

**THE ROLE OF TELEVISION IN RURAL WOMEN'S EVERYDAY LIFE:
THE CASE OF TOPAKLI VILLAGE**

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF TELEVISION IN RURAL WOMEN'S EVERYDAY LIFE: THE CASE OF TOPAKLI VILLAGE

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This study aims to examine the role of television in rural women's everyday life experiences in terms of information, socialization, identification and entertainment. The focus is on rural women's experiences with a feminist perspective conducting an ethnographic study using the methods of in-depth-interviews, survey, participant observation and group discussions in Topaklı village. The findings of the study is the role of television as an information source for rural women and it's role on rural women's socialization process.

Keywords: Television, Rural Women, Everyday Life, Feminism, Turkey

ÖZ

TELEVİZYONUN KÖYDEKİ KADINLARIN GÜNDELİK YAŞAMLARINDAKİ ROLÜ: TOPAKLI KÖYÜ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışma televizyonun kırsal kadının gündelik yaşamındaki deneyimlerini bilgilenme, toplumsallaşma, özdeşleşme ve eğlence kavramları açısından incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Temel odak, feminist bir perspektiften kırsal kadının deneyimidir. Bu çalışmada, derinlemesine görüşme, anket, katılımcı gözlem ve grup tartışmaları yöntemleri kullanılarak Topaklı Köyü'nde etnografik bir araştırma yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın bulguları, televizyonun kırsal kadın için bir bilgi kaynağı olarak kullanımı ve kırsal kadının sosyalizasyon sürecindeki rolüdür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Televizyon, Kırsal Kadın, Gündelik Yaşam, Feminizm, Türkiye

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To my family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The starting point of this study is to understand what rural women get from the TV news, serials, entertainment programmes, foreign films etc. in terms of information, socialization, identification and entertainment. The study seeks an answer to whether TV makes rural people feel like excluded from the society.

There are communication studies showing that television is related with the domestic sphere and consumption. Obviously, both the concepts of the 'domestic sphere' and 'consumption' have widely varying forms in the village and in the city. Thus, in this study, I will examine the role of television in rural women's lives.

...The position of the audience, and our capacity to make sense of that position in a changing world, still depends on its location within the public and private structures of everyday life. And our understanding of those structures and the practices that both sustain and change them is still a precondition for understanding the process of mass media and mass communication.

The politics of everyday life, then, consists in the uneven relationship of public and private spheres: of agency, modernity and domesticity. It is a politics mediated and translated through consumption.¹

However, although these studies enable us to see the role of television in everyday life, there is a gap in studies in that the majority of them handled the situation from the

¹ Silverstone, R. *Television and Everyday Life*. Routledge 1994, p.176

aspect of city population, not from that of rural population. This invisibility of the rural population in communication studies is the starting point of the study.

Most of the programmes, the news and the serials in television are about people who are living in cities. There is no doubt that there are exceptions. Some programmes focus on the rural population, or films and serials which feature village stories, but generally speaking, it seems that the urban population is the natural target group for TV producers. As it is known the only financial support for TV productions is from advertising (except the state owned TV channel TRT); the ratings are used to give an idea to the companies which will pay for the advertisements on TV commercials. As Ian Ang stated; “ratings are the most conspicuous products of a large-scale enterprise called ‘audience measurement’...Rating reports are offered as a regular service to the television industry and whoever else is interested enough to pay for it.” Naturally, the relation between advertisements, consumption and TV determine the target group of these programmes. It can be argued why the people who are living in villages don’t seem to be the target group for TV programme producers; indeed, they constitute a large portion of the profile watching all these programmes. I found this large rural group of people, which constitutes 35% of the Turkish population, worth studying. My focus is on rural women’s experiences with a feminist perspective. When I consider the relationship between television, domesticity and women, I found it meaningful to study on rural women and television as a subject. As it is pointed out in Stevenson’s² study, one function of the television is that it “may allow us to go travelling without leaving home”; for the rural women this function is important when we consider their limited relation with the public sphere.

When we think of ‘the domestic sphere’ and the rural area, it is quite different from the city; the rural women’s life is more dependent on domestic life. The ‘New Audience Studies’ stream emphasised the importance of understanding individuals in the social

² Stevenson, N. *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication*. Sage Publications, 1995 p.141

context of their everyday domestic lives. I think that it is important to take the rural women as a group apart from the women living in city since rural women's living conditions as regards production and reproduction relations due to the agricultural structure and their relation with the concepts of public and private sphere reveal differences from the women's living conditions in city.

In this study, I will not try to find some solutions, or exact answers, but I will try to better understand the situation of rural women watching the television. In order to understand this, I made a field research in Topaklı village in Ankara, Turkey. I interviewed women who lived there before the advent of the television. I tried to get a picture of their everyday life activities before and after television. I also interviewed young women who are in ages 15 –24 and compared the older and younger women's everyday life experiences. This study is not an effect study but an ethnographic audience study with a feminist point of view. My focus is on what rural women get from television, how they interpret it, television's role in their socialization, gender roles, and their everyday life.

Although it is not so easy to analyze the role of television in one's life, it is obvious that it plays a role in the life of everyone who watches it. As van Zoonen indicated; "people who watch television for hours on end will tend to replace their own social experience with that of television reality, resulting in a television view of the world."³ It is one of the main topics of debates among the academicians studying 'the effects of media'. There are no clear answers or solutions for analyzing the role of the media on people's lives, but rather, different approaches which combine the classical theories and the critical media theories. It would be appropriate to speak of the main questions asked in media studies.

- 'Why do people watch television?'

³ van Zoonen, L. *Feminist Media Studies*. Sage Publications, London. 1994

- 'Are the audiences passive or active while watching the television?'
- 'Is it possible to analyze the effect of television on the audiences?'
- 'How do audiences use and interpret gendered media texts?'
- 'What is the role of the media in gender construction?'

Consequently, in this study, I've searched for the answers to the above questions as well as the question of 'What is the rural women's perception of the media texts and its role in their everyday life, as opposed to that of the women living in the city?'.

In chapter two, Marxist media theories, empirical media theories and feminist media theories explain the basis of this study. The theories are explained in a historical order in order to give a general opinion for the development of media and audience studies. Furthermore, this chapter offers some important points of postmodernist theories on media for this study.

Chapter three explains the theories on rural women and agriculture in three topics: i) theories on women in agriculture; ii) agriculture in Turkey; and iii) women in agriculture in Turkey. These theories enabled us to understand the everyday life of rural women. Furthermore, they showed that the agricultural structure in Turkey was based on women's labour, which is crucial for this study.

Chapter four explains the methodology of this study based on feminist methodology and the methodology of ethnographic media study. The methodology of this study is crucial for analysing the data and conducting the research.

In chapter five, the data derived from the in-depth-interviews, group discussions, survey and participant observation were analysed and also the general characteristics of the

village and the everyday life of women in Topaklı village were explained. The role of television in rural women's life considering its relation with the concepts of 'sexual division of labour', 'social relations', 'individuality', 'migration', and the advantages and the disadvantages of the television for Topaklı women were analysed in order to show a general picture of the role of the television in rural women's everyday life. The final chapter is conclusion where the findings of the study were evaluated.

CHAPTER 2

MEDIA THEORIES

In this chapter I will take those media theories important for my research, along with their discussions, in a historical order. I think it is not possible to have only one point of view, while making an ethnographic media study, so I will try to combine different theories in order to understand an existing situation such as 'rural women's everyday life in relation with television'. As I began to understand their everyday life practices, I tried to see the various concepts, theories, and approaches to media, women and rural women. As Roger Silverstone indicated; the history of mass communication research has been continuously sustained and informed by concerns with its effects on audiences – on their moral, political and economic lives.⁴ So, it can be argued that all these approaches have different perspectives but the common side of all is their research on the effect of the media. However some theories rejects the approach of 'effect' in audience studies, it turns to be the 'reception study' where the audience is active, but the researches again tries to find out the audience – television relationship covering the concepts of impact, effect, reception, and explores what do the audiences get from television.

I will start with the cultural studies and Marxist approach to media, then I will explain the empiricist tradition in media research and I will explain the post modernist approach

⁴ Silverstone, R. *Television and everyday life: towards an anthropology of the television audience* in Ferguson, M. (ed.) *Public Communication: The New Imperatives*. London: Sage Pub. 1990, p. 173 – 90

to media since most of the feminist media studies and cultural studies include postmodernism and I will explain the feminist media theories which challenge to the other media theories as well as all the feminist theories that they are gender blind. Feminist media theories reveal and criticise the representation of women in media texts different from men, and women audiences' perceptions different than men which was ignored in the classical media theories.

2.1. Marxist Approach on Cultural Effects of Media

In the 1930s, scholars in Europe attacked what they called mass culture. In Europe the Marxist scholars Herbert Marcuse and Theodor Adorno of the Frankfurt School despised popular forms, arguing that Marxist revolution could never come to fruition because mass culture would effectively numb the critical faculties of the ordinary mind. Mass or popular culture, which included forms such as television and cinema, were thought to be debased, barbaric forms which dulled the senses of the proletariat. Such forms could never aspire to be called art; they were commercial, mass-produced within industrial constraints and contexts, and could never contain the personal vision and virtues of 'true' art.⁵ The Marxist view is referred to by a variety of terms. Fairly common are the terms 'critical' and 'radical'. In Britain and Europe, Marxist approaches to the mass media and more generally, to culture as a whole ('cultural studies') were dominant from the mid '60s to the mid 80s.

Generally, the Marxian view of media influence depends on an understanding of the notion of ideology. Whereas liberalism argues that the mass media have an essential role to play in the maintenance of free speech, Marxism charges that unequal social relations have helped form ideological images and representations of society.⁶ At its

⁵ Kellner, D. *Television and the Frankfurt School* in Miller, T. (ed.) *Television Studies* British Film Institute 2002, p.17

⁶ Stevenson, N. *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication*. Sage Publications 1995, p. 9

most basic level, the ideology approach attempts to analyze how dominant social groups are able to reproduce their social and economic power.

Ideological approaches to the media are concerned, with revealing the ways in which the media assist in the maintenance of ideas and beliefs that work to reproduce the existing social order and the dominance of the ruling class. This has led to two types of media analysis. First, one that looks at the content of the media and how it works ideologically to reinforce dominant ideas and beliefs, and second, one that concentrates its focus of analysis on the economic structure of the media industries and investigates their position within the broader capitalist system.⁷

Ideology not only constitutes our symbolic relation with the real, but converts human beings into subjects. Ideology lets individuals mistakenly recognise themselves as self-determining agents, whereas in fact subjects are formed through linguistic and psychic processes.⁸ Study of the media started with 'the effect studies' of the Frankfurt School in the 1930s associated with work by scholars such as Adorno, Marcuse and Horkheimer. The Frankfurt School developed a critical and transdisciplinary approach to cultural and communications studies, combining critique of the political economy of the media, analysis of texts, and audience reception studies of the social and ideological effects of mass culture and communications. The critical theorists analysed all mass-mediated cultural artefacts within the context of industrial production, in which the commodities of the culture industries exhibited the same features as other products of mass production: commodification, standardisation and massification. They were the first social theorists to see the importance of what they called the 'culture industries' in the reproduction of contemporary societies, in which so-called mass culture and communications stand in the centre of leisure activity, are important agents of socialisation, mediators of political reality, and should thus be seen as major institutions of contemporary societies with a variety of economic, political, cultural and social effects.

⁷ Lisa Taylor and Andrew Willis *Media Studies: Texts, Institutions and Audiences*. Blackwell Publisher 1999, p.30

⁸ Stevenson, N. p.37

They theorized that social disintegration left people vulnerable to propaganda. It was a time when the cinema was being used for propaganda by Hitler. Before Hitler, it became obvious that the cinema has a strong effect on public opinion with Lenin, and the success of the Russian Revolution. Now it was Germany's turn to win the war with the help of propagandist cinema. The theorists were interested in how society could be so affected by the cinema that Hitler didn't meet resistance from the German public about his policies. They theorized that social disintegration left people vulnerable to propaganda. As they were the victims of European fascism, the Frankfurt School experienced first hand the ways that the Nazis used the instruments of mass culture to produce submission to fascist culture and society. While in exile in the United States, the members of the Frankfurt School came to believe that American 'popular culture' was also highly ideological and worked to promote the interests of American capitalism.⁹

The Frankfurt School promoted a 'hypodermic model' of media effects whereby messages were directly absorbed into the hearts and minds of the people (rather like a drug injected directly into the bloodstream).¹⁰ Experimental researchers of that time, whose surveys were heavily influenced by social psychology, worked in an atmosphere where advertising and the political propaganda that maintained the communist regime in Russia as well as the fascist states in Italy and Germany, seemed to be extremely influential. It was in this context that the 'hypodermic' model was developed. The Frankfurt School analysis was a radical critique of mass culture, demonstrating the crucial significance of the media in forming social consciousness and defining the limits of change under late capitalism.

According to Adorno, mass art was just a commodity to be sold, its technique designed solely to manipulate consumers through pre-digested formulas and calculated effects

⁹ Miller, T., p.5

¹⁰ Kitzinger, J. *Impacts and Influences in The Media: An Introduction*. Edited by: Adam Briggs, Paul Cobley. Pearson Education Publish 2002, p.86

rather than any concern for artistic form or truth content. Culture is commodified. For the theorists of the Frankfurt School, not only does the ideology of elites become a social fact of everyday living for the vast majority of ordinary people, but so also do the standardization of ideas and imagery and, eventually, the commercialization of public discourse.

