyses which belong to the Marxist theory have some basic problems which are generated by their theoretical premisses. They have probably great influences over Wright's model of social classes (Wright, 1978; 1979; 1980; 1982a; 1982b; 1983; 1984; 1985; 1987; Wright and Hachen et. al, 1982; Wright and Martin, 1987; Wright and Perrone, 1977). As it is relatively well known, Marxism argues that human history was made up of successive stages each of which has its own unique economic base. The historical process of developed capitalist societies will have recurrences in all other 'underdeveloped' capitalist societies (Warren, 1980). These economic bases have generated their super structures which appeared mainly through cultural and political fields of life, which are mediated by class struggle. In this sense, human societies have been comprehended as a totality of these bases and super structures on a 'constructional analogy'. A society in certain stage has the unique class formation and class struggle of that stage (Giddens, 1971). These have been over-determined by economic bases. This is a kind of pessimist fatalism about human nature in which human development have

basically been comprehended as economic development i.e., development of human kind as a means of production. According to Marx and Engels:

production is treated as 'the first historical act' and the production and reproduction of material life is seen as the fundamental condition of all history, which today, as thousand of years ago, must daily and monthly be fulfilled merely in order to sustain human life (Abrams, 1982:35).

In fact, it is possible for one to engage in non-economic activities, such as artistic works but these are only valuable for human development as for economic development which is crystallized through class struggle. In this context, people can have only remedial influences over formations of social classes, societies, politics etc. They have no chance to intervene into the unfolding of historical stages. They can only work to delay or accelerate basic dynamics of these stages which have emerged out of economic relations (Ditomaso, 1982: Abrams, 1982:35-36).

These evaluations which have founded their scientific premisses in pragmatist philosophy and Darwinian theory of evolution reflect functional understanding of history and society (Weldes, 1989: 355). Both lines of comprehension have argued that human history is full of

people's violent struggles against wild nature and barbarity. This is a very well evidenced economic reductionism (theoricism) which led Marxism to fall into some kind of theoretical obsession. This has blinded crude Marxism to perceive inhumanistic violence of capitalist expansionism across non-capitalist communities and non-capitalist sectors of capitalist societies. This also leads students of Marxism to neglect non-economic factors which may have influences over class formations (Lipietz, 1982: Lloyd,1982). This is relatively important for Turkish communities in which class formations have largely been constituted under state regulations rather than autonomous forces which emerged out of economic bases of historical stages. Also Marxism seems to inhere some capitalism bias which is evidenced through its decisive obsession to ignore actors' role on class formations and cross-class relations. For example, it is one of the findings of the present study that there is no significant relation between class locations of spouses in Kırıkkale; This is true for the households where both spouses are working (Table-44). People from the same class locations develop friendships between themselves but having friends from other class locations is also quite common in Kırıkkale more than in Ankara (Table-45; Table-46; Table-47).

Evolutionary understanding of human history makes Marxism also be very particularistic, which is successfully appropriated by Weber's ideal types. Particularism makes it superfluous to generate concepts

which are reliable and valid for social analysis in the cases of diverged history and societies. Thus, Marxism makes it necessary to generalize descriptive categories as theoretically valid conceptual means of analysis. These categories require only to be tested for their adequacy in empirical analysis rather than to reproduce them with respect to new empirical evidences. There is no need for researchers to arrive at unexpected consequences and to generate new definitions of basic concepts. Theoretical boundaries of ideal types have already been determined by masters rather than by researchers who have dealt with empirical evidences. Thus, it becomes necessary to describe different categories for different historical and structural cases. This reflects not only a kind of antagonism but it also results in a theoretical segregation between capitalist and colonized communities, including academic communities of these two camps. Hence, each camp has to use necessarily different concepts in order to grasp their own conditions as it is indicated by Weber's terminology on social castes, status groups, etc. In this sense, any comparison has necessarily turns into a speech which describes what there is and what there is not. This approach prevents a real comparison. And then, Marxism has forced the people of underdeveloped societies to examine themselves with respect to their abilities to arrive at capitalism rather than to determine their own dynamics which make them to be influential over their own fortune.

Further questions have been generated out of insufficiencies of Marxist class conceptions as operational /analytical means of data collection, processing, analyzing and presentation. Wright's work is an attempt to remedy some of these insufficiencies, thereby generating a structured means of survey and presentation for Marxist school of thought. But, Wright has still confined himself within economic realities of advanced capitalist societies. Thus, Wright has fallen into the same shortcoming about one of the very basic insufficiencies of Marxist class conceptions which Carchedi (1977) has already pointed out. This shortcoming is not being able to grasp social classes at the level of social formations. Furthermore, Wright has not attempted to develop theoretical concepts for grasping economic and non-economic structures in under-developed capitalist societies. Hence, his class analysis necessarily excludes a huge number of people due to the fact that they are totally unemployed and /unemployable such as housewives. These categories are not in fact leisure class, marginal, reserve army of labour, lumpens, underclasses etc. but they are something else. Total numbers of those 'unaccounted' family members has roughly made of eighty one and seventy five percent in Kirikkale and Ankara respectively. Those persons increase the relative significance of households because they have already been cared for by the other members of households. In this sense, both heads of households and their 'dependents' have regarded themselves

and each other mainly with respect to their positions in family networks rather than class locations.

Within certain limitations, it must be accepted that Turkish cities, under consideration, have some basic characteristics of advanced forms of capitalist class society rather than pre-capitalist ones. Managers, supervisors and experts have composed 25 % of the total number of respondents in Kırıkkale and 25.4 % in Ankara. They make up of 52.5 % and 71.7 % of the total number of respondents in Kırıkkale and Ankara, respectively if we add numbers of capitalist and skilled and unskilled workers into their ranks (Table-5). These percentages become 81.9% and 78.7% of the total number of respondents if we consider small employers and casual workers as the people belonging to class locations of capitalist mode of production. It seems that women have been considerably excluded from labour market in both cities. Proportions of employed females are very low in both cities with Kırıkkale in fact having four times lesser number of female occupants than the total number of employed females in Ankara (See Table-11). Thus, distribution of female respondents within class location is significant for both cities but it is more significant for Kırıkkale which is observed as a city where females have almost been totally excluded from the labor market. Capitalists, petty traders and casual workers have no female members in Kırıkkale; whereas in Ankara only capitalists have no female members. capitalists in

Ankara. In other words, formal public organizations are seen as the basic avenue for the females to get an employment opportunity in both cities.

The low rate of working females in the labor market has also influences on class formation and social relations. Both processes of class and 'community' formations are largely realized among males. Females are necessarily confined into their 'homes' to cook, sew and to get involved in neighborhood relations and in family networks. This strengthens the estrangement/adversity between males and females. It makes the community like a 'male community' in which females have considerably been excluded from the decision making process of the household and from the public spheres, as in the case at the labor market (Table-57; Table-58). Indeed, it seems that females have no chance of going out the to marketing for the daily needs of their households in Kirikkale. On the other hand, males seem to be totally 'exclude' themselves from routine house tasks (Table-55; Table-56). But it should be pointed out that the class location of experts lead in participation in those house tasks in both cities. Indeed, females have also been excluded from decision making processes in family networks in Kirikkale whereas they can participate in such decisions in Ankara. However, it is hard to relate variations in participation to the level of exploitation which is identified by class locations.

Wright has also considered economy as a kind of relation of exploitation rather than property ownership, production, distribution, exchange and consumption which make sense for Marxist understanding of modes of production. Therefore, he lost his theoretical ability to grasp differences among workers employed in different sectors of the economy. Thus, conventional class model has necessarily fused some potentially different locations into each other which should be identified with their own class boundaries. Two of them are identified heuristically as casual workers and petty traders for two Turkish cities in which they have been determined by the lack of permanent work places. In fact, it must be pointed out here that, the category of petty traders has also included some small artisans who have worked with their own means of production, such as tinsmith, seller of meatball etc. Petty traders comprise 2.6 % and petty bourgeoisie has 15.5 % of the total population in Kırıkkale and they hold 1 % and 20.3 % of total the population in Ankara. On the other hand, casual workers make up 5.6 % and 2.5 % of total population in Kırıkkale and Ankara, respectively (Table-5). Their significance will increase if their weights are considered within the boundaries of small employers and working classes. They have probably softened the relations among social classes and then probably dispersed the growth of class consciousness (Akşit, 1978). Hence, in my opinion the permanency of work places which is one of the very basic indicator of

people's relations with space (Beourdieu, 1985) should also be taken as one of the determinants of class locations (Brubaker, 1985).

Ownership has not been considered by Wright in his emphasis on exploitation although it is very important to consider forms of property ownership in order to grasp clientalist mechanisms of class formation which are generated by dominance of state ownership over economy. This is significant for both cases because public firms generate the disproportional larger amount of employment opportunities where public bureaucracy is seen as 'state class' (Keyder, 1987), which have not only appropriated capital accumulation but also allowed capitalist class formation under its own regulation (Boratav, 1982). So, class rights of capitalists and labour classes have been 'defended' against each other by 'father state' rather than allowing a free struggle. Thus, members of working class, as it is more obvious in the case of Kırıkkale, have strictly absorbed clientalist discourses and mechanisms rather than generating their autonomous mechanisms and discourses of class formations.

Indeed, state ownership may generate a kind of tributary economy in Turkey (Boratav, 1980:15) where income differences can be significant to determine people's places in class locations besides property ownership and means of production. According to the findings of the present study most of the class locations have both poor and rich

members within themselves in both cities, except petty traders and casual workers. Skilled workers and experts have also no rich members in Ankara (Table-19; Table-20; Table-21). It should also be noted that average income of experts is more than those of supervisors; and supervisors have more income than managers in Kırıkkale where proportional rate of rich wage workers is considerably more than the same rate in Ankara.