When it comes to television, Adorno sees its power working at multiple levels simultaneously. At one level, what he terms “the multi-layered story structure,” television serves as a “technological means” for the culture industry to “handle” the audience, because, Adorno says, the way in which the story depicts people and their social actions becomes the way in which the viewer understands people and their social actions.¹¹

The approach of the theorists of the Frankfurt School combines Marxian critique of political economy with ideology critique, textual analysis and psychoanalytically inspired depth-approaches to audiences and effects. Marcuse saw television as part of an apparatus of administration and domination in a one-dimensional society. In his words ‘with the control of information, with the absorption of individuals into mass communication, knowledge is administered and confined.’ Following the Frankfurt School analysis of changes in the nature of socialisation, Herbert Marcuse noted, in *Eros and Civilization* (1955), the decline of the family as the dominant agent of socialization and the rise of the mass media, like radio and television:

The repressive organization of the instincts seems to be *collective*, and the ego seems to be prematurely socialized by a whole system of extra-familial agents and pattern for conformity and rebellion; deviations from the pattern are punished not so much in the family as outside and against the family. The experts of the mass media transmit the required values; they offer the perfect training in efficiency, toughness, personality, dream andromance. With this education, the family can no longer compete.¹²

¹¹ Lembo, R. *Thinking Through Television* Cambridge University Press 2000, p.21

¹² Kellner, D. p.19

In his writings, Althusser tried to understand how societies reproduced their social formations by expanding Marxist theory. He challenged the view that everything in society could be reduced purely to the economic, arguing for an approach that took twentieth-century changes in the state and social institutions into account.¹³ There are many different institutions in society which socialise people into acceptance of the dominant ideas and values. The mass media are one such institution. In his influential essay, 'Ideology and the ideological state apparatuses' (1971) Althusser argued that the social relations necessary to uphold capitalist production were maintained by what he called ideological state apparatuses (ISAs).¹⁴ According to him, the ISAs are: the religious ISA, the educational ISA, the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA, the trade-union ISA, the communications ISA (the mass media) and the cultural ISA (literature, the arts, sports, entertainment etc.) Althusser's influence can be traced across a wide range of cultural and political studies, including literature, film, psychoanalysis and political theory.¹⁵ According to him, it was through an understanding of the workings of ideology in everyday life, or lived experience, that earlier Marxist views could be challenged. What an ideological analysis of the media, influenced by Althusser's thinking, attempts to reveal is how certain ideas and beliefs are legitimized and 'made real' through their media representations.¹⁶ It occurs not only in factual media texts, but also in fictional ones.

Another approach to media and audience relation is Stuart Hall's encoding-decoding model of the early 1970s. He is known as a founder member of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Hall and others opened out the agenda for an empirical audience research programme which focused on the different social and

¹³ Taylor and Willis, p.31

¹⁴ *ibid.* p.31

¹⁵ Elliott, G. *Althusser: The Detour of Theory*, London, Verso 1987 cited in Stevenson, N. *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication*. Sage Publications 1995, p.37

¹⁶ Taylor and Willis, p.31

discursive positioning of various subcultures as interpretative communities.¹⁷ Influenced by Eco, Hall incorporated elements of reception-aesthetics into his neo-Marxist account of popular culture, proposing that 'the degrees of 'understanding' and 'misunderstanding' in the communicative exchange - depend on the degrees of symmetry/ asymmetry (relations of equivalence) established between the positions of the 'personifications', encoder/producer and decoder/receiver.'¹⁸ In this view, mass communication is understood as a circuit of articulated practices - production, circulation, reception, reproduction - each of which represents a site of meaning-making. Hall used the methods of textual and linguistic analysis drawing from Saussure's writing on the arbitrary nature of linguistic sign. According to Saussure, language is a system of signs.

Signs are made up of signifiers (marks on paper or sounds in the air) and a signified - the mental concept referred to. Hence the word 'newspaper' when spoken has a certain sound (signifier) and the signified is arbitrary. For Saussure the relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary. By this means that there is no necessary tie, other than convention, between the word 'newspaper' and the object signified.¹⁹

For Stuart Hall, media texts are encoded by the producers' ideological point of view and decoded by the audience's reception dependent upon cultural and political dispositions. Because of the polysemic nature of the meaning, the decoded texts are not encoded by the audience symmetrically. Hall argues that discourses have dominant meanings that structure the meaning of the message.

An ideological meaning is dependent on the fact that there are not an infinite number of readings suggested by the text. In concentrating on the ideology of the text, Hall is

¹⁷ Tulloch, J. *Watching Television Audiences: Cultural Theories & Methods*. Arnold Publications, London. 2000, p.6

¹⁸ Hall, S.. *Encoding/Decoding*. in S.Hall et al.(eds.) *Culture, Media Language*. London: Hutchinson 1980 quoted in Sonia Livingstone *The Changing Nature of Audiences in A Companion to Media Studies* ed.Anghorad N. Valdivia Blackwell Publishing 2003.

¹⁹ Stevenson, N. p. 41

privileging the message in the construction of subjectivity.²⁰ Mass media tend to offer us a 'preferred reading' of 'social reality' along with inbuilt cultural assumptions that are related to the distribution of power in economic, cultural, ethnic and gender terms. The media can be said to 'construct' social reality.²¹ Hall argues that there are three decodings that the audiences produce: dominant, oppositional and negotiated. The dominant or preferred reading is the position which accepts the encoding inscribed by the media. People who make oppositional readings directly contest the text's message recognizing, for example, 'every mention of the "national interest" as "class interest"'.²² The negotiated reading, which Hall claims is the most frequently taken up by audiences, lies somewhere between the dominant and the oppositional positions. Readers who make negotiated readings do not merely accept dominant readings, but nor do they completely reject them either. They might, for example, find the dominant version does not concur with their own experiences.²³ For Hall, the readers' or the audiences' negotiation of the media texts is determined by their position in the social structure, which is determined by the social class. In Gramsci's terms, ideological domination is never complete; there is always a struggle over the media agenda as a means of influencing public thinking. In the continuous struggle for hegemony the media are crucial. He also moved the study of ideology away from the Marxist emphasis on class to questions of race, gender and ethnicity. Following from this idea David Morley and Charlotte Brunson made a study in 1980 in which groups of people interpreted given episodes of the programme *Nationwide*. In their study, they discuss television viewing in the context of domestic life.

Television viewing may be a 'privatised' form of activity, by comparison with cinema-going for example, but it is still largely conducted within, rather

²⁰ *ibid.* p.41

²¹ Mc Quail, D.(ed) *Mc Quail's Reader in Mass Communication Theory*. Sage Publications 2000, p.11

²² Hall, S. *Encoding/Decoding*. in S.Hall et al.(eds.) *Culture, Media Language*. London: Hutchinson. quoted in Taylor and Willis 1980, p. 172.

²³ Taylor and Willis, p.172.

than outside of, social relations – in this case the social relations of the family or household.²⁴

Morley used the encoding/decoding model to demonstrate the differences that social position makes to the interpretation of the programme and to the perception of its ideological status.²⁵ Following Hall, the process of meaning generation, as Morley argues, is dependent upon the internal structure of the television message (semiotics) and the cultural background of the viewer (sociology). The ‘meaning’ of *Nationwide* is the product of the preferred reading offered by the text and the cultural dispositions of the audience.²⁶ The finding of Morley’s research was that there were clear differences between people in uses of the media in their everyday lives depending on their gender. He found that men tended to prefer factual programmes, such as news and sports, while women preferred fiction soaps and other drama series.

If we raise the question of audience interpretation of messages, we are already rejecting the assumption that the media are institutions whose messages automatically have an effect on us as their audience. As against that assumption, I am raising to the central place in my analysis the question of how we make sense of the world that the media offer to us. This is to pose our activity in our sitting- rooms, watching the television, as an active process of decoding or interpretation, not simply a passive process of ‘reception’ or ‘consumption’ of messages.²⁷

The results of the study generally supported Hall’s ideas; however, it is revealed that the diagnostic of the audience’s perception is not only the social class. Morley had reaffirmed his preference for the sender–message– receiver model of what he calls ‘communications’ and the semiotics–sociology media analysis proposed by Fiske (Figure 1). His preferred

²⁴ Morley, D. *Family Television: cultural power and domestic leisure*, London: Comedia 1986, p.14

²⁵ Nightingale, V. *Studying Audiences: The Shock of the Real*. Routledge 1996, p.49

²⁶ Stevenson, N. p.79

²⁷ Morley, D. *Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies*, London: Routledge 1992, p. 76

audience–text research strategy can be presented diagrammatically in the following way:²⁸

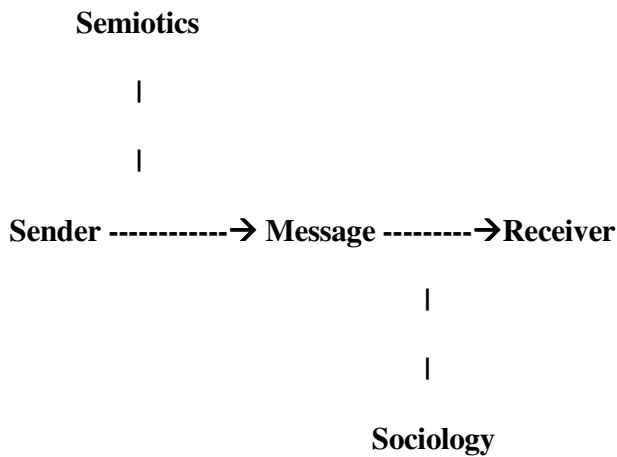


Figure 1 Audience Text Research Strategy

This study provided some of the earliest indication of the value of cultural studies for understanding television and its use as a component of cultural practice. The theorization of audience members as active meaning makers was particularly important to the assumptions and interests of feminist scholars. Much of this work drew techniques and theories from anthropology, such as the use of ethnography.²⁹ Stuart Hall's encoding-decoding model serves as a framework to order the different subjects and themes covered by feminist media theory and research. The central problematic of the model involves the construction of meaning in media discourse which is presupposed to take the place at different 'moments' in the process.³⁰

In my study, I will not make a textual analysis of the TV programmes watched by rural

²⁸ Nightingale, V. 1995, p.101

²⁹ Amanda D. Lotz and Sharon Marie Ross *Bridging Media - Specific Approaches: The value of feminist television criticism's synthetic approach* in *Feminist Media Studies* Vol.4 No.2 Routledge 2004, p.189

³⁰ van Zoonen, L. p. 8

women, but will try to find the different attitudes and perceptions of women who watch the same programmes as an active viewer. I will also try to find out its role in the domestic life with its relation to private and public life considering the situation of rural women. As Ann Gray stated in her article on 'Television in the Home', that television is a domestic medium.

Television is placed, watched and used within different kinds of domestic settings across the globe, and as such presents itself as an important and constitutive part of national domestic. Television is also important in that it brings the public into the private domain. It is then, at its core, a contradictory medium. It offers a 'window on the world' for those in the sitting room while bringing that world into the familiar, the domestic, the everyday.³¹

The importance of this statement for this study is that the television *brings the public into the private domain* for rural women that their access to the public sphere is very limited, different from the most of the women living in the city.

2.2. The Empiricist Tradition in Media Studies

This approach derives from empirical psychology and it uses the traditional survey methods to evaluate the political attitudes of audiences. The main interest is on the media effects and the behaviours of the audiences.

In 1955, Katz and Lazarsfeld developed the two-step flow model of communication, in which they signified the role of 'opinion leaders' and interpersonal relationships in the mediation of media messages. With this approach, the concept of 'audience interpretation' was used for the first time. As a result of his research, Lazarsfeld concluded that the media actually have quite limited effects on the audiences. The findings of Lazarsfeld and Katz also had an influence on the work of Klapper, who

³¹ Gray, A. *Television in the Home*. in Miller, T. (ed.) *Television Studies*. British Film Institute 2002, p.104

studied on the 'limited effects' approach. In *The Effects of Mass Communication (1960)* he argued that there was a series of mediating factors which impinged on media effects: selective exposure, perception and retention of media messages, as well as group processes and norms, including factors such as opinion leadership.³² "The idea of this is that whatever our experience of the media we will be likely to discuss it with others and if we respect their opinion, the chances are that we will be more likely to be affected by it. (The theory calls these people opinion leaders)".³³ By the end of this phase of effects research in the late 1950s, it was concluded that the media were not the sole cause of audience effects.³⁴ In the 1960s and 1970s, debates among academic audience researchers focused on the research methods, and which one of them should be used, such as quantitative or qualitative, experimental or interpretative approaches.

'Questions of influence and effect tend to assume that the audience is 'passive or more than the recipient of a message produced elsewhere. Critical media scholars sought to challenge this (implicit) view, by arguing the case of audiences as meaning producers. Some proposed that audiences have agendas of their own that direct their media consumption (the uses and gratifications approach), but stayed within the (dominant) social- scientific framework.'³⁵

This approach argues that, there are two steps in as well as the content of the media messages constitutes the first step of the 'flow' the opinion leaders carry the second step to direct the individuals in what way to be affected.

Another approach in the effects research is the 'cultivation theory'. In 1967, George Gerbner and his team conducted research into the effect studies by carrying out cultivation analysis. Gerbner tried to find out how the television shaped people's thoughts

³²Taylor and Willis, p.158

³³Baker, S. *Audiences*. Internet. Available from <http://www.stevewlb.zen.co.uk/contents.HTM>

³⁴Taylor and Willis, p.158

³⁵ Hermes, J. *Active audiences in The Media: An Introduction*. Edited by: Adam Briggs, Paul Copley. Pearson Education Publish 2002.

and sought to understand television's overall impact. His work was based on a conceptualization of culture which involves a concern with long-term effects and changes in values and beliefs. They tried to find out the changes in people's attitudes brought about by television. For Gerbner, television has become the primary common source of socialization and everyday information.

The longer we live with television, the more invisible it becomes. As the number of people who have never lived without television continues to grow, the medium is increasingly taken for granted as an appliance, a piece of furniture, a storyteller, a member of the family.³⁶

Television provides, perhaps for the first time since preindustrial religion, a daily ritual of highly compelling and informative content that forms a strong cultural link between elites and the rest of the population.³⁷ For him, the similarity between the television and religion is that each defines the world and legitimizes the social order. The long-term effect of the television is named the cultivation process, but there is a differentiation between light and heavy viewers in the same demographic subgroups affected by the television.

The ubiquity of television makes it very difficult to separate its influence from other equally plausible sources of influence such as personal experience or information, representations and images from other media but, given this ubiquity and the fact that everyone watches some television, then small but consistent variations in attitudes and their correlation with intensity and density of viewing must be significant.³⁸ The more, people watch television, the more they are affected and the more they are cultivated. For Gerbner, everybody is affected by the television. "Even light viewers live in the same

³⁶ G.Gerbner et al. *Living with Television: The Dynamics of the Cultivation Process*. in J. Bryant and D. Zillmann. *Perspectives on Media Effect* Lawrence Erlbaum 1986.

³⁷ Gerbner.G. p. 18

³⁸ Silverstone, R. *Television and everyday life*. Routledge, 1994.

cultural environment as most others, and what they do not get through the tube can be acquired indirectly from others who do watch television. Therefore, the discovery of a systematic pattern of even small but pervasive differences between light and heavy viewers may indicate far-reaching consequences”³⁹ According to the cultivation theory, years and years of watching more violence will make the viewer less sensitive to violence, years and years of watching women being mistreated in soaps will make her/him less bothered about it in real life.⁴⁰

Gerbner was certainly interested in how the ideology of television’s message system could shape the thoughts, feelings, and actions of viewers, and he used the logic of variable analysis to measure it.⁴¹ His primary analytical concern was the institutional power of television to generate ideology. The method he used in his analysis was content analysis of media texts and surveys with the audiences. Most of his studies are on the violence on TV and its effects on children.

In 1974, Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann carried out a piece of research named ‘spiral of silence’. She investigated the spiral of silence theory using perceived vote outcomes as well as actual voting behaviour. The first major hypothesis was that those who see their position will be more likely to discuss it, while those who see their position on the losing side will be less likely to discuss. This theory was supported by the results of the survey which was conducted by Noelle-Neumann. As Noelle-Neumann indicated in her article⁴² the following theses are central to their argument and method:

1. As social beings, most people are afraid of becoming isolated from their environment.

³⁹ Gerbner, G. p. 21

⁴⁰ Baker, S. *Audiences*. Internet. Available from <http://www.stevewlb.zen.co.uk/contents.HTM>

⁴¹ Lembo, R. *Thinking Through Television*. Cambridge University Press. 2000.

⁴² Noelle-Neumann, E. *Turbulences in the Climate of Opinion: Methodological Applications of the Spiral of Silence Theory in Public Opinion Quarterly*, summer 77, vol41 Issue2 1977, p.143

They would like to be popular and respected.

2. In order to avoid becoming isolated and in order not to lose popularity and esteem, people constantly observe their environment very closely. They try to find out which opinions and modes of behavior are prevalent, and which opinions and modes of behavior are becoming more popular. They behave and express themselves accordingly in public.

3. We can distinguish between fields where the opinions and attitudes involved are static, and fields where those opinions and attitudes are subject to changes. where opinions are in flux or disputed, the individual will try to find out which opinion he can express without becoming isolated.

4. Individuals who, when observing their environments, notice that their own personal opinion is spreading and is taken over by others, will voice this opinion self-confidently in public. On the other hand, individuals who notice that their own opinions are losing ground will be inclined to adopt a more reserved attitude when expressing their opinions in public. The result is a spiral process which prompts other individuals to perceive the changes in opinion and to follow suit, until one opinion has become established as the prevailing attitude while the other opinion will be pushed back and rejected by everybody with the exception of the hard core that nevertheless sticks to that opinion.

Public opinion seems to achieve integration; the individuals trying to avoid isolation are ready to compromise, thereby furnishing society with some common ground which, as is generally acknowledged, is a condition for the society's survival.⁴³

Noelle-Neumann states that the tendency for some individuals to speak up and for others to remain silent starts a 'spiralling process' which increasingly establishes one opinion as the prevailing one. She believes that the media accelerate the muting of the minority in the spiral of silence. For her, the media researchers try to test for media effects in the

⁴³ Noelle-Neumann, E. *Public Opinion and the Classical Tradition: A Re-evaluation in Public Opinion Quarterly* 1979.

laboratory, but they cannot re-create the ‘ubiquity, consonance, and culmination’ that give TV its power.⁴⁴ She agrees with Stuart Hall’s assessment concerning the media’s intrusive role in democratic decision making. The media in general and television in particular not only tells us what to think about, they provide the sanctioned view of what everyone else is thinking. Therefore the individual actually gets the knowledge of prevailing events, thoughts, the most popular people, in other words, public opinion, from the television.⁴⁵ According to this theory the one who doesn’t share the same idea as the public becomes silent for fear of becoming isolated. So the television tells us when to speak and when to remain silent.

In this study, I will to find out how they use the television to become a part of the public, and which public, the village or the city. Maybe they use television just to be a part of the prevailing events in Turkey, then they become socialized as a citizen of this country. I will try to find some clues about this theory in my field-study.

The discussions about the active- passive audience began with the ‘uses and gratifications’ approach in the 1970s by Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch. The ‘Uses and gratifications’ approach asked ‘not what it is that the media do with people, but what do people do with the media’.⁴⁶ It was a challenge to the traditional media effects studies, which didn’t take the audiences into account. Uses and gratifications marked a realization that audiences were not empty vessels waiting to be filled with media messages. Instead, audiences selected what they wanted to see and hear because the media served a function for them and their selections gratified their needs for information. The audience for the

⁴⁴ Em Griffin *Spiral of Silence of Elisabeth Noelle – Neumann* available on www.afirstlook.com 1997.

⁴⁵ Noelle–Neumann, E. *The Effect of Media on Media Effects Research* in *Journal of Communication*, Vol.33, No.3, 1983, 99.157-165.

⁴⁶ McQuail,, D. *McQuail’s Mass Communication Theory*, 4th edn. London: Sage 2000 quoted in Hermes, J. *Active audiences: The Media: An Introduction*. by: Adam Briggs, Paul Cogley. Pearson Education Publish 2002.

first time was seen to choose, reject and assimilate aspects of the media.⁴⁷

Gurevitch (1974) summarized the 'uses and gratifications' approach, and presented its five principal assumptions:

- 1- That audience members are engaged in goal directed activity.
- 2- The initiative for linking need gratification with media choice lies with the audience member.
- 3- The media compete with other sources of need satisfaction and therefore should be understood in this context.
- 4- People are sufficiently self-aware to be able to report their interests and motives.
- 5- Audience orientations should be explored on their own terms in order to be able to differentiate the findings of 'uses and gratifications' research from 'much speculative writing about popular culture.'⁴⁸

This model has been criticized for not taking the content of media texts into account in its assessment of audience uses and gratifications.⁴⁹ Uses and gratifications research, on the other hand, has sought to substitute the idea of what measurable 'effects' the media have on audience with an analysis of the ways in which people use the media. This research, mostly pioneered by post-war social psychology, brought to the fore the notion that the audience's perceptions of messages could be radically different from the meanings intended by their producer(s).⁵⁰ For van Zoonen, this theory is a mechanistic functional model that an individual will recognize her own needs and want to satisfy them.

⁴⁷ Taylor and Willis, p. 160

⁴⁸ Nightingale, V. "The cultural Revolution in Audience Research". in *A Companion to Media Studies*. edited by: Anghorad N.Valdivia Blackwell Publishing. 2003, p.364

⁴⁹ Taylor and Willis, p. 162

⁵⁰ Stevenson, N. *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication*. Sage Publications, 1995.

Why does one turn to the media instead of other means to satisfy the need for entertainment, information or relaxation remains unclear. More fundamentally, the 'uses and gratifications' approach tends to focus on individual differences, attributing them to differences of personality and psychology and neglecting the social and cultural contexts in which media use takes place.⁵¹

This approach is used by the feminist scholars to understand why women watch television, and what they get. However, there were some limitations to this model and some of the scholars challenged this approach claiming that the needs which were gratified by the media were not apart from the dominant ideology's needs. For feminists, these needs were again both shaped and gratified by the media. This approach emphasizes the various meanings individual audience members glean from the media, but it suggests that those meanings arise from the personal and psychological differences of audience members. In this way, this approach denies the sociological location of audience members and tends to ignore the power relations which structure audience interpretations.⁵²

2.3. Postmodern Media Theories

From Marshall McLuhan's 'global village' to Baudrillard's postmodern world of the 'simulacra' and 'hyperreal', focusing on the globalising nature of the media and its 'contemporary' modes of representation has itself had a visibility within the academic field of media studies. McLuhan negotiates the emergence of postmodernity by using modernist methods to interpret identities and meanings uprooted from the essentialist foundations of Enlightenment rationality.⁵³ Baudrillard's discourse of the postmodern

⁵¹ Morley, D. *Changing paradigm in audience studies*, in E. Seiter, H. Borchers, G. Kreutzner and E. Warth (eds.), *Remote Control: Television, Audiences and Cultural Power*. London: Routledge 1989 quoted in Liesbet van Zoonen *Feminist Media Studies*. Sage Publications, London. 1994.

⁵² Spiegel, L. *Roundtable: Film Feminisms Theorizing the Bachelorette: 'Waves' of Feminist Media Studies* in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 30, no. 1 2004.

⁵³ available on: <http://www.wlu.ca>

has been very significant in media and cultural studies. For Baudrillard 'TV is the world' – a 'hyperreal' world where simulation dissolves social action in an endless flicker of images. Reality and signification fuse. For him, there could be no 'real' Gulf War, since it had already been played out simulation.'⁵⁴

John Fiske argues that the relationship between television and viewer is between television's texts and pleasures that audiences gain from them. Neither the audiences nor the texts are entirely disembodied from the world of hierarchical relations and political and economic interests, but neither are those relations or interests significantly material in affecting what he argues is the relative freedom of meanings to circulate in semiotic space.⁵⁵ In Fiske's view, the fact that there is such a wide variety of capitalist voices is in itself evidence of the successful resistance of the subordinate classes against the homogenising force of capitalist ideology. He argues that there is a relationship between the oral culture and the talk about the TV programmes in a social group.

Oral culture is responsive to and is part of its immediate community. It resists centralisation and the ideological control that goes with it, and it promotes cultural diversity. Like mass culture, it is highly conventional, talk and gossip is as clearly formulaic as any TV crime buster series, but the conventions of talk vary as widely as the social situations or social group within which that talk operates. Teenage girl talk differs from male worker talk, lounge room talk differs from public bar talk, and the differences are in the conventions. When this talk is about the cultural commodities distributed by the mass media, it works to activate and circulate meanings of the text that resonate with the cultural needs of that particular talk community.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Tulloch, J. p.20

⁵⁵ Silverstone, R. 1994 p.155

⁵⁶ Fiske, J. *TV: re-situating the popular in the people* in *Continuum: The Australian Journal of Media & Culture* vol. 1 no 2 1987.

The arguments of Meyrowitz are important for this study to define the relationship between the village, television and women. He indicates that 'the evolution of media has decreased the significance of physical presence in the experience of people and events'. Meyrowitz views television as a form of public communication that cuts across a variety of social spheres, redefining boundaries of social interaction. For him, television may not deepen our understanding of a variety of forms of life, but it at least offers a surface familiarity with others who do not share our immediate social locations.⁵⁷ Television, in effect, blurs relations of co-presence and distance. Meyrowitz also argues that the medium of television has unified the distinct social worlds that previously existed between the sexes and across generations. He also has pointed out that "media, like physical places, include and exclude participants. Media, like walls and windows, can hide and they can reveal. Media can create a sense of sharing and belonging or a feeling of exclusion and isolation. Television has effectively demystified the public sphere of work and politics from which women have traditionally been excluded."⁵⁸ This concept of 'exclusion' is also related with the women in the village, however the aim of this study is to understand the rural women's situation in this exclusion of women.

He argues , a particularly significant impact on gender identities and relationships since what is being brought into the home, and what the 'home' can now reach is the public world of men and masculinities. He assumes that there is a breaking down of boundaries – those between the sexes and those between public and private spaces. The home is no longer, if it ever was, the preserve of women, nor an unambiguously female domain.⁵⁹ However the concepts of 'private' and 'public' sphere are taken with it's relation to the rural women's everyday life, the arguments of Meyrowitz provides a framework to

⁵⁷ Meyrowitz, J. *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour*. New York, Oxford University Press 1985, p.58

⁵⁸ *ibid.* p.15

⁵⁹ Silverstone, R. 1994, p.30

analyze the situation of rural women since rural women are belonging to the private space generally.