In this sense, Kırıkkale is more suitable for the development of clientalist mechanisms in order to increase their income more than the local people of Ankara; because public firms are main employers in Kırıkkale where proletarianization has largely been materialized in the public firms (Table-6). Indeed, as it has partially been mentioned before, a huge amount of people are unemployed in both cities and this is more vital in Kırıkkale. Unemployment is a more critical problem for the young in Kırıkkale where the household have regarded themselves as obliged to provide employment for their children. Thus, they are inclined to generate institutional mechanisms of favoritism or nepotism when they seek for 'torpil' and 'rüşvet' to get hold of a regular employment for young generations. In this frame of reference, employed persons are also inclined to invigorate same mechanism for the promotion and solution of any other work-related difficulty. In this context, as it will be mentioned later, local people of Kırıkkale worries less about unemployment as a

social problem although it is an objective reality for them. As seen in Table-65 the problem of unemployment is ranked as the fifth in Kırıkkale which is ranked as the second in Ankara.

In fact, there are more persons who have secondary sources of income in Kırıkkale. Thus, they have more autonomy to manipulate institutional mechanisms for their own particular benefits. Thirty eight percent of all residents (160 persons) have secondary sources of income in Kırıkkale (Table-22). Those sources of income have increased considerably in urban areas as a result of their personal savings invested into the urban fields although some of the additional sources of income have still been in rural areas as their inheritance. Investments in urban areas make an individual a kind of speculator who has benefitted from increase in costs of land and building estates through urbanization. Indeed, they actually support conditions which increase the 'rent' of their houses in rent where a considerable number of people accommodate in their own houses.

In this sense, most of the respondents of various class locations in Kırıkkale have precisely agreed that political parties should basically be functional for practical purposes of individuals and communities rather than for the future endeavors of abstract subjects, like society or humanity. This is more apparent among intermediary class locations of

experts, supervisors, skilled workers and managers. These class locations have been considerably associated with political parties although they have no political i.e. social needs to be in politics (Table-54). Clientalism is also prevalent within trade unions. Most of the working class members see trade unions as means for their personal supplementary economic benefits rather than for any improvements in their main wages as well for any other social or political intentions. That is to say, they believe that they have very little control over their main wages which are determined mainly by governments. And then, they look for subsidiary ways to increase their wages by an opportunist approach.

The Marxist model is also insufficient to consider historical background of clientalism which has been realized through cross-class and spatial mobility. It is not enough to comprehend class formation just by exploring members' class locations within the class structure. It is also necessary to determine the distinction between their present locations and their parent's locations. This may make the relationship between class locations and class formations arbitrary because a considerable number of parents had been farmers in small scale lands in the villages. This can also be verified with the fact that most of the urban people distributed through different class locations have migrated from rural areas in both cities. Thus, employed urban residents may have been considering their life histories as full of improvements as well as they

have seen social structure as full of chances for the coming generations. Hence, a kind of pragmatism involving some fatalism has grown up reflecting persons' self-reliance rather than their belief in God. They don't hesitate to get their rewards if they have strived enough. Then, there is nothing to do for them than waiting for their rewards. They are seen as people hopeful for their future as well evidenced in their participations in politics and trade unions although military coups deemed such participations somehow dangerous.

In this context, there are in fact two additional lines of social 'groupings' (Lloyd, 1990) besides class formations. First of all, urban people started grouping with each other with respect to their duration of residences in surveyed territory as natives and strangers i.e. migrants (Baştuğ, 1979; Ayata, 1987); and secondly, they began to come together with respect to their original hometowns. In this sense, migrants /strangers have begun to be diversified into two sub-groups, one composed of migrants who have come from surrounding hinterland and the other consists of migrants from other territories. However, first group of migrants have also considered themselves as natives rather than migrants. Therefore, I believe that migrant strangers have not been divided into two sub-groups within themselves but natives have been divided as real natives and migrant natives in Kırıkkale and Ankara (Table-37). Thus, the social relations among these groups are mainly formed under the affects

of this categorization. This is more apparent in Kırıkkale which has a lower number of real native residents. The real natives make up 6.8 % of total population whereas the migrant natives share in the population 48.7 % ; The real migrants/strangers' proportion in the total population, on the other hand, is 44 % in Kırıkkale. These percentages for Ankara are 22.8 % , 0.84 % and 76 % respectively which represent very different picture of composition of residents in Ankara. As a result migrant natives have to produce a formal definition of nativeness to satisfy their alliance and to produce their identities. Thus, they have begun to define `others' i.e. migrants especially real migrants as their opponents. On the other hand, significance of such distances between natives and others does not have much sense, because, from observer perspective a disproportionately huge number of people are truly migrants (real and migrant from the hinterland) composing 92.7 % of the population.

Social differentiation among natives and migrants have also been enhanced in two other ways. First, candidate political representatives have basically attempted to associate migrant natives and real natives as their own stock of votes. Second, natives have also negotiated with these leaders for their votes to satisfy their particular warranties. As a result, political leaders define nativeness differently in different contexts in accordance with their political interests. In fact, ordinary people have largely been influenced by unemployment of their

sons where public firms have provided basic way of employment which are under the control of political leaders. In other words, class models should also consider characteristics of respondents' family members if they want to be beneficial in grasping several social actors.

Considering economy as kinds of relations of exploitation rather than as a system of relations in which various processes of productive, distributive and similar activities realize leads the class analysis to neglect class locations which have been generated from sectoral distinctions. In this context, Wright's class model has necessarily confused office workers and casual wage workers with each other on various fields of economic life under the term of unskilled wage workers because both of them have no occupational skills. Indeed, differences between these two groups also largely corresponds to educational differences in Turkey. Wright's present model of class analysis also ignores the differences between mental and manual labor; to which Goldthorpe (1980) and Poulantzas (1975; 1977; 1983) pay more attention. For example, his model argues that managers have more education than supervisors, experts and other wage workers; and supervisors too have more education than experts; and experts have more education than the rest of the employees. But, there are some managers and supervisors without formal educational diplomas according to the findings of present study (Table-17). They have lower levels of education than their lower status

workers. They have probably hold such places in division of labour because of their informal ties in patronage relations. However, these inconsistencies will also make the inner-clashes of working class more significant for the future prospects rather than dwelling on the movements of mental and manual labour. Thus the trade unions may have to act for the benefits of those managers, supervisors and other admired employers because they have also respectful positions in those organs as they have in work places.

In fact, as it has been underlined by Poulantzas under the term of 'political power,' (Poulantzas, 1978) social classes should be identified in order to explain something rather than to register miscellaneous details of social reality. (Poulantzas, 1977, 1983) In this sense, Wright's class categories (with few modifications) have undoubtedly less explanatory power about some more superstructural formations occurring in surveyed cases. For instance, class locations have not significant differences with respect to their relations with religiosity, actual ways of their marriages, aspiring ways of marriages for sons and daughters, future expectations for their children in general, perceptions of most important social problems, daily habits and hobbies. All members of all social classes seem to be religious persons, except experts especially in Kirikkale where informal social control mechanisms have a considerable weight (Table-59). Respondents commonly had been commonly been married according to

their parents' advises in 'görücü usulü' (blindfold style). More precisely eighty four percent of residents in Kırıkkale and sixty five percent of residents in Ankara have been married in this way (Table-16). However, they have intend to give their boys the freedom to marry according to their own choices; whereas they want to have their daughters married according to the 'görücü usulü' (blindfold style) with no considerable distinction among class locations (Table-61; Table-62).

Class locations do not show any considerable differences from each other on their expectations about their children's futures. It should also be pointed out that they have undoubtedly lowest ratios of expectations for their children in Kırıkkale whereas members of all class locations have considerable higher expectations in Ankara (Table-63). This may be due to the expectation differences concerning boys and girls. Local people of Kırıkkale have no intention for making their daughters's future better as opposed to their sons. They may be leaving their daughters futures into the hands of future husband and his family.

Class locations have also no considerable differences with respect to their conceptions of most important social problems. They argue that environmental pollution and poverty are the basic social problems but more in Ankara than in Kırıkkale (Table-65). Class locations have also no considerable differences with respect to their daily habits

and hobbies, particularly in Kırıkkale (Table-66; Table-67; Table-68). In fact, class locations have begun to have different daily habits and hobbies i.e., life styles in Ankara whereas they have not any habits and hobbies worth mentioning in Kırıkkale.

On the other hand, class locations have been seen as considerably different from each other with respect to their self-perceptions in social stratifications in both cases (Table-64). However, with the exception of experts, the majority of persons in Kırıkkale are inclined to see themselves in lower statuses than the statuses they hold in reality. For instance, a considerable number of employers have declared that they are in a middle rank in stratification. However, residents of Ankara perceive their own and other's places in stratification more clearly.

Class categories have considerable ability to explain some relatively more economic and structural aspects of human life, such as, income, house ownership, level of rent, types and quality of houses, etc. although they have less ability to grasp most of the superstructural occurrences. Income inequality among class locations is more visible in Ankara and it is still a reality in Kırıkkale. Capitalists have 8.5 times more income than the lowest income group of casual workers in Kırıkkale whereas capitalist have 73.5 times more income then the lowest income

group of petty traders (Table-19). As it has partially been mentioned, most of the local residents have their own houses (Table-23). Seventy two percent and 61.4 % of urban residents have their own houses in Kırıkkale and Ankara respectively. House ownership as a characteristics of 'underdeveloped' societies is seen as an end in itself for both cases. However, unskilled workers and petty traders are two poles in house ownership in Kırıkkale where 82 % of unskilled workers have their own houses whereas 45 % of petty traders have their own houses. Experts are also seen as the class location with lower numbers of house owning members in both cities. Costs of rents seem to be different for different class locations in both cities (Table-25). Capitalists are accommodated in houses with highest rent values whereas petty traders and casual workers stay in lowest value houses in Kırıkkale and Ankara.