2.4. Feminist Media Theories

Early 1970s' feminist film critics began to analyze the images of women (or lack thereof) that film offered, and their criticism focused on the stereotypical roles Hollywood presented. The 1980s provided a decade of rich debate, with feminist scholars immersing themselves in the theoretical underpinnings of psychoanalysis, semiotics, and structuralism.⁶⁰ Laura Mulvey's landmark essay in 1975, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", opened up debates about the politics of looking and recommended the use of psychoanalysis as a weapon against the patriarchal structures of Hollywood cinema.⁶¹

Feminist television studies began to develop from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s, when feminist cultural critics such as Angela McRobbie and Trish McCabe, Tania Modleski, Janice Radway, Ien Ang, Michelle Mattelart, and Patricia Mellencamp offered ways to think about why female-targeted genres like soaps, sitcoms, or romance novels are meaningful to so many women.⁶² By the mid- 1980s, a distinctive area of feminist television criticism, forged from feminist film theory, British cultural studies, and communication studies, became identifiable through theoretical approach, methodology, and critical assumptions. Evidence in the late 1990s in popular debates about the media shows that overwhelmingly the effects tradition is the preferred way of conceptualizing how audiences make sense of media texts. Barker and Petley in *Ill Effects: The Media / Violence Debate (1997)* announce in their introduction that the aim of the book is to challenge the dominance of the effects tradition in late twentieth-century debates about

⁶⁰ Amanda D. Lotz and Sharon Marie Ross, p.187

⁶¹ Spiegel, p.1209.

⁶² *ibid.* p.1210.

the media.⁶³ As van Zoonen revealed, the feminists tried to understand the relationship between the women programmes and the needs of women.

‘Some feminist inquiries have turned the question around and asked ‘what do women do with media?’, allowing for a variety of audience reactions. These studies seem to suggest that women actively and consciously seek particular types of gratification from mass media use. Soap operas, for instance, are said to satisfy the need for emotional release, identification, escape, companionship, information and relaxation. Such a ‘uses and gratifications’ perspective on media use has advantages over the earlier ‘effect models’ by raising the question of differential uses and interpretations of media output and its perception of the audience as active. It is still a somewhat mechanistic functional model, presuming that an individual will recognize her own needs and will seek a rational way to satisfy them.’⁶⁴

For van Zoonen, the new audience research assumes that the meaning of popular culture could be understood better if one would only ask the audience about their interpretations, use and experience. De Lauretis proposes that gender should be thought of as ‘the product of various social technologies, such as cinema, and of institutionalized discourses, epistemologies and critical practices, as well as practices of daily life’. Thus, media can be seen as (social) technologies of gender, accommodating, modifying, reconstructing and producing disciplining and contradictory cultural outlooks of sexual difference. The relation between gender and communication is therefore primarily a cultural one, a negotiation over meanings and values that inform whole ways of life.⁶⁵

The applied work on audiences and more complicated theorization of reception developed by British cultural studies expanded the utility of ideas about spectatorship emerging from feminist film studies. Communication studies’ emphasis on popular texts as vehicles of mass media and British cultural studies’ stress on everyday culture also converged in

⁶³ Taylor and Willis, p.163

⁶⁴ van Zoonen, L. p.36.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 41.

feminist television criticism in a highly productive manner.⁶⁶ The growing field of feminist cultural media studies offered different aspects of television for consideration. The feminist scholars tried to understand the gendered dynamics of viewing in domestic and public spaces, conducting ethnographic/ qualitative audience research, as well as historical studies. Theorization of audience members as active meaning makers drew techniques and theories from anthropology, such as the use of ethnography.

⁶⁶ Amanda D. Lotz and Sharon Marie Ross, p.192

CHAPTER 3

RURAL WOMEN IN TURKEY

In this chapter, it will be briefly explained the structure of Turkish agriculture, women in agriculture and women in agriculture in Turkey; in order to show the situation of rural woman in Turkey. The theories on rural women involving in the production and reproduction process in the village also reveals their position in front of the television in their everyday life experiences significantly with their relation to the domestic sphere and domestic labour.

3.1. Turkish agriculture

In order to understand the character of Turkish agriculture, we should look at the relations of production in agriculture. The basic unit of production in the agricultural sector in Turkey is the small, peasant-owned family farm.⁶⁷ Before continuing with the theories, giving the meaning of 'peasantry' may be useful. As John Harris explained; "Peasants are the rural producers who produce for their own consumption and for sale, using their own and family labour, though the hiring and selling of labour power is also quite possible and compatible with peasant society". The relation between land ownership and rural population is differentiated into seven as; 'capitalist farmer', 'wealthy farmer', 'middle peasant', 'small peasant', 'poor peasant', 'agricultural worker' and 'renter' from a Marxist perspective. Accordingly, the capitalist farmer owns the highest amount of land, although the agricultural worker owns a small amount

⁶⁷ Arıcanlı, T. *Agrarian Relations in Turkey: A Historical Sketch* in *Food, States, and Peasants: Analysis of the Agrarian Question in the Middle East* ed.by Alan Richards Westview Press 1986, p.23

of land that is not sufficient for his subsistence, or does not own land.⁶⁸ Boratav analyzes Turkish agriculture in three different relations of production: simple (petty) commodity production, capitalist production, and feudal and semi-feudal production. The most widespread of these is petty commodity production (PCP) which is subject to exploitation by merchants and users. As Ecevit indicated in his study *Rural Women and the Small Peasant Economy*, the PCP enterprise is based on production and reproduction cycles where women play a determining role. These cycles are predominantly commoditized, that is, the production and reproduction structures of PCP are maintained primarily by the production and consumption of commodities. As one of the basic tendencies of the capitalist development of agriculture, the process of commoditization is mediated by subsistence structure of PCP. In commodity production, subsistence goods are used and they are also consumed as elements of reproduction. The commodity and subsistence structures complement and supplement each other, as well as possess elements which oppose each other in terms of commoditization.⁶⁹

In Turkey, the surpluses of small commodity producers, who constitute the overwhelmingly majority of the rural population, are expropriated by the primitive forms of capital: merchant and usurer capital; as a result as Boratav argues, a backward and primitive capitalist mode of production is dominant. This primitive backward structure also carries the remnants of feudalism and semi-feudalism. The fact is that capitalist development in Turkey started without the liquidation of feudalism by the bourgeoisie through national democratic revolution.⁷⁰ After the establishment of the Republic, the rural economy was to a large extent a closed economy, based on self-sufficiency, with very few relations with the market. In 1927 only 5-6.5% of Turkey's

⁶⁸ Boratav, K. *İstanbul ve Anadolu'dan Sınıf Profilleri*. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 1995 quoted in Kargıner, N. *Feminist Analysis of Rural Women in a Village of Turkey* Ph. D. diss., METU 2001.

⁶⁹ Ecevit, M C. *Rural Women and the Small Peasant Economy in Turkish Public Administration Annual*, Vol. 17-19, 1991-1993.

⁷⁰ Aydın, Z. *Turkish Agrarian Debate: New Arguments and Old Scores in New Perspectives on Turkey*. Fall 1987 No.1 p.83

total land area was under cultivation. In the periods of economic boom landlords used as many sharecroppers as they needed to cultivate their idle lands.⁷¹ After 1950's in the politics of economy agriculture has been an important sector.

For Keyder, the 1926-46 period was one of the decline in agricultural prices in the world market. Therefore it is understandable that most of the landlord holdings were kept idle until just before the 1950s. But in the 1950s Turkish agriculture underwent a tremendous structural change. This was mainly due to the priority given to agriculture in Turkey's development efforts. Her integration into the capitalist world economy as a peripheral country necessitated her taking her place in the world division of labour as a producer of agricultural goods. The number of tractors and combine harvesters increased drastically.⁷²

As a result of the establishment of small- scale peasant production, the development of a large agricultural wage labour force has been inhibited. Because the peasantry primarily rely on family labour, the rural landless poor need to migrate in search of urban employment.⁷³ In the 1950s in Turkey, the priority in development given to agriculture, and with the help and credits in the framework of the Marshall Aid Plan, a very fast process happened in migration from rural areas to the cities and in mechanization of agriculture.⁷⁴

In Turkish agriculture, unpaid household labour would be an important form of labour depending on the patriarchal structure and the migration of male labour to cities. Beside social, economic, ideological and political factors, male migration plays an important role.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Aydın, Z. *Household Production and Capitalism: A Case Study of South-Eastern Turkey* in: *The Rural Middle East: Peasant Lives and Modes of Production* edited by Kathy&Pandeli Glavanis Zed Books Ltd. 1990, p.171

⁷² *ibid.* 172.

⁷³ Arıcanlı, T. p.26

⁷⁴ Köymen, O. *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Tarımsal Yapı ve Tarım Politikaları* in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*.Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları,1999, p.16

⁷⁵ Kargıner, N. *Feminist Analysis of Rural Women in a Village of Turkey* Ph.D. diss., METU 2001, p.18

The first migrants to the cities were young men; leaving their families behind in the village, they came to explore the city. Later the majority of migrants started moving to the city as families.⁷⁶

As a result of Marshall Aid Plan important changes happened in agriculture. The Turkish economy was integrated into the world economy under the dominance of United States; through the Marshall Aid Plan.⁷⁷ By the mechanization of agriculture, the area under cultivation increased significantly. The import substitution industrialization (ISI) model was adopted in the period between 1954 and 1979 for the second time. Industry became once more the mainstay of economic growth; thus the private sector –a new industrial bourgeoisie- steadily strengthened its class position.⁷⁸ The tractor was identified as the tool of the landlord driving the peasantry away. Today, it is well incorporated into peasant agriculture. It did decrease the demand for agricultural labour, but primarily the demand of the middle peasantry rather than that of the landlord.⁷⁹ There have been some periods which made some changes in agriculture in Turkish agricultural situation.

For Köymen, economic and political changes or economic crises determine the crossroads of the changes in the agricultural structure of Turkey. While the politics of the 1920s was liberal, the politics of the 1930's was etatist and gave priority to industrialization. During the Second World War, the direct challenge of the state to prices and market. 1950's symbolizes a period that returns to liberal economic politics and give priority to agriculture. It is given priority to industrialization in 1960's and continued politics that support

⁷⁶ Erman, T. *The Meaning of City Living for Rural Migrant Women and Their Role in Migration: The Case of Turkey* in *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol 20 No 2, pp 263-273, 1997.

⁷⁷ Ecevit, M. C. *The Development of Capitalist Tendencies in Turkish Agriculture*. Ph.D. diss., Kent University 1988, p.14

⁷⁸ *ibid.* P.15

⁷⁹ Arıcanlı, T. p.49

agriculture. From 1970's to 1990's it is returned back to more liberal and free trader politics.⁸⁰

The 1980s (and 1990s) may be viewed as a period that led to a changing, rather than declining, role for agriculture in the Turkish economy. Even though the increasing strength of linkages between primary agriculture and the rest of the economy during this period is an essential element for a complete understanding of recent structural change in the Turkish economy, this has remained a largely overlooked issue in the literature.⁸¹

While male labour is evolving to wage labour, the unpaid household labour of women has reinforced its place in Turkish agriculture.⁸² Command over labour is an absolutely critical feature of production and accumulation of wealth especially in the case of abundant cultivable land, a condition that obtained in many parts of rural Turkey. Both the organization of production and the social organization of the patrilineage depend on the reproduction of males, giving women the critical role of being the agents of the reproduction group. Sons ensure the continuity of the lineage while daughters are exchanged at a very young age to ensure the reproduction of another lineage.⁸³ As Kandiyoti supposed, Turkey is one of the countries in “the belt of classic patriarchy” and continuing with Moghadam, patriarchal structures are stronger in rural areas.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Kargner, N. p.19

⁸¹ Sayan, S. and Demir, N. *Structural Change in Agriculture and Water Requirements in Turkey in Food Agriculture, and Economic Policy in the Middle East and North Africa*, Vol:5 2003.

⁸² Kargner, N. P.18

⁸³ Kandiyoti, D. *Women and Household Production: The Impact of Rural Transformation in Turkey* in: *The Rural Middle East: Peasant Lives and Modes of Production* edited by Kathy&PandeliGlavanis Zed Books Ltd. 1990.

⁸⁴ Erman, T. p.264

3.2. Women in Agriculture

The concepts of wage labour, unpaid household labour, sexual division of labour, subsistence economy and land are related with the situation of women in agriculture. For Krug, much of farm and rural women's analysis of their agricultural context highlights problems especially pertinent to rural women-gender stereotypes, devaluing of women's contributions, triple work days, male dominated farm organization, unjust legislation, inequitable distribution of land, vulnerability to poverty, domestic violence, inadequate services such as childcare, etc. where they can be taken as forms of the oppression of rural women. "Paying special attention to rural women's voices is one way of beginning to understand how the existing agricultural system has produced so many forms of oppression."⁸⁵ Krug emphasises some problems of rural women in her study entitled 'Canadian Rural Women Reconstructing Agriculture'. For her, Canadian farm women face some problems that their male counterparts do not and they also suffer more acutely from many of the problems that affect both women and men. Farmers are a small minority, 4–5%, of the Canadian population, and the proportion of women farmers is even lower. On their own, farmers (especially those who benefit least from the existing system, such as small family farmers and farm women) cannot exert enough political influence to ensure change. A Canadian farm woman explains her situation as follows:

I want to feed people locally [grown] nutritious food. I want off this chemical fix. I want to teach my daughters how to be stewards of the land instead of how to be obedient slaves to this insane economic system.