Class locations also seem to be distinct from each other with respect to the some other structural aspects, such as, building and living standards. Capitalists, small employers, petty bourgeoisie, managers and supervisors have no members who reside in lower standard houses in Kırıkkale whereas capitalists, small employers and petty traders have no members who live in houses with the same low standards in Ankara (Table-27). On the other hand, capitalists, managers, petty bourgeoisie have higher living standards in Kırıkkale and capitalists, small employers

and managers hold the same positions with respect to the same living standards in Ankara (Table-35).

However, in this frame of references, I believe that any explanation about relationship between class locations and structural and superstructural entities can also be interpreted as arbitrary consequences. Because, class analysis have already neglected 'other factors' which may have probable influences over the same occurrences. I also believe that, the present study seems to prove the need for an alternative way of determining class categories to grasp the social realities with all dimensions. In this context, basic characteristics of an alternative model for social class analysis can be summarized as follows:

- 1) It has to have no reductionist pre-occupations about what social classes and any other social groups are, such as working class, bourgeoisie, feudal, religious etc.
- 2) It has to identify its unit of analysis in a given social formation at a given moment of historical time rather than non-historical categories of capitalist mode of production, social formation etc.
- 3) However, class conceptions have to assert universal validity for different cases in history and society. Class formations and consequent compositions with all their varieties can be studied by the same class constructs.

4) In this context, by following Carchedi's (1970) very brilliant emphasis on the necessity of economic identification of social classes i.e. definition of social classes as a dependent variable at first rather than social identifications of economically constructed categories, I propose to define social class as a 'social groupments' of Gurvich (Bozkurt, 1972) or social groupings which view all relations and social networks as the subject of analyses of groupings (Lloyd, 1990) or 'group-forming practices' which deny similar dispositions and interests and therefore similar production of similar practices from people who occupy similar positions (Bourdieu, 1985: 725). Otherwise it is a 'class on paper' which has only a theoretical existence and has no space in the real sphere of relationships (Bourdieu, 1985: 725).

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APPENDIX

Sayın Cevaplayıcı,

Uluslararası bir projeye bağlantılı olarak gerçekleştirilecek bu araştırma, "Sanayileşme, Toplumsal Değişme ve Hanehalkı Yapısı" arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemeye yöneliktir.

Bu ankete verilecek cevaplar tek tek kişilere göre değil, bilimsel teknikler aracılığı ile, topluca analiz edilecektir. Bu nedenle ankete samimiyet ve içtenlikle cevap vereceğinize inanıyor, bu araştırmaya yardımcı olacağınızı umuyoruz.

Şimdiye kadar 12 ülkede yapılmış Sanayileşme ve Toplumsal Değişme konulu bu araştırmayı, ODTÜ'den bir grup öğretim üyesi ve Ankara Üniversitesi'nden Araştırma Görevlisi Hayriye Ebaş tarafından yürütülmektedir. Araştırma resmi makamların bilgisi dahilindedir. Bu araştırmada, cevaplayıcı olarak sizin isminiz muhtarlık listelerinden tesadüfen seçilmiştir. Şimdi ise, sizin hanenizden kiminle görüşüleceği, sizin de katılımınızla gene tesadüfen seçilecektir. Ancak bunu yapabilmek için haneniz hakkında biraz bilgi sahibi olmamız gerekmektedir, yardımlarınıza seviniyor ve şimdiden teşekkür ediyoruz.

Araştırma Grubu Başkanı
Doçent Doktor Yakın Ertürk
ODTÜ, Sosyoloji Bölümü
Öğretim Üyesi

***Anketör için uyarı: Bundan sonraki görüşme TABLO:1'de uygun olarak saptanan kişi ile yapılacaktır. Lütfen, kiminle görüşüleceğini hanehalkı reisine yakınlığını vererek belirtiniz:

3. Görüşülen kişi?.....

MESKEN DURUMU

***Anketör dolduracak:

4. Evin tipi: 1() Gecekondu 2() Müstakil tek katlı ev
3() Müstakil iki katlı 4() Müstakil üç katlı
5() Apartman dairesi 6() Başka,.....

5. Evin mülkiyet durumu?
1() Ev sahibi 2() Kiracı
3() Lojman 4() Başka.....

6. Ev sahibi ise, evinizi kiraya veriyor olsanız kaçta verirsiniz?
.....

7. Eve nasıl sahip oldunuz?
1() Satın aldım 2() Kendim yaptırdım
3() Kendimiz yaptık 4() Miras Kaldı
5() Kooperatif 6() Başka, belirtiniz.....

8. Evinizi ne zaman aldınız yaptınız yada yaptırttınız?.....

9. Kiracı veya lojmanda oturuyor iseniz aylık kira miktarı:

10. Eviniz: 1() Tapulu 2() Tapusuz

11. Eviniz kaç odalı?

12. Kaç metrekare?

13. Aşağıda belirtilenler evinizde var mı? Yoksa bu ihtiyaçlarınızı nasıl karşılıyorsunuz?

	Var	Yok	Açıklama
a. Mutfak	1 ()	2 ()	
b. Banyo	1 ()	2 ()	
c. Tuvalet	1 ()	2 ()	
d. Kanalizasyon	1 ()	2 ()	
e. Su	1 ()	2 ()	
f. Elektrik	1 ()	2 ()	

1. (Aynı konutta oturan, aynı kazandıran yiyip için ve geliri ortak olan kişiler hanehalkı üyesi olarak kabul edilecek; geçici olarak bulunmayan ancak dönmesi beklenen kişilere ilişkin bilgi)

Hanehalkı reisine Yakınlık	1 Şu anda burarda mı?	2 Degilse Nerede?	3 Neden?	4 Dinsi- Yaş yet	5 Medeni Durum	6 Dogum Yeri		7 İş arıyor mu?	8 Çalışma işaramana nedeni	9 Görüş. Uygun mu?
						11 Adı *	5 Neresi			
1. Kendisi										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										
7.										
8.										
9.										
10.										

1

2

3

4

5

6-7

8

9

1 () Evet
2 () Hayır

1 () Hiç evlenmemiş
2 () Evli
3 () Eşi ölmüş
4 () Boşanmış
5 () Ayrı yaşıyor
6 () Birlikte yaşıyor
7 () Nişanlı, sözlü

1 () Okur-yazar değil
2 () Okur yazar
3 () İlkokul terk
4 () İlkokul mez.
5 () Ortaokul terk
6 () Ortaokul mez.
7 () Lise terk
8 () Lise mez.
9 () Mes. Lisesi terk
10 () Mes. Lisesi mez.
12 () İmam Hatip Lis. terk

12 () İmam Hatip Lis. mez.
13 () Yüksek Okul terk
14 () Yüksek Okul mez.
15 () üniversite terk
16 () üniversite mez.
17 () Başka,.....

1 () Metropolitan kent
2 () Kent merkezi
3 () İlçe merkezi
4 () Kasaba
5 () Köy

1 () Evet
2 () Hayır

1 () Öğrenci
2 () Tüm çabasına rağmen iş bulamıyor
4 () Emekli (nereden).....
5 () Çalışmaz durumda
6 () Başka,.....

1 () Evet
2 () Hayır

1 () Evet
2 () Hayır

1 () Evet
2 () Hayır

1 () Evet
2 () Hayır

1 () Evet
2 () Hayır

1 () Evet
2 () Hayır

1 () Evet
2 () Hayır

14. Aşağıda belirtilen aletlere/eşyalara sahip misiniz, sahipseniz tipi?

	Var	Yok	Açıklama
a. Müzik seti	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
b. Radyo	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
c. Pikap	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
d. Teyp	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
e. Radyo+teyp	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
f. Televizyon	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
fi. Televizyonun tipi	1 () Renkli	2 () Siyah-beyaz	
g. Video	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
h. Buzdolabı	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
ı. Çamaşır makinası	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
ıı. Ç.makinasının tipi	1 () Otomatik	2 () Şanzımanlı	3 () Küçük
j. Bulaşık makinası	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
k. Ocak tipi	1 () Tek ocak	2 () Fırınlı ocak	
l. Elektrik süpürgesi	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
m. Fotoğraf makinası	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
n. Oturma odası takımı	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
o. Yemekodası takımı	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
p. Yatakodası takımı	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
r. Dikiş makinası	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
s. Ütü	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
t. Telefon	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
u. Otomobil	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
ui. Otomobilin markası			
v. Bilgisayar	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
vi. Bilgisayar tipi	1 () PC.	2 () Basit oyun makinası	
y. Daktilo	1 () Var	2 () Yok	
z. Kütüphane (kitaplık)	1 () Var	2 () Yok	

KENTE GÖÇ VE YERLEŞME

15. Doğma büyüme Ankaralı mısınız?

1 () Evet 2 () Hayır

16. Anne babanız Ankaralı mı?

1 () Hayır 2 () Evet —> (soru 33'e git)

17. Ankara'ya nasıl geldiniz/gelmişler?

- 1 () Annem babamla birlikte geldim
2 () Bekar olarak geldim
3 () Evliydim eşimi ve çocuklarımı memlekette bırakıp geldim
4 () Evliydim çocuklarımı memlekette bırakıp eşimle geldim
5 () Evliydim çocuğumuz yokken eşimle geldim
6 () Eşim ve çocuklarımla geldim
7 () Başka