It is time for us farm women to heal ourselves. . . . It is the women who will have to draw the line and say enough is enough. We will have to make our vision for self-sufficiency, of clean air and water, of nutritious food, and of healthy families and rural communities a reality for us all. We have the analysis. We have the abilities. And most importantly, we have the faith to make our vision a reality.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Krug, K. *Farm Women and Local Alternatives to Globalized Agriculture Canadian Woman Studies* Volume 23, Number 1 2003, p.129

⁸⁶ Ruby Reske Naurochi, a Manitoba farmer and author passionately involved in the transformation of agriculture, responding to a questionnaire sent by the author to selected Canadian farm women, 1993 in Karen L. Krug 'Canadian Rural Women Reconstructing Agriculture' in 'For Hunger-Proof Cities

As an ecofeminist, Begum, in her study 'Nayakrishi Movement', analyzes the exclusion of women from agriculture in Bangladesh due to the intervention of 'modern' agriculture, and she discusses their recent inclusion in agriculture through the Nayakrishi farming system. Ecofeminism, a social movement that emerged in the 1980s, incorporates insights and perspectives from liberal, cultural, socialist and radical feminism to define the connection between women and nature. She defines ecofeminism as a point of view that where women and nature are exploited due to the patriarchal science and development models. Begum explains the effect of modernization in agricultural techniques on rural women. "During the 1960's, the Green Revolution swept the Third World with its promise of eradicating hunger by increasing food production; however, the limitations of modern agriculture soon became clear." She supposes that only the wealthy farmers who can afford to buy seeds, agricultural tools, fertilizers, and pesticides, benefited from modern agriculture. On the other hand, the increasing need for cash incomes in rural households to cover the cost of agricultural inputs has forced women to work as agricultural labourers. As a result poor rural women were severely affected by modern agriculture.⁸⁷ In rural Bangladesh, women became so marginalized after the introduction of modern agriculture that women's level of participation in agriculture determines their status.

Analysis of variations across countries in the sex composition of the agricultural labour force reveals that women are highly visible among wage labourers in most countries of southern and south-east Asia and the Caribbean (especially in the plantation sector) and among self-employed cultivators in much of sub-Saharan Africa. Women predominate among unpaid family workers in most countries.⁸⁸ Ester Boserup's research in *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970) shows that, where shifting cultivation

Sustainable Urban Food Systems' editors: Mustafa Koc, Rod MacRae, Luc J.A. Mougeot y Jennifer Welsh 1999 available on <http://web.idrc.ca/>

⁸⁷ Begum, F. *Nayakrishi Movement: Reinstatement of Women in Agriculture in Canadian Woman Studies* Volume 23, Number 1 2003.

⁸⁸ Dixon-Mueller, R. *Women's Work in Third World Agriculture* ILO 1994.

is the norm, women do most of the agricultural work; where the plough is used, men do more work than women; and where land is irrigated, and farming is extensive, such as in parts of Southeast Asia, then both men and women are highly involved in agricultural production. She also signifies that with economic development, broadly understood as the mechanization of agriculture, and increasing specialization and differentiation of non-agricultural tasks, women tend to become separated from production and their status correspondingly declines.⁸⁹ Kandiyoti has made an important contribution to the definition of 'production' and 'reproduction' of rural women.

Although the only compelling connection between the female sex and reproductive activity is in the sphere of biological reproduction, it is a fact that women are also quite uniformly allocated those tasks which are directly connected to the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force such as cooking, cleaning, child care, care of the sick and aged, etc. However especially in the case of rural women, the distinction between productive and reproductive work often seems to be somewhat artificial in terms of women's concrete burden. It is easy to recognize, for instance, that the process of reproduction includes a large number of productive tasks geared to the household's own consumption, such as animal care, agricultural work, weaving and petty trade, alongside food preparation, carrying water, collecting firewood etc.⁹⁰

In Africa, as Kandiyoti stated, the female-oriented farming system meant that exclusive male recruitment for work in plantations, in mines and public works at below subsistence wages could proceed with women's subsistence production ensuring the support of the family, the care of the sick and the aged. On the other hand, in those parts of Asia where full familial participation in agriculture tasks prevailed, colonial patterns of labour recruitment affected the entire household, where both men and women had to intensify subsistence production and work in the export sector to

⁸⁹ Lynne Brydon and Sylvia Chant *Women in the Third World: Gender Issues in Rural and Urban Areas*. Rutgers University Press, London 1989.

⁹⁰ Kandiyoti, D. *Women in Rural Production Systems: Problems & Policies*, Unesco, Paris 1985, p.16

meet new cash demands.⁹¹ As in other parts of the world, the studies shows that women are marginalized at critical economic junctures. Another study which was conducted by Vandana Shiva focuses on the effects of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) on third world women and especially on rural Indian women. GATT policies that encourage free export and import of agricultural products translate into policies for the destruction of small farmers' local food production capacities. By locating food in the domain of international trade, these policies dislocate its production in the household and community. She explains that the result is an overt attack on the survival of Third World economies. The effect of the 50 per cent reduction in world rice prices by the US Farm Policy was severely damaging to the four million Thai rice farmers. In the study conducted by Ertürk, she explains how women are systematically excluded from the process of development.

Although women, in underdeveloped countries, contribute a major share of labour to agricultural production and livestock management, they have systematically been excluded from the process of development, both as beneficiaries and as active components of projects. Most development projects tend to overlook the women aspect often with the assumption that benefits accrued to the household will "trickle-across" from husband to wife.⁹²

As TNCs (transnational corporations) dump subsidized surpluses on the Third World, peasants are driven out of food production into famine. Since women have been responsible for food production and provisioning, the decline in food availability has a direct impact upon them. Control over food is thus increasingly taken out of the hands of Third World women and put in the hands of Northern TNCs.⁹³ According to the

⁹¹ *ibid.* p.22

⁹² Ertürk, Y. *Women's Participation in Agriculture in the Villages of Erzurum Turkey* FAO Ankara 1988, p.1

⁹³ Vandana, S. *GATT, Agriculture and Third World Women in Ecofeminism* Maria Mies & Vandana Shiva Fernwood Publications, 1993.

FAO report⁹⁴ in 1985, the situation of women in agriculture was emphasised as follows: women in traditional agrarian settings contribute more to food production and family earnings in skilled labour and entrepreneurship than is generally known or accepted. Women in agriculture generally have not received equitable opportunities, rewards or decision-making privileges. Typically, they have encountered more difficulty than men in gaining access to land, credit, technical services and commercial market outlets. This limits food production and family income. It is also reported that women are traditionally responsible for producing food for the family on the land in Africa. In the report, moreover, as a plan for the future policies it is emphasised that rural women are not sufficiently involved in the planning and implementation of development. Better information about women's situations and their multiple roles, as well as the increased involvement of women in development planning and monitoring, is needed. This would help agricultural policies, programmes and projects achieve greater agricultural productivity and national food self-reliance while also supporting socio- economic goals. These statements from the report of the FAO also draw a picture of farm women in Turkish agriculture.

3.3. Women in Agriculture in Turkey

In Turkey, the agrarian structure is based on family production and small producers. The characteristic of household production is the employment of women as “unpaid labourers”. Household members cultivate agricultural lands, not big landowners or big enterprises. There are four types of workers in rural areas; “permanent”, “seasonal”, “temporary”, and “those who work for hoeing and picking cotton”. The Ministry of Agriculture and Village Affairs employs the first group and provides social security. The other groups have no social security.⁹⁵ According to the statistics of DIE 2003, the percentage of women employed in agriculture is 94,2% of the total population of women employed in rural areas and, according to the 2000 population census,

⁹⁴ *Women in Developing Agriculture* FAO Rome, 1985.

⁹⁵ Karginer, N. p.22

11,878,521 women are living in rural areas.⁹⁶ If we think that the main form of production is family-level and small production in Turkey, then it is obvious that nearly all of the rural women are working as ‘unpaid labourers’; they have no social security and their access to economic resources is limited.

The basic features of female labour expenditure are determined by the following characteristics of petty commodity production (PCP): the patriarchal nature of PCP; the traditional sexual division of labour, the inheritance pattern of land; and the socialization of girls and boys. The expenditure of female labour in productive activities is sometimes reduced in capital-intensive cultivation, but this is not the case for labour-intensive crop combinations. The increasing degree of commoditisation of the labour process will lower the productive labour expenditure of women in capital-intensive crop cultivation, but women’s productive expenditure will continue as long as household labour remains as the major element of the total labour expenditure.⁹⁷

The traditional non-inheritance patterns of land ownership lower women’s status and put them in a subordinate position. This practice limits their right private ownership; they are reduced to being non-property-owning members of the enterprise, which in turn further entrenches their subordinate position and their vulnerability. Women’s exclusion from the inheritance of land is related to the patriarchal continuation of property relations in PCP. They are perceived as the daughters of their fathers, the wives of their husbands and the mothers of their children.⁹⁸ Extensive use of family labour is found among the landless, those with marginal lands and PCPs. In some cases the subsistence of the family relies primarily on the presence of such a steady work force provided by women that the process has been referred to as the “feminization” of agriculture.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ available on <http://www.die.gov.tr>

⁹⁷ Ecevit, M. C. 1988, p.164

⁹⁸ *ibid.* p.165

⁹⁹ Ertürk, Y. *Women and Development in Turkey: Issues, Patterns and Constraints*. Project Implementation Workshop, Near East and North Africa Region. Organized by IFAD. Istanbul, 10-19 October 1989, p.4

Through the commoditization of consumption, women's status, control and their roles in family subsistence changed.

Commoditization of consumption did not only affect women's domestic work load but also attached new values to this sphere of activity and, as a consequence, to women's status. Paradoxically, it limited women's control over vital resources thereby undermining their roles in family subsistence, and at the same time, it created positive value attributions to ready made purchased items. Thus, status has become symbolized in items while women's domestic skills and housework has become devalued.¹⁰⁰

In his study Ecevit, has made a conceptualisation in the main social and economic structures, constituting a feminist analysis of rural women, as follows:

- 1- The role of woman in production, reproduction and commoditisation process.
- 2- The changing characteristics of woman labour in different areas of use.
- 3- The social immobility of women labours.
- 4- The patriarchal control of woman labours.
- 5- The ideology that woman labour is worthless and invisible.
- 6- The oppression of the intensification and the extension of the labour time of the woman labour.
- 7- The equal workload of woman.
- 8- The role of woman in the sexual division of labour.
- 9- The poverty and lower socio-economic status of woman and children.
- 10- The conflicting situation that woman is forced to live in the cycle of household.
- 11- Woman meet challenges in the process of political structure and politicisation.
- 12- The role of women in ideological and cultural structure.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p.3

¹⁰¹ Ecevit, M.C. *Tarımda Kadının Toplumsal Konumu: Bazı Kavramsal İlişkiler in Anne İdaresi Dergisi*

The social and sexual hierarchy within the household also corresponds to a hierarchy in the labour process. Command over labour is an absolutely critical feature of production and accumulation of wealth especially in the case of abundant cultivable land, a condition that obtained in many parts of rural Turkey.¹⁰² Classification of the labour force into employed and unemployed does not cover female labour within the family household. In much statistical data women's work in agriculture is shown as 'unpaid family labour' and, even though they are economically active, their work is excluded from national income accounts. This is despite the fact that women's labour participation is extensive.¹⁰³ On the other hand, wage work for rural women is a clear indication of poverty and low status. As quoted in Kargıner's study, Özbay discusses the participation of female labour outside the home and its effects on the status of women. For her, the landless peasant women work as seasonal waged workers. Women who are large landowners do not participate in productive activities because participation in rural labour is an indicator of the legal status women. Status is defined as the social and economic situation of women that differs according to land ownership. The more educated women worked less in the fields. The participation of women in the labour force outside the home has effects on the status of women.¹⁰⁴

Within the ideology of the traditional family, work for the production of surplus value is masked as labour expressing social and gender identity. Within the small commodity-producing group, individual acquisition, which is at the base of capitalist economic enterprise, coexists with reciprocal relations, which are at the base of the long-term

Cilt 27, Sayı 2, Haziran 1994, quoted in Kargıner, N. P.26

¹⁰² Kandiyoti, D. 1990, p.185

¹⁰³ Morvaridi, B.. *Gender Relations in Agriculture: Women in Turkey* paper presented at the workshop: *Culture and the Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, May 24-26, 1990, p.2

¹⁰⁴ Kargıner, N. p.24

reproduction of Turkish social life.¹⁰⁵ In agricultural production the age-sex hierarchy is obvious. As a patriarchal society, men always have privileges from birth to death, but the privilege of the mother-in-law is nearly equal to that of men, when her son brings her a bride, she lets the patriarchal structure of the society to continue.

The labour productivity cycle of a woman in a peasant household will closely parallel the domestic cycle of the household itself. The in-marrying bride will be at the very bottom of the age-sex hierarchy and work very hard indeed both in agricultural production and at the heavier household chores such as carrying water and fetching firewood. Her status improves with her ability to produce male offspring and as she gains seniority. She reaches the apex of her influence when her married sons in turn bring her brides. Not only does her workload become much lighter but she may even be involved in the more managerial aspects of production such as the allocation and co-ordination of tasks among the younger women.¹⁰⁶

The modernization and development projects in Turkey in the past didn't result as planned, as indicated in the study of Ertürk¹⁰⁷. For her, the main problem in development programs is the gap between the process of planning and action. It is evident that the rural modernization has resulted in the diversification of sources of income and rural migration. Women are drawn into a private domain; their linkage with the wider society is indirect either via the media (radio, television) or through representation by their men-folk. While the product of women's labour is drawn more and more into the market/ public domain, their role remains unacknowledged and unaccounted for in official statistics and the process of development.¹⁰⁸ In 2005, the situation is not very different. In the congress held in November 2005, on the issue of Land Reform, which was conducted by TMMOB, the conclusion report includes the same subjects that are problematic in Turkish agriculture. It is not surprising that there

¹⁰⁵ White, J. *Money Makes Us Relatives: Women's Labour in Urban Turkey* University of Texas Press 1994, p.161

¹⁰⁶ Kandiyoti, D 1990, p.184

¹⁰⁷ Ertürk, Y. 1989, p.6

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.* p. 5

is not one word about peasant or rural women: they are still unseen as an individual except as the wives of their husbands or daughters of their fathers. In the report the most indicated issue is the projects of IMF, World Bank, and EU and WTO which leave the peasant dependent and poor. Also indicated was that the land reform which was placed on the agenda in 1930, has not been realised yet. As a result of this problematic situation, the migration to the cities seems like the only chance for the peasants to survive.