18. Siz/aileniz Ankara'ya nereden geldiniz /gelmişler ili:.....

19. Neresinden? 1() Kent merkezi
 2() İlçe:.....
 3() Kasaba:.....
 4() Köy:.....
 5() Yurt dışı:.....
20. Hangi yıl geldiniz / gelmişler ?.....
21. Ne sebeble geldiniz / gelmişler?
 1() İş amacıyla 2() Çocukların eğitimi
 3() Yurt dışından kesin dönüş 4() Kendi eğitimi için
 5() Tayin 6() Yurt dışından göç
 7() Başka
22. Neden başka bir yer değil de Ankara'ya geldiniz/gelmişler?
23. Toplam olarak Ankara'da oturma sürenizi yıl olarak belirtiniz?.....
24. İlk geldiğinizde / geldiklerinde hangi mahalleye yerleştiniz/
 yerleşmişler?
25. Kaç yıldır şimdi oturduğunuz mahallede oturuyorsunuz?
26. Akrabalarınızdan Ankara'da yaşayan var mı? 1() Var 2() Yok
27. Varsa, kimler 1() Diğer aile üyeleri 2() Akrabalar
 3() Hemşehriler 4() 1+2
 5() 1+3 6() 2+3
 7() 1+2+3 (hepsi)
28. Ankara'ya gelmeden önce ailenin temel geçim kaynağı neydi/neymiş?

29. Ankara'ya gelmeden önce siz geçiminizi nasıl sağladınız?.....

30. Memleketinizle ilişkiniz devam ediyor mu?
 1() Evet 2() Hayır —> (33' e git)
31. Nasıl, belirtiniz: 1() İlişki devam ediyor, maddi manevi destek yok
 2() Manevi destek (düğün, bayram, akraba ziyareti)
 3() Kendisi, akrabası yada ortakçı tarafından
 işletilen toprağının olması
 4() Toprak ve akrabasının olması(maddi-manevi
 destek)
 5() Maddi yardım alması (un, bulgur, ekin vb.)
 6() Başka, belirtiniz:.....
32. Memleketinize ne kadar sıklıkla gidersiniz?
 1() Haftada bir 2() Ayda bir
 3() Altı ayda bir 4() Yılda bir
 5() Çok nadir

*** Herkese sorulacak

33. Şu anda Ankara'da yaşamanızın en önemli nedeni nedir?
1() İş olanağı 2() Evinin olması
3() Akraba yada tanıdıklarının olması 4() Rahat yaşayabilmesi
5() Ucuzluk 6() Gidecek başka yer olmaması
7() Lojman veriliyor olması 8() Tayin
9() Başka,.....

34. Başka yere (Yurt içi/ Yurt dışı) göçmek istermisiniz?
1() Evet 2() Hayır —→ (37'ye git)

- ↓
35. Evet ise, nereye ? 1() Yurt dışına
2() Memleketime geri dönmek isterim
3() Nereye olursa, iş bulduğum her yere
4() Sahil kentlerine, sahilde bir yere
5() Sessiz, sakin, dinleneceğim bir yere
6() 4+5
7() Başka, belirtiniz.....

36. Neden? 1() Türkiye'yi sevmiyor
2() İş olanağı
3() Geçim şartları, ucuzluk
4() Sosyal şartlar, eğitim, sosyal hizm.
5() Sahil kenarı
6() Sessiz sakin bir yer
7() Daha önceden bildiği bir yer
8() Ankara'yı sevmiyor
9() Müslüman memleket
10() Akrabalarıyla aynı yerde olmak için

GÖRÜŞÜLEN KİŞİNİN GEÇMİŞİNE İLİŞKİN BİLGİLER

37. 16 yaşınıza kadar size kim baktı? Lütfen yakınlık derecesini belirtiniz:
38. Size bakan kişinin doğum yeri?
1() Metropolitan kent merkezi 2() Kent merkezi
3() İlçe merkezi 4() Kasaba
5() Köy 6() Başka, belirtiniz.....
7() Yurt Dışından gelmiş
39. Size bakan kişi, hep aynı işi mi yoksa, farklı işler mi yaptı?
1() Aynı işi 2() Farklı işler —→ (47'ye git)
- ↓
40. Yaptığı iş?.....
41. Size bakan kişinin çalıştığı kurumun/alanın özellikleri nelerdir; çalıştığı yer ne üzerine, ne üretilmekte, yapılmakta veya dağıtılmakta?
.....

42. Kendi işinin sahibi mi yoksa başkasının işinde mi çalışırdı?
1() Kendi işinin sahibi 2() Başkasının işinde —> (45'e git)
43. Yanında ücretli olarak kimseyi çalıştırıyor muydu?
1() Evet 2() Hayır
44. Kaç kişi?.....kişi
45. Başkalarının işinde çalışıyor idiyse, yönetici konumunda mıydı?
1() Evet 2() Hayır —> (52' ye git)
46. Evet ise, belli başlı görev ve sorumluluklarını anlatır mısınız?
.....
.....
47. Size bakan kişi farklı işlerde yaptı ise, çoğunlukla kendi işinde mi yoksa başkalarının işinde mi çalışıyordu?
- 1() Kendi işinde —> (48'e git)
2() Başkalarının işinde —> (49'a git)
3() İki biçimde de —> (51'e git)
48. Bu kişi, daha çok kendi işinde çalışıyor idiyse, yanında ücretli olarak çalıştırdığı kimse var mıydı?
1() Vardı 2() Yoktu, sadece kendisi çalışırdı
49. Bu kişi, daha çok başkalarının işinde çalışıyor idi ise, yönetici konumunda mıydı 1() Evet 2() Hayır —> (52'ye git)
50. Evet ise, belli başlı görev ve sorumluluklarını anlatır mısınız?
.....
.....
51. Hem kendi hesabına hemde başkalarının işlerinde çalışıyor idi ise, kendi hesabına çalıştığı işlerde mi daha çok çalıştı; yoksa başkalarının işlerinde mi daha çok çalıştı?
1() Çoğunlukla kendi işinde 2() Çoğunlukla başkalarının işinde
- *** (Bakan kişi anne ise sorulmayacak)
52. On altı yaşına kadar anneniz ücretli olarak; yada aile işinde ücretsiz olarak çalıştı mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır 3() Annem yoktu
53. Evet ise, ücretli olarak mı; aile işinde mi çalıştı?
1() Kendi işinin sahibi 2() Ücretli olarak çalıştı
3() Aile işinde ücretsiz olarak çalıştı
54. Ücretli olarak çalıştı ise; esas işi ne idi? (Genellikle yaptığı işi belirtiniz)

YAPILMAKTA OLAN SON İŞLE İLGİLİ AYRINTILI BİLGİ

55. Asıl mesleğiniz?.....
56. Şu anda yaptığınız iş?.....
57. Çalıştığınız yer ne üzerine, ne üretilmekte, yapılmakta veya dağıtılmakta? (Kamu mu özel sektör mü?)
.....
58. İş durumunuz aşağıda verilenlerden hangisine uyar;başkasının hesabına mı, kendi hesabınıza mı yoksa aile içinde veya tarlasında ücretsiz mi çalışmaktasınız?
- 1() Belli bir ürün üretmekte, dağıtmakta veya hizmet sunmaktayım (Business or service)
2() Serbest meslek sahibiyim (belli bir iş dalı pratiği :professional practice)
3() Tarımla uğraşmaktayım
4() Aile içinde veya tarlasında ücretsiz çalışmaktayım
5() Başkası hesabına çalışıyorum
6() Başka,.....
59. Kendi işinizin sahibi olmayı mı başkası adına çalışmayı mı tercih edersiniz?
1() Kendi işinin sahibi olmayı 2() Başkası adına çalışmayı
- 60a. Kendi işinin sahibi olmayı tercih ediyor ise, en önemli nedeni?
1() Başkasından emir almaktan hoşlanmıyorum
2() Daha çok para kazanırım
3() Daha saygın olurum, itibar görürüm
4() Topluma daha yararlı olurum
5() Başka belirtiniz,.....
- 60b. Başkası adına çalışmayı tercih ediyor ise neden?.....
61. Şimdi yapmakta olduğunuz esas işinize ne zaman başladınız? Başlangıç ayı ve yılını belirtir misiniz? ay:; yıl:
62. İşinizi bulmada/kurmada kim/kimler yardım etti?
1() Aile üyeleri 2() Akrabalar
3() Komşular 4() Hemşehriler
5() Komşu ve hemşehriler dışında kalan tanıdıklar 6() Hükümet (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu, sınavla vb.)
7() Kendim 8() Başka,.....
63. Bu yaptığınız işi yapan akraba yada hemşehriniz varmı?
1() Evet 2() Hayır
64. Varsa, kimler? 1() Birinci dereceden akrabalar (Anne, baba, kardeşler, eşi ve çocukları)
2() İkinci dereceden akrabalar (dayı, hala, teyze, amca, büyükbaba, büyükanne vs.)
3() Uzak akrabalar 4() Hemşehriler

KENDİ İŞİNİN SAHİBİ OLANLAR VE AİLE İŞİNDE ÜCRETSİZ ÇALIŞANLARA
SORULACAK

65. İşinizi kurarken/yürütürken herhangi bir yerden kredi/borç aldınız mı?
1() Evet 2() Hayır → (68'e git)
66. Evet ise, nereden yada kimden?.....
67. Aldığınız kredi ya da borç sermayenizin ne kadarı?.....
68. Herhangi bir kamu kuruluşuna iş yapıyor musunuz?
1() Evet 2() Hayır → (70'e git)
69. Evet ise, nereye?.....
70. Devlet dışında herhangi bir kuruluşa iş yapıyor musunuz?
1() Evet 2() Hayır
71. Evet ise, kime?.....
1. Belli Bir Ürün Üreten, Dağıtan Veya Hizmet Verenlere Sorulacak
72. İşletmeniz ortak mı, sadece size mi ait?
1() Sadece bana ait 2() Ortak 3() Başka:
73. Ortak ise, kaç ortak olduğunuzu belirtirmisiniz?
74. Ortaklık biçiminiz nedir?
1() Sadece Sermaye 2() Sadece emek
3() Her ikisi 4() Başka, belirtiniz.....
75. İşletmenin yüzde kaçını size ait? %
76. İş yerinin mülkiyet durumu?
1() Kendisine ait 2() Kira
3() İş yeri yok 4() Ortağa ait
5() Başka
77. Kira ise, ne kadar kira veriyor?.....
78. İşinizde bizzat kendiniz de çalışıyor musunuz?
1() Evet 2() Hayır
79. İşyerinizde ücretsiz çalışan aile üyesi var mı?
1() Var 2() Yok → (82' ye git)
80. Varsa kimler? 1() Babası-annesi 2() Kardeşi
3() Oglu 4() Kızı
5() Eşi 6() Dayı, amca
7() Başka, belirtiniz.....
81. İşyerinde ücretsiz çalışan aile üyesi sayısı?

82. İşyerinizde ücretli çalışan aile üyesi var mı?
1() Var 2() Yok → (85'e git)
83. Varsa kimler? 1() Babası-annesi 2() Kardeşi
3() Oğlu 4() Kızı
5() Eşi 6() Dayı, amca
7() Başka, belirtiniz.....
84. İşyerinde ücretli çalışan aile üyesi sayısı ?.....
85. Bu işte aile üyeleri dışında ücretli (sürekli) çalışan var mı?
1() Var 2() Yok
86. Varsa; kaç kişi?.....kişi
87. Mevsimlik yada geçici olarak çalışan var mı?
1() Var 2() Yok
88. Varsa; kaç kişi?.....kişi
89. Geçici veya mevsimlik işçi varsa; ortalama yılda kaç hafta bu insanları çalıştırıyorsunuz?hafta.
90. İşyerinizi satıyor olsanız kaçta satmayı düşünürsünüz?.....T.L.
2. Serbest Meslek Sahiplerine Sorulacak
91. İş yerinin mülkiyet durumu?
1() Kendisine ait 2() Kiracı 3() Başka
92. İş yeriniz ortak mı? 1() Hayır 2() Evet
93. Ortak ise, kaç ortaklı?.....
94. Yüzde kaçta sizin? %.....
95. İşyerinde bizzat kendiniz de çalışıyor musunuz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır
96. İşyerinizde ücretsiz çalışan aile üyesi var mı?
1() Var 2() Yok → (99' a git)
97. Varsa kimler? 1() Babası-annesi 2() Kardeşi
3() Oğlu 4() Kızı
5() Eşi 6() Dayı, amca
7() Başka, belirtiniz.....
98. İşyerinde ücretsiz çalışan aile üyesi sayısı?
99. İşyerinizde ücretli çalışan aile üyesi var mı?
1() Var 2() Yok → (102'ye git)

100. Varsa kimler? 1() Babası-annesi 2() Kardeşi
 3() Oğlu 4() Kızı
 5() Eşi 6() Dayı, amca
 7() Başka, belirtiniz.....
101. İşyerinde ücretli çalışan aile üyesi sayısı?
102. İş yerinizde aile üyeleri dışında ücretli (sürekli) çalışan var mı?
 1() Var 2() Yok
103. Var ise, kaç kişi?.....kişi
104. İşlerinizin yoğun olduğu dönemlerde geçici olarak kimseyi çalıştırıyor musunuz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır
105. Evet ise, kaç kişi?.....kişi
3. Tarımla Uğraşanlara Sorulacak
106. Ne üretiyor/yetiştiriyorsunuz?.....
107. Toprağınız/çiftliğiniz nerede? İl?.....
 İlçe?
 Kasaba?.....
 Köy?.....
108. Kaç dönüm/baş?.....
109. Toprağın /çiftliğin mülkiyet durumu?
 1() Gerçek sahibi 2() Kiracı
 3() Ortağı 4() Başka.....
110. Ortak ise, kaç ortağa ait?.....ortak
111. Yüzde kaçı sizin? %
112. Kiracı ise, kimden kiralamış? 1() Akrabasından
 2() Hemşehrisinden
 3() Akraba hemşehri dışında tanıdıktan
 4() Tanımadığı yabancı birinden
113. Toprağınızda bizzat kendiniz çalışıyor musunuz?
 1() Evet 2() Hayır
114. Tarlanız/çiftliğinizde ücretsiz çalışan aile üyesi var mı?
 1() Var 2() Yok → (117' ye git)
115. Varsa kimler? 1() Babası-annesi 2() Kardeşi
 3() Oğlu 4() Kızı
 5() Eşi 6() Dayı, amca
 7() Başka, belirtiniz.....
116. İşyerinde ücretsiz çalışan aile üyesi sayısı?

117. İşyerinizde ücretli çalışan aile üyesi var mı?
1() Var 2() Yok —> (120'ye git)

118. Varsa kimler? 1() Babası-annesi 2() Kardeşi
3() Oğlu 4() Kızı
5() Eşi 6() Dayı, amca
7() Başka, belirtiniz.....

119. İşyerinde ücretli çalışan aile üyesi sayısı?

120. İşinizde aile üyeleri dışında ücretli olarak çalışan var mı?
1() Evet 2() Hayır

121. Varsa, kaç kişi?kişi

122. Geçici veya mevsimlik işçi çalıştırıyor musunuz? 1()Evet 2()Hayır

123. Kaç kişi?..... kişi

124. Geçici veya mevsimlik işçi varsa, ortalama yılda kaç hafta bu insanları çalıştırıyorsunuz?.....hafta

125. Tarlanızı veya çiftliğinizi satıyor olsanız kaça satmayı düşünürsünüz?
..... T.L.

4. Tarım veya Tarımdışı Aile İşinde Ücretsiz Çalışanlara Sorulacak

126. Aile ne işle uğraşiyor? 1() Tarım dışı 2() Tarım

127. Tarım dışı ise, ne üzerine?

128. Aile işletmesi tarım ise, ne üretiyorsunuz?
1() Tahıl 2() Meyva-sebze
3() Tahıl, meyve-sebze 4() Hayvancılık
5() Tarım ve hayvancılık 6() Başka,belirtin.....

129. İşyerinizde ücretsiz çalışan aile üyesi var mı?
1() Var 2() Yok —> (132' ye git)

130. Varsa kimler? 1() Babası-annesi 2() Kardeşi
3() Oğlu 4() Kızı
5() Eşi 6() Dayı, amca
7() Başka, belirtiniz.....

131. İşyerinde ücretsiz çalışan aile üyesi sayısı?

132. İşyerinizde ücretli çalışan aile üyesi var mı?
1() Var 2() Yok —> (135'e git)

133. Varsa kimler? 1() Babası-annesi 2() Kardeşi
 3() Oglu 4() Kızı
 5() Eşi 6() Dayı, amca
 7() Başka, belirtiniz.....
134. İşyerinde ücretli çalışan aile üyesi sayısı?.....
135. İşyerinizde veya tarlanızda aile üyeleri dışında ücretli (sürekli) çalışan var mı? 1() Var 2() Yok
136. Varsa, kaç kişi?kişi.
137. Mevsimlik veya geçici çalışan var mı? 1() Var 2() Yok
138. Varsa, kaç kişi?.....kişi
139. Aileniz bu işi devrediyor veya bu tarlayı satıyor olsa değerinin ne olacağını düşünüyorsunuz?T.L.

BAŞKASI ADINA MAASLI VE ÜCRETİ ÇALIŞANLAR

İŞİN SERBESTLİK DERECESESİ

* [Başkası adına; sadece maaşlı ve ücretli çalışanlara; emekli memur yada işçilere geçmişe yönelik olarak sorulacak; kendi işinin sahibi olanlara sorulmayacak]

140. Yaptığınız iş planlama (neyin nasıl ve ne zaman yapılacağı) yapmanızı ve bunu uygulamaya koymanızı gerektiriyor mu?
 1() Evet 2() Hayır → (142' ye git)

141. Evet ise, bunu bize bir örnek vererek anlatır mısınız?

Şimdi işinize ilişkin birtakım sorular soracağız; lütfen yanıtlayınız.

	Evet	Hayır
142. İşe gidiş ve dönüş saatlerini belli anlamda kendiniz ayarlayabiliyor musunuz?		
143. Ücretsiz izin ve yıllık izine sayılmadan günlük ve daha fazla süreli izin alabiliyor musunuz?		
144. İstediginizde iş süresini ayarlayabiliyormusunuz? Örneğin bir gün geciktirerek teslim edebiliyor musunuz?		
145. İşinizde bir yenilik yapma kararı alabilecek durumda mısınız?		