3.4. Studies on Media and Rural in Turkey

The studies on media and rural specifically on Turkey is very limited. There are some studies which have important contributions for this study. Two of the studies focus on the rural with its relation to the television, the other study focuses on the effects of the television with its relation with rural. In that sense, this study focuses on rural women with its relation to the television. The first study that will be handled is a research project on the subject of 'The Mass Media and Rural Development in Turkey' dated 1966. This project was sponsored jointly by the Government of Turkey and the United States Agency for International Development and carried out by Frederick W. Frey. This is a policy oriented study, which handled the mass media as a developmental instrument. It has been examined to find the impact of the mass media on the Turkish peasantry. This study provides some ways of reaching high amount of people living in the rural areas for the policy maker. It is obvious in this study that the mass media is taken as an agent for the policy maker to reach through the society: "Certainly one of the greatest advantages of the mass media is their ability to span through terrain of even the largest developing nations and potentially to engage each and every citizen."¹⁰⁹

This study has the traditional media effect approach as it was popular in the year of this study was handled. The survey technique was used in this study, covering the

¹⁰⁹ Frey , F. W. *The Mass Media and Rural Development in Turkey* Rural Development Project, Centre for International Studies Cambridge, Massachusetts 1966, p.5

number of 6265 individuals from all the regions of Turkey. In the year of the study television broadcasting hasn't started yet as the first year of the broadcast is in 1968 by TRT. So, the impact of Radio, News Paper and Cinema was explored in this study while the television broadcast was not started yet.

In this study television has taken as an agent in the modernization process; however it was indicated that "if modernization ultimately involves attitudinal and behavioral change, as we have argued, it would seem that the mass media would offer high promise of being one of the most effective agents of all."¹¹⁰ As the main focus of the research, firstly it has been explained that the media carried the pollen of modernization throughout the intellectual sector of society and made an essential contribution to the flowering of political and social development that occurred in the first third of the 20th century then it was asked "Can they play the same apparent role in rural development?"¹¹¹ By conducting the survey in the all regions of Turkey, it was explored if the mass media such as radio, cinema and news paper could be used in the development process for peasants in Turkey. In this study, sex, literacy and age have been taken as the variables that it was argued that "impressionistic familiarity with rural Turkey convinces one that three of the most critical distinctions made in peasant society are those between male and female, between literate and illiterate, and between young and old."¹¹² As a result it was found that males were much more media exposed than females and that literates are conspicuously more exposed than illiterates while age differences in mass media exposure is comparatively minor.

In this study it was highlighted that access to the mass media does not necessarily mean exposure; and exposure to the mass media does not necessarily mean impact,

¹¹⁰ *ibid.* p.6

¹¹¹ *ibid.* p.11

¹¹² *ibid.* p.59

therefore as a suggestion for the planner or the policy maker, it has been advised that “he needs to know what kinds of people in his population are affected by their exposure to the mass media and precisely how they are affected – the responsive media audience.”¹¹³ The characteristic advantages of the mass media have been presented as its rapidity, controllability, extensiveness and effectiveness. As the finding of the study; it was emphasized that mass media exposure generally operated in a “modern” direction and the greatest impact of mass media exposure seemed to be in the cognitive realm, how the person perceived the world about her/him rather than in the motivational or behavioral realms. Comparing the mass media with religious orientations it was found that however it was most effective in the cognitive realm and least effective with regard to religious orientations. Of the three major mass media, the cinema seemed to be the most influential and the radio and the newspaper somewhat less influential and about equal in their impact. It was also emphasised that the television would seem to have all the advantages of the cinema that the promise of television was so great, properly employed, that Turkey may not be able to afford not to use it. In the policy recommendations part of the study it was indicated that however the Turkish mass media seem basically to cater to an elite audience, attention should be given to developing at least some additional radio programs more suitable for peasant consumption. It was also indicated that “In all such efforts, a strong attempt should be made to get ordinary rural people actively involved in the program, not as a rotating sample of that population, but to remove at least some of the elite cast that much broadcasting seems presently to have.”¹¹⁴ This research is important for my study, because it reveals the impact of the television from the point-of-view of the policy maker. To get this point-of-view made me analyse the data more easily with a wider point of view.

Another study which will be presented is a research conducted by Aysel Aziz in 1982

¹¹³ *ibid.*p.101

¹¹⁴ *ibid.* p.204

on the relationship between the mass media and socialization. In this study survey technique was conducted in three villages of Ankara named Mülk, Fethiye and Büğdüz on 117 women and 123 men totally.

It was explored that how the radio and the television effects people to adopt her/his social environment, to her/his family life and to adopt the society in general. The fact that the rural area was chosen for the research was that radio and television have an effective role on the rural people's socialization.¹¹⁵ They live in a close, traditional society that the only way to see the other beliefs, attitudes, values outside the village is radio and television. As a method of socialization by learning, the rural individual gets the messages from these channels consciously or unconsciously and reflects this to their attitudes and behaviours. It was indicated that, one of the difference between village and city was their communication styles that in rural it was a more face-to-face communication and the traditional values were transferred to the generations orally, the new mass media opened a new communication style which is not face-to-face.¹¹⁶ As the findings of the study it was indicated that with the effect of radio and television, the traditional structure tended to adopt to the social change that the individual tended to leave her/his conservative attitudes. So as a result, it was argued that the television and the radio have started the socialization process out of the tradition.

Another study which is important for my study is an unpublished PhD dissertation which was carried by Nurçay Türkoğlu in İstanbul University in 1988. The title of the dissertation is 'Television Viewing in Social Change: A Comparative Field Research Model in A Television Watching and A Not Watching Village'. I think it is an important study because it makes a comparison between two villages; one of them can't access to the broadcast because of the village's geographical conditions and the

¹¹⁵ Aziz, A. *Toplumsallaşma ve Kitleli İletişim* A.Ü. S.B.F. ve Basın-Yayın Yüksek Okulu, Ankara 1982, p.2

¹¹⁶ *ibid.* p.179

other can access to the broadcast. These two villages were chosen considering their socio-economic status to be the same. The researcher tries to find the television's role in social change. This research is a parallel research with Aziz's however social change is also related with socialization, as Aziz stated in her study. This study is an 'effect' study that tries to find some changes in people's attitudes. She emphasizes that she find it as an opportunity for her to find a village which can not access to the TV broadcast. She also indicates that, she has tried to find out in what direction does the components which are alien for the villagers affects them. She has conducted an empiric study with the surveys. She has taken the village which people do not watch television as a control group and the other village as the observation group. The settlement of the research villages was in İstanbul attached to Şile district. As the research was also conducted in a comparison with the television, radio and newspaper; it was found that the people in the village were more exposed to television. One of the important findings of this study is that the people from the TV watching village get more idea on city living but their thoughts on city life were more negative than the people who live in the village don't watch TV.¹¹⁷ Another finding of the research is that watching television differentiates about the issues of acknowledgement of city life, variations of consumptions and differentiation on the behaviour of listening to the radio. It was also discovered that the attitude of being tolerant to the one who is out of their society differentiates between these two villages that the people who watch television are more tolerated than the people who don't watch television. This study seems to be a unique study with the comparison of two villages depending on their TV watching or can not watching situation

¹¹⁷ Türkoğlu, N. *Toplumsal Değişmede Televizyon İzleyiciliği: Televizyon İzleyen ve İzlemeyen İki Köyde Karşılaştırmalı Alan Araştırma Modeli* Ph.D. diss., University of İstanbul, 1988, p.171

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

In this study, I have carried out qualitative research in order to understand and analyze the role of television in rural women's everyday life. As I have a feminist point of view, I used the feminist methodological approach and the research methods derived from feminist theory and, in particular, feminist media theory. As methodology is the most significant part of the feminist epistemology, it is also the most significant part in studying audiences as media research.

The feminists challenged epistemological knowledge, and the science itself, as being subjective within the dominant patriarchal structure of perception. As Sandra Harding stated;

The rules of scientific inquiry are moral norms no less than the principles we adopt for decision-making in social life more generally; thus we should not be surprised to find in scientific method and scientific rationality masculine conceptions of the relations that should exist between self, others, and nature.¹¹⁸

As feminist theory is a standpoint developing scientific ways of struggling with male domination, science and epistemological knowledge is part of their concern. Therefore they criticise the "objectivity of science" as being biased toward the patriarchy. Feminist methodology challenges the methodological assumptions of traditional epistemologies where women are absent. For Du Bois, "the positivist methodology has a patriarchal

¹¹⁸ Harding, S. *The Science Question in Feminism*. Cornell University Press 1986.

basis which rendered women unknown and virtually unknowable.”¹¹⁹ Traditional social science establishes the researcher as authority and as an expert, who will be able to describe, predict and control social reality.¹²⁰

Mies¹²¹ explains the methodical guidelines for a feminist study as follows:

- 1- Value-free research, neutrality and indifference towards research objects has to be replaced by “conscious partiality”. It is achieved through partial identification with the research objects. It creates the researcher & her “objects”.
- 2- Vertical relations between researcher and researched.
- 3- Growth of women’s studies from the women’s movement.
- 4- Understanding the patriarchal system and beginning a necessary fight against women’s exploitation and oppression.
- 5- By using a problem-formulating method, the research process must become a process of “conscientization” both for the researcher and the so called “research objects” (women as target groups). This must be accompanied by the study of women’s individual and social history.

In this study, I have conducted a field study in the light of these points. I have also benefited from the methodology of ethnographic media study, which has parallel points with feminist methodology. As the feminist approach tends to understand the women’s experiences, ethnography tends to understand people’s experiences. They both offer qualitative study techniques together with their quantitative techniques. “Methods used include: letters, open, semi-structured interviews and participant observation. What holds these modes of research together is that they are based on the establishment of

¹¹⁹ Du Bois, B. *Passionate Scholarship : Notes on Values, Knowing and Method in Feminist Social Science* in Gloria Bowles & Renate Duelli Klein (eds.) *Theories of Women’s Studies*. pp. 105-116, London: Routledge 1983.

¹²⁰ Karginer, N. p.67

¹²¹ Mies, M. *Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research*. in Gloria Bowles & Renate Duelli Klein (eds.) *Theories of Women’s Studies*. pp.117-139, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.

trust and a high degree of empathy of the researcher.”¹²² Another point which is common for these two approaches is to have a non-hierarchical position with the researched group to establish trust and foster empathy. Ian Ang takes up this issue, asking these questions:

What does it mean to subject audiences to the researcher’s gaze? How can we develop insights that do not reproduce the kind of objectified knowledge served up by, say, market research or empiricist effects research? How is it possible to do audience research which is ‘on the side’ of the audience? These are nagging political questions which cannot be smoothed out by the comforting canons of epistemology, methodology and Science. Of course it is not easy to pin down what such considerations would imply in concrete terms. But it could at least be said that we should try to avoid a stance in which ‘the audience’ is relegated to the status of exotic ‘other’ – merely interesting in so far as ‘we’, as researchers, can turn ‘them’ into ‘objects’ of study, and about whom ‘we’ have the privileged position of acquiring ‘scientific’ knowledge.¹²³

Van Zoonen discusses this issue of the inequality between the researcher and her research subjects, drawing attention to the phase of conjuring up and writing down their experiences into a story about the research results. She points out that, in the end, the authority and responsibility for writing down the story lies with the researcher.¹²⁴ For her, “ethnomethodologists focus on a particular aspect of the interactions between human beings, namely the implicit and explicit rules people employ to make sense of their everyday surroundings and experiences...ethnographic mass communication research would focus on subcultures of communicators and media audiences.”¹²⁵ In her ‘*Feminist Media Studies*’, she explains the methods used for a feminist study comprehensively and very clearly. She prefers to use the concept of ‘interpretative’

¹²² Hermes, J. *Practicing Embodiment: Reality, Respect, and Issues of Gender in Media Reception in A Companion to Media Studies* ed. Anghorad Valdivia Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

¹²³ Ang, I. 1996, p.45

¹²⁴ van Zoonen, L. p.130

¹²⁵ *ibid.* p.132

rather than ‘qualitative’ since qualitative procedures are used by market researchers who became increasingly interested in probing beyond the social demographic categories of the market and examining the nature and appeal of particular lifestyles. She points that a distinction between a market researcher and a feminist media researcher can be made by using her interpretative research strategy and design whereas ‘qualitative’ concerns a particular, non-quantitative way of gathering and analysing data. In interpretative research, the process of data gathering and analysis are not strictly separated, as data analysis often informs a new round of data gathering.¹²⁶ Participant observation, in-depth interviews and group interviews are the qualitative methods of collecting data most often used in (feminist) media research.