OTORİTE VE KARAR VERME SÜREÇLERİ
Denetim

146. İşinizin resmi olarak diğerlerinin yaptığı işi denetleme veya yapacaklarını emretme gibi bir yönü var mı?
1() Evet 2() Hayır ———> (165'e git)
147. Evet ise; direkt olarak denetlediğiniz kaç kişi var?
1() Bir kişi 2() Birden fazla
148. Birden fazla ise, kaç kişi?.....
149. Sizin denetlediğiniz kişinin yada kişilerin de denetlediği başka kişi yada kişiler varmı? 1()Evet 2()Hayır

Aşağıda belirtilen sorumluluk alanlarının işinizin bir parçası olup olmadığını lütfen belirtiniz.

Evet Hayır

150. Astlarınızın ne yapacaklarına karar verme sorumluluğu—>
151. Astlarınızın işlerini nasıl yapacaklarını: hangi araçları ve nasıl kullanacaklarını belirleme sorumluluğu ———>
152. Astlarınızın çalışma hızını, çalışma süresini veya iş miktarını belirleme sorumluluğu ———>

Evet	Hayır

Cezalandırma ve Ödüllendirme Otoritesi
İşinizle ilgili olarak, aşağıda belirtilen konuların kararlaştırılmasında etkili olup olmadığınızı belirtiniz.

En çok etkili olan:
Siz mi üst makamlar mı?

153. Denetiminizde çalışanların ücret artışı veya terfisinin kararlaştırılmasında etkili misiniz?
2() Hayır 1() Evet ———>
- ↓
154. Denetiminizde çalışanların yetersiz çalışma veya yanlış davranması nedeniyle ücret artışı veya terfisinin engellenmesinde etkili misiniz?
2() Hayır 1() Evet ———>
- ↓
155. Denetiminizde çalışanların sürekli veya geçici işten çıkarmada, ücret artışı veya terfisinin kararlaştırılmasında etkili misiniz?
2() Hayır 1() Evet ———>
- ↓
156. Denetiminizde çalışanlara disiplin cezası verilmesinde etkili misiniz?
2() Hayır 1() Evet ———>

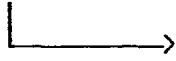
Görüşülen kişi	Üst makamlar

Karar Verme Süreci

Şimdi soracağımız sorular işyerinizde uygulanan politikalara ve alınan kararlara katılıp katılmadığınıza ilişkindir.

157. İşyerinizde üretilen mal yada hizmet, çalıştırılan kişi sayısı, vb. konularda karar alma sürecine katılıyor veya öneride bulunabiliyor musunuz?

1 () Evet 2 () Hayır —> (165' e git)



Evet ise; karar alma sürecine katılma biçiminiz:

158. İşyerinizde çalışanların sayısının değiştirilmesi
2 () Hayır 1 () Evet —>

159. İşyerinizde üretilen mal ve hizmetlerin üretim ve planlanmasında yapılacak önemli değişiklikler.
2 () Hayır 1 () Evet —>

160. İşyerinizde işlerin önemli bir kısmının veya tamamının hız ve akışının belirlenmesi.
2 () Hayır 1 () Evet —>

161. İşin yöntem ve kurallarında değişiklik yapma.
2 () Hayır 1 () Evet —>

162. İşbiriminizdeki bütçenin kararlaştırılması.
2 () Hayır 1 () Evet —>
(hayırsa 165' e git)

163. Çalıştığınız kurumun genel bütçesinin kararlaştırılması
2 () Hayır 1 () Evet —>

164. Çalıştığınız kurumun genel bütçe kaynaklarının dağıtılması.
2 () Hayır 1 () Evet —>

Kendim alırım	Başkaları ile birlikte alırım	Onaya sunulmak üzere alırım	Sadece öneririm

165. İşyerinizde bulunduğunuz pozisyon sizce nedir?
1() Yönetim 2() Gözetim 3() Hiç biri
166. Düzeyi; ↓ 1() En üst 2() Üst 3() Orta 4() Alt

GÖRÜŞÜLEN KİŞİNİN İŞ HAYATI HİKAYESİ (WORK HISTORY)

167. Çalışma hayatına ilk olarak hangi yılda başladınız?.....
168. Nerede çalışmaya başladınız?
İl..... Kasaba
İlçe..... Köy
169. İlk ne iş yaptınız?.....
170. Geçiminizi sağlamak için düzenli olarak ilk hangi yılda çalışmaya başladınız?.....
171. Nerede çalışmaya başladınız?
İl..... Kasaba
İlçe..... Köy
172. Ne iş yaptınız?.....

173. Şimdi hayatınız boyunca yaptığınız işler hakkında bilgi verir misiniz?
(TABLO: 3' e gidiniz ve gerekli yerleri doldurunuz)
174. İşsiz geçen dönem varsa, en uzun ne kadar süreli? (ay olarak belirtiniz).....
175. İşsiz geçen dönemlerde geçimini nasıl sağlamış?.....
.....
.....

GÖRÜŞÜLEN KİŞİ EVLİ İSE EŞİNİN İŞİNE İLİŞKİN BİLGİ

176. Eşiniz gelir getiren herhangi bir işte çalışıyor mu?
1() Evet 2() Hayır
177. Çalışmıyor ise bir işe girmek istiyor mu?
1() Evet 2() Hayır → (185' e git)
178. Çalışıyor ise, eşinizin iş durumu aşağıdakilerden hangisine uygundur?
1() Kendi işinin sahibi 2() Başkasına çalışıyor
3() Aile işinde ücretsiz? 4() Gelir getiren, evde parça başı iş
5() Başka,.....
179. Çalışıyor ise, belli başlı görev ve sorumlulukları nelerdir, bize işine ilişkin bilgi verir misiniz?
.....

YAPILAN İŞLERİN TARİHÇESİ

Yapılan işler	Çalışma süresi		Kendi işinin sahibi ise				Başkası hesabına çalışanlar												
	Kuruluş/çalışma alanı	Başlama yılı	Statü	Ortak E/H	Ortak Ortak kim? Var/Yok	Ortak Sayısı	Ücretli Ücretli	Yönetim			Denetim								
								Ortak sayısı	Ortak kim?	Ücretli Sayısı	Yönet. kişi sayısı	Yönetim düzeyi	Denet. kişi sayısı	5	6	7			
1. İş																			
2. İş																			
3. İş																			
4. İş																			
5. İş																			
6. İş																			
7. İş																			
8. İş																			

1

2

3

4

6

7

- 1 () Kendi hesabına çalışan
2 () Başkası hesabına çalışan
3 () Aile içinde ücretsiz
4 () Parça başı iş (evde)
5 () Parça başı iş (dışarda)
6 () Başka

- 1 () 1. dereceden akrabalar
2 () 2. dereceden akrabalar
3 () Kuzenler, yegenler
4 () Komşu
5 () Hemşehri
6 () Diğer tanıdıklar

- 1 () Yönetim
2 () Denetim
3 () Hiçbiri

- 1 () En üst
2 () Üst
3 () Orta
4 () Alt
5

- 1 () Aile üyeleri
2 () Akrabalar
3 () Komşular
4 () Hemşehriler
5 () Diğer tanıdıklar
6 () Hükümet (İş ve İşçi Bul. Kur. veya sınavla diyen)
7 () Kendim
8 () Başka,

- 1 () Kendi isteğim
2 () Atılma
3 () Terfi
4 () Emeklilik
5 () Başka,

- 1 () Söz sahibi
2 () Söz sahibi değil

180. Ne tür bir kuruluştaki çalışıyor: ne üretilmekte veya yapılmaktadır?
.....
181. Kendi işinin sahibi ise, yanında ücretli çalışan var mı?
1() Evet 2() Hayır
182. Evet ise, kaç kişi?.....kişi
183. Başkasına çalışıyor ise, yönetici konumunda mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır
184. Yaklaşık ne kadar kazanıyor? (aylık olarak belirtiniz)
.....
185. Eşinizin iş bulma/kurmasında kim yardım etti?.....

HANEHALKININ DİĞER ÜYELERİNİN YAPTIĞI İŞLER

186. Ailenizde diğer çalışanlarla ilgili olarak aşağıda isteyeceğimiz bilgileri verir misiniz?

Görüşülen kişiye yakınlık	Meslek grubu	Tam olarak ne yaptığı	Nerede çalıştığı	İş bulmada kim yardım etti (1)	Aylık gelir	Aileye aylık katkısı TL.
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						

** Aile bütçesine katkıda bulunan, ancak aynı konutta oturmeyen kişilere ilişkin bilgi de alınacak.

- (1) 1() Aile üyeleri 2() Akrabalar
3() Komşular 4() Hemşehriler
5() Komşular ve hemşehriler 6() Hükümet (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu, sınavla vb.)
tanıdıklar 8() Başka,.....
7() Kendim

187. Hanehalkının diğer üyelerinin yaptığı ek işler varsa belirtir misiniz?

	Yapılan ek iş	Gelir*
1. kişi		
2. kişi		
3. kişi		
4. kişi		
5. kişi		

* Gelirleri günlük haftalık aylık yada yıllık gibi zamana göre belirtiniz

TOPLAM GELİR BİLEŞENLERİ

188. Esas işinizde elde ettiğiniz gelir, lütfen aylık olarak belirtiniz.....

189. Esas işinizden başka ek işler yapıyor musunuz?

1() Evet 2() Hayır —> (193'e git)

190. Evet ise, ek işinizin/lerinizin konusu nedir, anlatır mısınız?

191. Bu işin/lerin sahibi kim?

1() Başkası 2() Kendim 3() Ailem 4() Başka:.....

192. Bu işte haftada kaç saat çalışmaktasınız?

Haftada saat çalışmaktayım.

193. Bu ek işten veya işlerden elde ettiğiniz toplam geliri aylık olarak belirtir misiniz?

*** (Herkese sorulacak)

194. Esas işiniz, varsa ek işleriniz dışında başka gelir kaynağınız var mı?
1() Var 2() Yok

195. Varsa, bunlar nelerdir? Belirtiniz (**Eğer birden çok ek gelir kaynağı varsa hepsi belirtilsin).

1() Köyde gelir getiren toprağım var.

2() Burada gelir getiren toprağım var.

3() Burada dükkanım var.

4() Köyden ailem yardım ediyor.

5() Kirada evim var.

6() Kirada dükkanım var.

7() Hayvancılık yaptırıyorum.

8() Hayvancılık yapıyorum.

9() Başka: Ne olduğunu lütfen belirtiniz.....

196. Ek gelir miktarı yaklaşık ne kadar? (parasal değerini aylık yada yıllık olarak belirtiniz)
.....

Ek gelir olarak toprak geliri elde edenler:

197. Kaç dönüm toprağınız var? dönüm

198. Toprağınızı kim işletiyor?

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| 1() Ailem | 2() Kendim | 3() Yakınlarım |
| 4() Ortakçı | 5() Kiracı | 6() Boş duruyor |
| 7() 1 ve 2 | 8() 2 ve 3 | 9() Başka (belirtiniz).... |

199. Ne elde ediyorsunuz?

- 1() Sadece kendi tüketimi veya tüketimlerinin bir kısmını sağlayanlar
2() Belirli bir maddi gelir sağlayanlar
3() 1-2

Köyden yardım geliyor diyenlere

200. Ne türden bir yardım alıyorsunuz?

- 1() Yiyecek 2() Para
3() Yiyecek+para 4() Başka, belirtin.....

*** Herkese Sorulacak

201. Hiç Tasarruf yapabiliyor musunuz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

202. Evet ise, ne amaçla?

- 1() Ev, arsa almak için
2() Ev eşyası ve tüketim malları almak için
3() Güvence için, altın hisse senedi alımı
4() Çocuklar için (düğün, eğitim, iş kurma vb.)
5() Hacca gitmek için
6() İş kurma, geliştirme için
7() Başka, belirtin.....

203. Ne kadar? (yıllık miktarı).....

TUTUM VE DAVRANIŞLARA İLİŞKİN SORULAR
Dinsel Tutum ve Davranışlar

204. Aşağıda belirtilen alanlarda hanenizdeki bireylerin nasıl davrandığını belirtir misiniz? ***(Ayrı oturuyor olsalar bile görüşülen kişinin annesi ve babasına ilişkin bilgi alınacak).

Görüşülen Kişiyne Yakınlık	Namaz		Cuma Na.		Bayram na.	Ram.orucu		Ram.Dışı Or	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	E/H	Düzenli mi?	E/H	Düzenli mi?	Evet/ Hayır	E/H	Düzenli mi?	E/H	Hangileri?
1.Kendisi									
2.Annesi									
3.Babası									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									

2-4-7

9

- 1() Düzenli 1 () Üç aylar 2() Muharrem Ayı
2() Düzensiz 3() Ramazanı karşılama/uğurlama 4() Sürekli tutanlar
3() Çok nadir 5() Arada bir tutanlar 6() Başka

205. Dini yayınları izler misiniz? 1()Evet 2()Hayır

206. Evet ise, neler?

- 1() T.V. Radyo prg. 2() Kitap ve dergiler
3() Kuran-ı Kerim 4() Video ve teyp kasetleri
5() T.V. kitap dergi 6() T.V. Kuran-ı Kerim
7() T.V. video ve teyp kasetleri 8() T.V. kasetler, kitap ve dergi.
9() Başka,.....

207. Peki yukarıda bahsedilenlerin hepsinin dışında, ne tür dini faaliyetlerde bulunuyorsunuz anlatır mısınız?.....
.....
.....

Kız ve Erkek Çocuklarına İlişkin Tutum ve Davranışlar

Öğrenim

208. Sizce erkek çocukları için ne kadar öğrenim yeterlidir?
1() İlk okul 2() Orta Okul
3() Lise 4() İmam Hatip Lisesi
5() Meslek-teknik Liseleri 6() Üniversite
7() Başka, belirtiniz.....
209. Sizce kız çocukları için ne kadar öğrenim yeterlidir?
1() İlk okul 2() Orta Okul
3() Lise 4() İmam Hatip Lisesi
5() Meslek-teknik Liseleri 6() Üniversite
7() Başka, belirtiniz.....
- ***

Evlilik

210. Sizce erkek evlat için uygun evlilik nasıl olmalıdır?
1() Anlaşarak 2() Görücü usulü ile
3() İkisinin karışımı(1+2) 4() Dini kurallara göre
5() Başka,.....
211. Sizce kızınız yada kızlarınız için uygun evlilik nasıl olmalıdır?.....
1() Anlaşarak 2() Görücü usulü ile
3() İkisinin karışımı (1+2) 4() Dini kurallara göre
5() Başka,.....
212. Eşinizle nasıl evlendiğinizi bize anlatırmısınız?
- ***
- Meslek

213. Sizce erkek çocukları için en uygun iki meslek nedir?
.....
214. Erkek çocuklarınızın yapmasını istemediğiniz iki mesleği belirtir misiniz.....
215. Sizce kız çocukları için en uygun iki meslek hangi mesleklerdir?
.....
216. Kız çocukları için kesinlikle uygunsuz bulduğunuz iki mesleği belirtirmisiniz?

Miras

217. Sizce miras kız ve erkek çocuklar arasında nasıl paylaşılmalı?
.....
.....

Kadına İlişkin Tutum ve Davranışlar

218. ***(Evli ve çocuklu olanlara sorulacak) Günlük olarak, sizin ve eşinizin çocukların bakımı ve ilgisine ayırdığınız zamanı saat olarak belirtir misiniz?

Kadın.....saat
Erkek.....saat

***(Evli olanlara sorulacak)
Aşağıda sayılan ev işlerine eşler tarafından ayrılan zaman

	Kadın %	Erkek %
219. Yemek yapar mısınız? 2()Hayır 1()Evet →		
220. Bulaşık yıkar mısınız? 2()Hayır 1()Evet →		
221. Çamaşır yıkar mısınız? 2()Hayır 1()Evet →		
222. Temizlik Yapar mısınız? 2()Hayır 1()Evet →		
223. Çarşı pazar alışverişler yaparmısınız? 2()Hayır 1()Evet →		

Ailelerde verilen birtakım kararlara ilişkin sorular soracağız. Lütfen cevaplayınız.

Karar vermede en etkili olan kişi		
Erkek	Kadın	Birlikte

224. Şimdi oturduğunuz semtte otur-
maya karar veren kim?
225. Komşulardan hangileriyle, nasıl
görüşüleceğine karar veren kim?
226. Büyük harcamalar gerektiren bir
takım temel kararları (araba- ev
alma, borç verme gibi) alan kim?
227. Aylık aile bütçesinin ne kadarının
nerelere harcanacağını
kararlaştıran kimdir?

*** (Herkese sorulacak)

Kadının Davranışına İlişkin Sorular

Aşağıda verilen düşüncelere ne oranda katılıyorsunuz?

- | | Tamamen
katılıyorum | Katılı-
yorum | Kararsız-
zım | Karşı-
yım | Tamamen
karşıyım |
|---|------------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| 228. Kadınlar dışarıda çalışarak
kazanc sağlamalıdır..... | () | () | () | () | () |
| 229. Kadınlar yalnız başlarına
seyahat edebilirler..... | () | () | () | () | () |
| 230. Kadınların esas yeri ev
olmalıdır..... | () | () | () | () | () |
| 231. Kadın kendi fikirlerini
serbestçe başka erkeklere
söyleyebilmelidir..... | () | () | () | () | () |
| 232. Kadın fikirlerini yalnızca
kocasına söyleyebilmelidir.. | () | () | () | () | () |
| 233. Erkek, kadına ev işlerinde
yardım etmelidir..... | () | () | () | () | () |
| 234. Kadınların okuyup meslek
sahibi olması gereksizdir... | () | () | () | () | () |
| 235. Kadın istediği partiye oy
vermelidir..... | () | () | () | () | () |

Tamamen Katılı- Kararsı- Karşı- Tamamen
katılıyorum yorum zım yım karşıyım

236. Kadın siyasetle, politikayla ilgilenmemelidir..... () () () () ()

Sendikal Katılım (sadece işçilere sorulacak)

237. İş yerinde sendikanız varmı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

238. Evet ise, siz üyemisiniz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

239. Hayır ise, daha evvel hiç sendikaya üye oldunuz mu? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

240. Sendikada şimdiye kadar hiç görev aldınız mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

241. Evet ise, aldığınız görev neydi?

242. Aşağıda belirtilen alanlarda sendika ne kadar çaba harcamakta?

	Büyük çaba harcanmakta	Biraz çaba harcanmakta	Hiç çaba harcanmamakta
İşyerinde güvenlik ve sağlık koşullarının iyileştirilmesi			
İşten atılma ve işyeri kapatılmasının önlenmesi			
Çalışanların karar alma sürecine katılmalarının arttırılması			
İşyerinde her tür ayrımcılığın engellenmesi			

***Herkes Sorulacak

243. Sizce sendikalar gerekli midir?

1() Evet 2() Hayır —————> (251' e git)

244. Sendikalarla ilişkin aşağıdaki düşüncelerin sizce önem derecesini belirtir misiniz?

	Çok önemli	Önemli	Kararsız	Az Önemli	Önemsiz
245. İşçinin siyasi alanda söz sahibi olmasını sağlamak.	()	()	()	()	()
246. İşverene karşı her türlü işçi hakkını savunmak....	()	()	()	()	()
247. İşçiler arasında birlik ve beraberliği sağlamak.....	()	()	()	()	()
248. İşçilerin sosyal haklarını sağlamak.....	()	()	()	()	()
249. Ücret artışı sağlamak	()	()	()	()	()
250. İdari problemleri çözmek..	()	()	()	()	()

251. Sendika dışında üyesi olduğunuz herhangi bir dernek, cemiyet, örgüt veya grup var mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır —————> (257'ye git)

252. Varsa ne olduğunu belirtirmisiniz?

- 1() Sosyal Yardımlaşma Derneği 2() Spor Klübü ve Derneği
3() Din Derneği 4() İşveren veya Ticaret Derneği
5() Hemşehri Derneği 6() Tarım Derneği
7() Esnaf Derneği 8() Serbest Meslek Derneği
9() Siyasi Parti 10() Kamu Personeli Derneği
11() Başka,.....