Participant observation is a kind of fieldwork an investigator does to gain insight into some subculture or organization or activity of interest...The investigators’ purposes in conducting these observations are to find out what goes on in the subcultures or organizations being studied and to gain some insight into their operations (especially hidden aspects not easily recognized) and how they function.¹²⁷

On the other hand, Ang points out that whether these data are quantitative or qualitative, they are interpreted by the researcher. She discusses the concept of ‘subjectivity’. “Truth in which the researcher is engaged, but the construction of *interpretations*, of certain ways of understanding the world, always historically located, subjective and relative.”¹²⁸ In cultural studies audience experiments, the ‘ethnographic method’ plays a crucial role. Nightingale reveals the role and interest focuses:

...the ‘ethnographic’ method employed in the cultural studies audience experiment demonstrated few of the sensitivities in ethnographic research which have since come to signal enlightened practice – particularly

¹²⁶ *ibid.* p.135

¹²⁷ Berger, A. A. *Media Research Techniques*. Sage Publications, 1998, p.105

¹²⁸ Ang, I. 1996, p.46

sensitivity to negotiation, the sharing of research goals, and the presentation of research outcomes with research participants. The 'ethnographic' tradition of cultural studies had traditionally focused on how the media exploited subcultural groups or appropriated and neutralised their resistance to the dominant culture.¹²⁹

The dimensions along which participant observation studies can differ are the degree of openness about the researcher's role and the amount of time spent at the research setting.¹³⁰ For van Zoonen, in-depth interviewing is the most popular method in feminist media studies and cultural studies, particularly in research into audiences. In-depth interviews are open-ended, in the sense that the researcher only decides on a conversation theme. The particular interpretation of this theme and the direction of the conversation depend entirely on the informant. This has the advantage that the informant can talk and associate on her own terms without being directed or hindered by the researcher.¹³¹ As cited in van Zoonen's study, in her research about women's use of VCR's, Ann Gray recounts: 'Many of the women eagerly told me many stories about their family histories and their present lives, enjoying the opportunity to talk about themselves to an interested listener. Many of the conversations were fun and certainly transgressed all notions of the "ideal" research interview.'¹³² This point is crucial for my research in terms of how I have used the data gathered from in-depth interviews with Topaklı women.

In the conversations of researcher and participants the establishment of 'rapport', that is, a relation of trust and respect that stimulates and facilitates the participant's articulation of her experience, is crucial to the quality of the interview. This can be frustrated by a range of difficulties such as a lack of

¹²⁹ Nightingale, V. 1996, p.115

¹³⁰ Patton, M. *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*. London: Sage 1980 quoted in van Zoonen, L. *Feminist Media Studies* Sage Publications, 1994, p. 136

¹³¹ van Zoonen, L. p.137

¹³² Gray, A. *Video Playtime: The Gendering of a Leisure Technology*. London: Routledge, 1992 quoted in van Zoonen, L. *Feminist Media Studies* Sage Publications, 1994, p. 137

experience or capacity of the researcher to listen empathetically and to prompt without being intrusive, the participant's desire to be a 'good respondent' and give correct answers, or by differences in status between interviewer and participant. Since many of the subjects feminist and interpretative researchers are interested in involve everyday topics and experiences or emotional predicaments that people are sensitive about, some have argued that in-depth interviewing is an instrument that is best handed by women.¹³³

Another important issue for this study is the conducting of group discussions for the feminist media study. Group interviews and discussions are another method of data collection used for mass communication research.

Yet another important point for this study is cited in Reinharz, that group discussions have a parallel function with consciousness-raising groups.

For feminist research there may be an additional advantage in that the group interview enables women to exchange experiences, build on each other's ideas and enhance awareness of their situation in a way similar to the process of consciousness-raising groups.¹³⁴

Another technique which takes its place in the feminist media studies is the focus group. "Focus groups are group interviews that are held to find out how people feel about some product, service, or issue. A group of people are assembled and a free-form discussion is held, led by a moderator, to obtain the desired information." The common procedure can involve a prearranged viewing of a television programme or movie by a usually already existing social group, although in marketing research in which 'focus group interviews' have become tremendously popular, it is more common to work with groups of people that are randomly selected. In my study, I did not use the focus group technique, because of its nature: the researcher becomes the moderator, and I think this is against the point of view of feminist research, which requires the conducting of non-

¹³³ van Zoonen, L. p.137

¹³⁴ Reinharz, S. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. Oxford University Press 1992, p.223.

hierarchical research with the respondents. The reason that I have handled it with its hierarchical side is because it was important for my situation that I had the problem that my age was usually lower than that of the respondents, and when I tried to conduct a focus group this point became a disadvantage. To conduct the focus group, I had to be the moderator, which created a wide gap between the respondents and I. Although the age hierarchy is crucial in rural areas, my higher position as a researcher and an educated woman, and also my being economically in a higher position than them, compensated for my being younger. It was an extremely uncomfortable situation for the respondents, which they tried to ignore in order to help me. I will take up this issue when I explain the limitations of this study.

It can be argued that the approaches mentioned in this chapter are totally a challenge to the positivist audience research. The points revealed here are crucial for both conducting the research and for analysing the data as a methodological approach.

CHAPTER 5

FIELD STUDY

5.1. Fieldwork

In the light of the methods and the methodologies of feminist and ethnographic media studies, I conducted a fieldwork study. I chose the village considering its distance from the city, not wishing it to be close. This village is 60 km. far from Ankara city centre. It could be better to study in a more distant village from the city to have the opportunity to picture the difference of the village from the city, but considering some advantages of conducting the study in this village that will be explained later; I decided to conduct this study in Topaklı Village. I also wanted to find subjects who were rural women working in agriculture, as it is the distinguishing characteristic of rural women from the women living in the city.

I have used methods such as participant observation, group discussions, in-depth interview and survey. Most of the data was gathered from in-depth interviews and group discussions. I used the snow-ball technique in order to reach the women. I first met with the teachers at the school in order to understand the conditions of the village. In the school, I met the woman who works as a cleaner there. I chat with her, explaining my situation and the research that I wanted to conduct. She was very friendly to me, and told that women in this village would like to help me and they would speak with me. Moreover, she told me that she would introduce me to them; therefore they would not behave toward me as a stranger. I have conducted the survey with 35 women, the in-depth interviews with 16 women and also held 3 group discussions. It took 2 months to conduct this research. The women's ages ranged from 15 to 85.

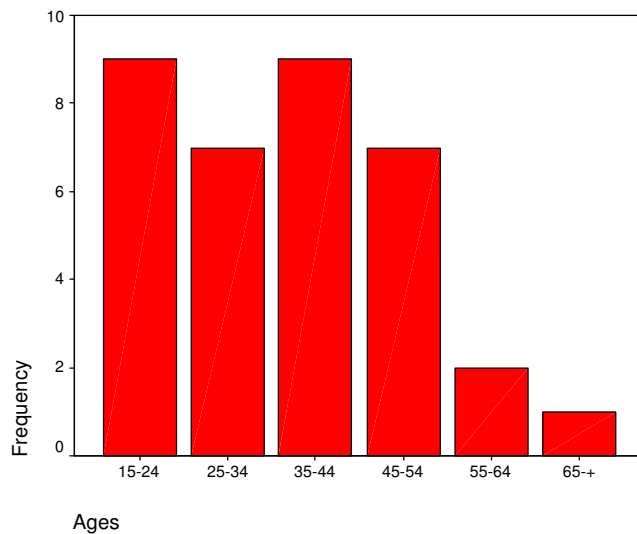


Figure 2 Ages

At the beginning of the study, the woman who would help me to reach to the respondents started to work as a cleaner outside the village in a pastry shop; thus, she was the only woman who employed in the village. She decided to give the duty of introducing me around to her young boy, aged 17. He took me first to their relatives, but I couldn't succeed in establishing good communication with the women. I could not conduct in-depth interviews as they told me that they had a lot of work to do. So, the first week's research was completely unsuccessful. Then I explained to the first woman that I needed a woman's help to introduce me properly to the other women. The young boy only introduced me to them and then left the house, saying that he would return an hour later, for example. Therefore I tried to conduct the interviews alone with the women. In their eyes, I was just a complete stranger who wanted to get some information. Then, the first woman introduced me with her close relatives, and when she was out of the village they took me to their friends or other relatives.

I must mention that all the in-depth interviews did not happen in isolation from the others, such as the household or the neighbours. I never went to the women's houses alone, I went with one of their relatives or neighbours who would introduce me. So it may be said that most of the interviews were carried out together with the women who introduced me to the respondent. I wanted to conduct the interview in an isolated room from the others, since I wanted to ask about her private life, which may have made her ashamed around the others. In this sense the woman did not feel comfortable and became excited. Moreover, I found out that staying in the living room together with the other women allowed me to reach more data. They also interact with each other, they discussed the situations and it carried on like chatting about their everyday lives. They consider me as if I were someone who came to their house, to visit them like a guest. It provided a more intimate relation with them, and they spoke comfortably. However, in some cases, I preferred to conduct the interview alone with the woman if there were some children in the house, or it were crowded at home. All the young girls offered to go to a separate room to speak comfortably.

I also spoke with their fathers or husbands, if they were at home at that time. They also behaved intimately to me, and wanted to help. They asked me if I was also interviewing men, and when I answered that my interest was only in women, they perceived me as being a 'moral' girl. They did not express it like this, it was just my feeling. However, they consider me firstly as a girl, going out of her house alone, before considering me as a researcher. Before starting the research I went to the village with my mother and father. We visited the headman. He was in the room where the men from the village meet, so we also met with the other men. I think it was good for the research that they met me themselves rather than hearing something about me from their wives or other people. The headman was not interested in my explanations and did not communicate intimately with us, but neither did he say anything to obstruct the research.

Depending on the intimacy of the woman who introduced me and the respondent, I

behaved like a friend of hers, and suggested leaving the noisy children and the others there in order to sit in another room and chat comfortably. When I behaved like this it became enjoyable for me and for the respondent. I did not avoid speaking on certain issues and did not want to direct her. Sometimes we chatted about her health problems, sometimes about her relationship with her relatives, focusing on a certain situation, or sometimes they told me about their memories. I always enjoyed chatting with them and told them this. As I have cited before; Ann Gray expresses a parallel situation to that which I have lived: 'Many of the women eagerly told me many stories about their family histories and their present lives, enjoying the opportunity to talk about themselves to an interested listener. Many of the conversations were fun and certainly transgressed all notions of the "ideal" research interview.'¹³⁵

The findings of the survey have been used only to express some quantitative data for the research. They have not been used to support the findings or to establish relations between the variables. Since the reliability of the survey did not seem to be strong enough to establish relations, use of the data for relations has been avoided. The relations have been established by the findings of the in-depth interview and group discussions, as feminist methodology offers. While answering the questions of the survey, the respondents behaved as if they were being examined: they get excited and tried to find the right answers. As van Zoonen indicated in her study that one of the frustrations of conducting ideal research is, "the participant's desire to be a 'good respondent'".¹³⁶ As I encountered in this situation, they also liked to answer the questions as if they were winning glory by answering these exam questions. They were also afraid of what questions were going to be asked in the survey. As this is an obstacle to the researcher's understanding of the situation, it does not provide valuable data for the analysis, but in order to get the general picture of their everyday lives and to meet with them, I found it necessary to conduct the surveys. It gave an idea of their attitudes

¹³⁵ Gray, A. *Video Playtime: The Gendering of a Leisure Technology*. London: Routledge, 1992 quoted in van Zoonen, L. *Feminist Media Studies* Sage Publications, 1994, p. 137

¹³⁶ van Zoonen, L. p.139

and their everyday life, and it served as an advantage for me in reaching more people. When I asked to conduct a questionnaire, they were more positive to accept, but when I asked to conduct an interview that took more time and told them that I would record it on the cassette, they were reluctant to accept. They firstly said, "I can't speak, I am uneducated, ask the young ones, I don't watch television" and so on. Then I decided to tell them that I wanted to chat with them about the things that they do daily. Establishing relations with them became easier in this way.

Before starting the interview I introduced myself as a university student and said that I had to conduct research for an assignment. My expressing the situation as a 'must' study to pass the class influenced them positively to help me. When I first started the study, I did not tell them that it was for an assignment and a must for me; they did not want to help me, as I was only saying that I wanted to conduct research for university. When I stressed that it was a duty for me, they came over to my side, feeling the psychology of a student who is preparing an assignment to pass. However, I also emphasised that the reason why I was conducting this study was not a must for me, that I had come to the village because of my interest. This made them happy, because the ones who come to the village from outside, such as teachers, nurses, civil servants and the like, do not want to come but do so as an obligation of their job. Thus the villagers only see people come to the village reluctantly. Understanding my situation was important for them, because generally, to speak and to interact with a foreigner was forbidden for women by men, and by the village's general beliefs. They were not as intimate with me in the beginning as I was a foreigner for them firstly than a woman. After some time they began to be intimate with me. I also carried out participant observation during that two-month period. I went to their weddings and engagements ceremonies, which I did as a member of the village. We had such intimate relations that they behaved as if I was their daughter or sister and at the end of the research they wanted me to marry someone from the village. I did not react seriously to that because I understood that I had erased the hierarchical barrier between us.