253. Bu dernek veya derneklerle ne kadar ilgileniyorsunuz?

1() Hiç 2() Çok az 3() Orta ilgi 4() Çok ilgi

254. Bu derneğe veya derneklere maddi yardımda bulunuyor musunuz?

1() Evet 2() Hayır 3() Sadece aidat ödüyor

255. Derneğin veya derneklerin herhangi bir komitesinde çalışıyor musunuz?

1() Evet 2() Hayır

256. Dernek veya örgütün yönetim kurulunda görev alıyor musunuz?

1() Evet 2() Hayır

TABAKALAŞMA VE TOPLUMSAL DEĞİŞME

257. Sizce içinde yaşadığımız toplumda insanlar arasında farklılıklar var mıdır? 1 () Vardır 2 () Yoktur
258. Yoksa, açıklayınız :.....
.....
..... → (265'e git)
259. Varsa, insanları birbirinden ayıran unsurlar nelerdir?
.....
.....
260. Bu unsurları göz önünde bulundurarak, içinde yaşadığımız toplumdaki insanları kaç tabakaya/gruba/katmana ayırabilirsiniz? Sırasıyla sayar mısınız?
***(tabakaları/grupları/katmanları aşağıdan yukarıya doğru sıralayınız)
.....
.....
261. Siz kendinizi bunlardan hangisine dahil edersiniz?.....
.....
262. Kendinizi dahil ettiğiniz tabakadan başka bir tabakaya geçme imkanınız olabilir mi? 1 () Evet 2 () Hayır
263. Hayır ise, neden?
264. Evet ise nasıl?
265. Sizce toplumda önemli kararların alınmasında aşağıdaki grupların etkili olma dereceleri ne orandadır?

	Çok etkili	Orta etkili	Az etkili	Etkisiz
a. Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar	()	()	()	()
b. Memurlar	()	()	()	()
c. Tüccarlar	()	()	()	()
d. İşçiler	()	()	()	()
e. Sanayiciler	()	()	()	()
f. Doktor Mühendis ve Avukatlar	()	()	()	()
g. Köylüler	()	()	()	()
h. Politikacılar	()	()	()	()
ı. Askerler	()	()	()	()
j. Din adamları	()	()	()	()
k. Yönetici ve üst-düzey bürokratlar	()	()	()	()
l. Gazeteci	()	()	()	()
m. Bilim adamları	()	()	()	()
n. Başka	()	()	()	()

266. Toplumumuzda eğitim, sağlık ve askeri harcamaların miktarları hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?

	Çok az	Fena değil	Yeterli	Biraz fazla	Çok fazla	Bilmiyor
Eğitim	()	()	()	()	()	()
Sağlık	()	()	()	()	()	()
Askeri	()	()	()	()	()	()
Spor	()	()	()	()	()	()

Önemli Görülen Sorun ve Çözümü

267. Sizce ülkemiz için en önemli üç sorun nedir? Bunların size göre çözümlerinin neler olduğunu belirtir misiniz?

	Sorunlar	Çözümleri
Birinci		
İkinci		
Üçüncü		

Politik Tutum ve Davranış

268. Kendinizi siyasi yelpazenin neresinde görüyor ve kendinizi nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz? Sosyal demokrat, muhafazakar gibi.....

269. Kendinizi hangi partiye daha yakın görüyorsunuz?

270. Bir partiyi desteklemek için onda aradığınız özellikler nelerdir?

271. Genel seçimlerde oyunuzu verirken neye dikkat edersiniz?

*** 1() Parti-kadro
2() Aday
3() Parti ve aday

272. Yerel seçimlerde oyunuzu verirken neye dikkat edersiniz?

273. Son genel seçimde oyunuzu hangi partiye verdiniz?

274. Şimdi seçim yapılırsa oyunuzu hangi partiye verirsiniz?.....

275. Son yerel seçimde oyunuzu hangi partiye verdiniz?

Arkadaşlık, Akrabalık, Komşuluk ve Hemşehrilik ilişkileri

276. Şimdi size en yakın üç kişinin işlerine ve eşlerinin işlerine ilişkin bilgi verir misiniz?

*** TABLO:4 doldurulacak

277. Borcunuz var mı? 1() Evet 2() Hayır

278. Varsa, kime/nereye?

279. Ortak bir iş kuruyor olsanız kiminle olsun istersiniz (Yakınlık derecenizi lütfen belirtiniz)

280. Önemli bir sıkıntınız olduğunda aile üyeleri dışında kiminle dertleşir veya yardım alırsınız?.....

281. Akraba yada hemşehrilerinizin yoğunlaştığı belli bir iş kolu var mı?
1()Var 2() Yok

282. Varsa, hangi iş kolu?.....

Kültürel ve Toplumsal Yaşam

283. Elinizde imkanlarınız olsa boş zamanlarınızı nasıl değerlendirmeyi düşünürsünüz?
.....

284. Boş zamanlarınızda aşağıda belirtilen toplumsal etkinliklerden en çok hangisine katılırsınız?

1() Sinema 2() Tiyatro
3() Futbol Maçı 4() Düğün
5() Piknik 6() Kahvehane
7() Başka.....

285. Tatil yaparmısınız?
1() Evet 2() Hayır —> (289'a git)

286. Evet ise, tatillerde nereye gidersiniz?
.....

287. En son ne zaman tatile gittiniz?

288. Nereye gittiniz?.....

TABLO: 4

(En çok görüülen akraba ve arkadaşlara ilişkin bilgi)

Yakınlık Akraba/ Arkadaş	Cin- iyet K / E	Şu andaki işlerine ilişkin bilgi				Geçmişteki işlerine ilişkin bilgi				Eşlerin işlerine ilişkin bilgi			
		İşi	Statü	Ücretli Sayı	Başkasına Çalışıyorsa	İşi	Statü	Ücretli Sayı	Başkasına Çalışıyorsa	İşi	Statü	Ücretli Sayı	Başkasına Çalışıyorsa
.kişi													
.kişi													
.kişi													

1

- 1 () Kendi hesabına çalışan 4 () Parça başı iş (evde)
2 () Başkasının yanında ücretli çalışan 5 () Parça başı iş (dışarıda)
3 () Aile içinde ücret almadan çalışan 6 () Başka

289. Gündelik gazeteleri okur musunuz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır
290. Okuduğunuz gündelik gazete veya gazeteler var mı?
1() Evet 2() Hayır
291. Varsa, hangisi/hangileri?.....
.....
292. Dergi okur musunuz? 1() Evet 2() Hayır
293. Evet ise, hangi dergiler?.....
294. Evinizde en fazla hangi tür müzik istenerek dinlenir?
.....
295. Günde yaklaşık kaç saat televizyon izlersiniz?
296. Televizyonda en çok hangi programları izliyorsunuz?
.....
.....
297. Ne tür filmleri izlemekten hoşlanırsınız?
1() Yerli
2() Yabancı
298. Hangi tür ve içerikteki filmleri tercih edersiniz?.....
.....

ANKETÖRÜN DOLDURACAĞI BÖLÜM

Mahallenin adı:

Anketi yapan:

Anketin yapıldığı gün:.....

Anketin tamamlanma süresi:

Ankete herhangi bir karışmanın olup olmadığı:

Karışma olduysa, kimlerin nasıl karıştığı:

Anketin yapılışı sırasında kesintiye uğrayıp uğramadığı:

Kesintiye uğradı ise, neden ve ne kadar sürelerle kesildiği :

Anket yapılırken, anketin yapıldığı yerde bulunanlar kimlerdi?

Anketörün görüşleri:

Anket yapılan kişi hakkında:

Görüştüğünüz aileyi, toplumsal ve ekonomik özellikleri açısından açıklayınız; önemli gördüğünüz noktaları aktarınız?

Görüştüğünüz kişi/aile görüşmeye nasıl bir yakınlık ve istekle katıldılar?.....

Tekrar görüşmeyi kabul ederler mi?.....

Ne kadar istekle tekrar görüşmeyi kabul ederler?.....

CURRICULUM VITAE

Hayriye Erbař was born in 1958. She has graduated from Department of Sociology of Faculty of Letter in Ankara University, in 1982. She has achieved the degree of Master of Sociology from METU, with a thesis on "Social Relations and Attitudes Towards Works among Industrial Workers." She has been working as a research assistant in department of sociology Ankara, since 1984. She teaches the courses about "contemporary sociological theory" and "industrial sociology." She has also translated Margaret Poloma's book, "Contemporary Sociological Theory," (1978, MacMillan) under the name of "Çağdař Sosyoloji Kuramları" (1993, Ankara: Gündođan Yayınları). She has also participated into survey researchers other than his own Dissertation at various stages of work.