5.2. Limitations

There were some limitations to this study. As the woman who would help me told me, it would be better to conduct the study in summer, because the population of the village is highest then. The families who go to the city to work pass their time in the village in summer. They cultivate their lands and in September, after the harvest, they go to the city. So I found it an opportunity for me to reach those people in summer time. Unfortunately I realized that their attitudes to watching TV changes in the summer. They have much work to do then, and also they prefer to stay outside the house instead of staying at home and watching TV. They told me that in winter time they watch the television nearly all of the time. It is also a limitation that the TV channels are seasonal in their broadcasts. It was hard for me to reach information about their TV watching practices; I had to ask always in the past tense, thus: "Which serials did you watch?" However, there were also some programmes that they were still watching regularly, but the most passionately watched programmes were the programmes that they watched in winter and spring time. This could be another subject for audience research into the importance of the seasonal time period related with the audience's exposure to television.

-Are you watching TV now?

I haven't watched TV since the advent of summer. I look at it a bit, then perform the evening praying and go to bed.

-Don't you ever watch TV then?

I look at TV and "Voice of Women/Kadının Sesi". I watch these two. I have little idea about the others. I watch whatever channel these [kids] turn to. (A 27 year old woman)

(-Şimdi televizyon izliyor musun?

Yaz geleli daha hiç televizyon izlemedim. Biraz bakarım, namazı kılar yatarım.

-Hiç bir programı izlemiyor musun yani?

Haberlere bakarım, 'kadının sesi'ne bakarım. İkisini izlerim, öbürlerini pek bilmiyorum. Bunlar [çocukları]ne açarsa onları izlerim.)(27 yaşında bir kadın)

Another limitation for this study was the hierarchical relationship between the respondents and I. I went there by car, driving myself and alone. This is not a usual situation in the village for a girl. Of course, they see such things when they go to the city and perceive my situation considering the rules of the city, but this reveals the differences between us, that I am from the city and they are from the village. It is interesting that it was more difficult for me to communicate with the young girls, because they were comparing themselves with me and felt a little jealous. Some of them did not want to talk with me. I also had the disadvantage of looking younger than I am; they thought I was nearly the same age as them. As often as I found the opportunity, I explained that my age was 29, nearly 13 years older than them. It was an advantage for me to use this age-hierarchy in order to let them feel that I had the ability to conduct this research. On the other hand this caused another difference that the women who were my age looked 20 years older than me, and they felt that the women in the villages become older faster than the women in the cities. They communicated it to me thus: "Look at you, you haven't lost your energy, but in our exhausting way of life, we become older". I became very ashamed on hearing these words, because it was true. One of the good results of this situation was that a mother whose daughter is going to high school, and who is thinking of not sending her to the university told me that, "If she goes to the university, she will not lose much of her vigour, like you; maybe I should send her instead of marrying her off." I do not know if she was honest or not, but at least she thought about sending her daughter to the university once. As the feminist methodology offers a non-hierarchical relationship between the researcher and the respondent, I tried to overcome these obstacles by mentioning to them that I was sharing the same experiences with them, as an observer. I always tried to make them feel that I was not someone who knows something more than they know. Sometimes I expressed my feelings about the serials I watched, and the women's programmes. I was careful not to criticise these programmes, I behaved like an ordinary audience member in front of the television. However, as I am really a good viewer of the serials and the women's programmes, getting pleasure from them, it was not difficult to listen them empathetically.

5.3. The Characteristics of Topaklı Village

In order to get information about the village and its history, I conducted a visit with the headman in the 'village room' where men sit and chat with each other. However, it is not a popular place for men: they do not like the headman mostly, so they do not go there often. When I visited with my father and mother, there were 5 men sitting there.

The questions were answered mostly by an old man other than the headman. Since the headman is a young one, he does not know the history of the village very well, and as I mentioned before, he was reluctant to speak. After this interview, I asked the same questions to the men whom I was close to. This village is attached to Gölbaşı district, 60 km. from Ankara. The number of the households is 130.

There is no council-run transportation; they use the small buses which carry milk to the city for transportation. They explained that in 1995 and 1996, there was an official bus coming to the village, but due to the fact that there were not many people using it, it was cancelled later. There is no village clinic that they go to another village or to the city for their health problems. There is a primary school in the village. The children go to the other village for the classes 6, 7 and 8. For going to the school they have to go to the city or they have to go to the boarding school. The total land area of the village is 36.000 hectares, 20.000 of which are cultivated. The crops that are cultivated in the village are mostly barley and wheat. With the developments in mechanization and watering equipment, the variety of the crops increased. Sunflowers, beans and beet are cultivated. The people also cultivate vegetable gardens for their subsistence. Beekeeping, and the raising of livestock are also their areas of work. The village's agrarian structure is based on family production and small producers, as is characteristic in Turkey.

5.3.1. Women's Everyday Life in the Village

In Topaklı Village, the division of labour is determined by age, sex and marital status. In this context, women work as unpaid family labourers with responsibility for housework, child care, cultivation of the garden, animal care, care of the sick and aged, and labour-intensive crop combinations, while men are responsible for capital-intensive crop cultivation. I've asked a question about their activities in a whole day. A woman from the village recounted one of the days when she was a new bride. She did not have a mother-in-law, her house was separate from that of her husband's family but she explains that it was so hard to divide the workload, because of the mother-in-law's absence. They had the responsibility to care for the animals, which were the common animals of her husband's brothers' families and of his father.

-How was time passed in a whole day?

I used to wake up by the morning call and perform the morning prayer. I would put water onto the fire for the tea and we would eat bread. We were in that small room over there. There was a convertible sofa. I used to take it away and we would have gone before seven. We were walking all the way to the village to milk the cow. We didn't have a barn or something. We used to have one common cow. We were milking it every three days in turns. Sister-in-laws, for there wasn't a mother-in-law, we went through miserable times. It was very hard in the winter. We used to go very early, knock on the sister-in-law's door, take a bucket, warm up ourselves at the barn. It used to be hot in the barn, we were baiting the cow, and my husband was cleaning its manure from the barn. We fed the animal again. We used to leave the barn at 10 and come home. We were feeling hungry, so I would prepare the meal, wash the dishes, then sweep the floors. As I intended to look at TV, time would come again for us to go down the village. We were looking at the cows again, I was doing some crochet there and sitting shortly.

-What were you doing in crochet?

I was making vest for the kids, botees, and lacework. Then we would again look after the cows, milk them and go back. And they would set the table and tell us to sit and eat. But we couldn't allow this to happen everyday of course. I would come home. Afterwards, we would take our milk home, make yogurt from it and sometimes sell it to the milkman. (A 29 year old woman)

(-Bütün bir gün nasıl geçirdi?)

Sabah ezanıyla kalkardım, namazımı kılardım. Çay suyunu koyardım, ekmeği yerdik. Şu küçük

odadaydık, bir çek yat vardı, hemen onu toplardım, sabah 7 olmadan buradan giderdik. Buradan köye yürürdük, inek sağmaya. Bizim ahırımız ineğimiz yoktu, ortak inek vardı. Üçer gün arayla sağıyorduk sırayla. Eltiler yani; kaynana yok ya, pek rezillik çektik. Kışın çok zor olurdu, sabah erken giderdik, eltinin kapısını çalardık, bir kova alırdık, ahırda biraz ısınırdık, ahır sıcak olurdu, yemini döküyorduk, kocam da mayısını çekiyordu, tekrar yemini veriyorduk.10'da çıkıyorduk geliyorduk eve. Karnımız acıkıyordu, yemek hazırlıyordum, bulaşık yıkıyordum, sonra evi süpürüyordum, biraz televizyona bakayım derken 2- 3 gibi tekrar köye iniyorduk. Yine ineklere bakıyorduk, orda biraz elişi yapıyordum, oturuyordum biraz.

-Elişi ne yapıyordunuz?

Çocuklara yelek, patik, kazak, dantel, işleme yapıyordum. Sonra akşam tekrar ineklere bakıp, sütünü sağıp dönüyorduk. Onlar da sofrayı kurup otur ye diyorlardı ama her gün her gün olmaz tabii, ben eve geliyordum. Sonra buraya sütümüzü getiriyorduk, yoğurt yapıyorduk, bazen sütçüye satıyorduk). (29 yaşında bir kadın)

As some of the women cultivate the vegetable garden for their subsistence, some do sell it in the public market or to their neighbours. The one's who does not have a vegetable garden, expressed this situation establishing a similarity between the women living in the cities that they were also going to the public market like the women in Ankara. On Saturdays a public market locates in the village with the sellers from the other villages. The workload of the rural family varies according to the agricultural season. It also affects the television watching attitudes of women. In winter, they usually stay at home and watch television, in the time left after housework, but in summer, they have a lot of work to do, such as agricultural work, hoeing the garden and further housework. Thus, there is little time left to watch the television. They watch it usually in evening, together with the other family members. Some of the women who do not have too heavy a workload say that they also do not watch the television in summer as they watched it in winter because the inside of the house is too hot, so they prefer to stay outside the home.

I don't watch [television] in summer, but in winter I never leave it...Now I watch rarely...In summer we don't want to be inside, it is too hot.(A 42 year old woman)

(Yaz günü pek [television] izlemiyorum ben ... Kışın hiç kalkmam başından. ... Şimdi binde bir ama kışın izliyordum. Yazın içeri girmek istemiyoruz ki, sıcak oluyor, sıkılıyorz.)(42 yaşında bir kadın)

The workload and types of work vary according to the different status levels of women. Young girls from 10 to 15 learn the work done especially inside the house and sometimes go with their mothers to the land to hoe or remove weeds. After the age 14 or 15 a young woman becomes a candidate to be a bride, and waits for marriage. She does not go outside the house, in order to avoid the gossip of the neighbours, comments such as, 'Is there anyone she loves?', 'Will she meet someone?' and the like. In particular, her father and brothers do not let her go outside, unless she is going to school. This situation is especially limited in this village, which has only five girls going to the high school. They only go to school as an outside activity but at weekends and in summer time their situation is the same as that of the other girls who are not allowed to go outside alone in the village.

There is no such village that likes rumor as much as this one. They ask, "isn't she getting married? Isn't she getting married?" After that they ask, "hasn't she had a baby yet?" They ask, "E. is 20 already, isn't she getting married?" Every village gossips, but this village is more of a gossiper. They tell people that we are too choosy and thus don't give the girl.(A 49 year old woman)

Her daughter: It is forbidden to go out ... It is forbidden to uncover your head. A girl can't do anything. She marries at 15 and has a baby soon after that. A very illiterate village this is.(19 year old)

*(Bu köy kadar lafçı sözcü köy yok. 'Evlenmiyor mu evlenmiyor mu?' diyorlar, ondan sonra 'hani bebesi yok mu?' diyorlar. E. 20 yaşına geldi niye evlenmiyor diyorlar. 'Bunun yaşutlarının bebesi var da sen bunu niye vermiyorsun?' diyorlar. Her köy lafçı da, bu köy daha bir lafçı. Biz 'armudun sapı, üzümün çöpü' diyormuşuz da, öyle vermiyormuşuz kızı.(49 yaşında bir kadın)
Kızı: Dışarı çıkmak yasaktır, başını açmak yasaktır. Kız hiçbir şey yapamaz. 15 yaşında evlenir, hemen çocuk yapar. Çok cahil bir köy burası)(19 yaşında).*

I should indicate here that the brides who come from another village never feel that the village is her own village. She always compares the living styles and the behaviour of the village with the village where she came from. Also, the women in the village look at that women as an outsider, and indicate this in a latent way. As it is seen in this example both the mother and the daughter speaks like someone outside the village. While they are talking about the village they say 'this village' not 'our village'.

When they are married, their status, as the young bride, is the lowest. There are some differences from the old times of the village in that the new brides hold all the responsibility for the work inside the house, but in the past, the work outside the house was also their responsibility. If there is an unmarried girl in the house, the bride mostly takes the workload of that girl. After another bride comes to the house and becomes a member of the family, her workload is divided according to the decision of the mother-in-law. In other words, the mother-in-law makes the division of labour among the brides. The older bride's status is higher than the younger bride's.

They all do the work inside the house, but with the 'latent' privilege of the elder bride. This privilege is not given by the mother-in-law but it is given by the age-hierarchy. Another privilege, which seems latent, now, is to have a son. It is not mentioned in the interview, but it is very obvious that the bride, who has a son, or sons, has the privilege. However, in old times it was obvious that a bride who could not give birth to a son was not loved, and this was clearly shown by the others' behaviour and modes of speech toward her.

My-mother-in-law said it was high time I went back to my mother's house. She said so because I gave birth to three girls one after the other and that I can have a boy. They told me to go, they threw me out. My-father-in-law was also step. They didn't want us. And we left. It turned out better. Upon going there, I did have a baby boy. God gave it all right. They behaved beter to me later because I gave birth to a boy. And after that I had nine boys one after the other. Before that I had been called the 'hairy-hoofed mare'. This made me very upset and I always cried. (A 85 year old woman)

(Kaynanam hadi gidin artık evinize dedi. Üç tane kız oldu üst üste, oğlan doğuramıyorum diye, git hadi dediler bana, kovdular. Kayınbabamız üveydi. Ayrı evimiz vardı yukarıda, sizin kahrınızı çekemem dedi kayınbabam, gidin evinizi bilin dedi, kovdu bizi. Biz de gittik. Sonradan sevdiler beni oraya gidince oğlan oldu. Allah verdi işte.. Artık üst üste 9 tane oğlan oldu. Bana topuğu kıllı beygir derlerdi hep kız oluyor diye, ağlardım, üzülürdüm.) (85 yaşında bir kadın)

When the children are grown, usually the houses are separated and the mother-in-law stays with one of her sons or goes to them one after the other. If the sons have migrated to the city, sometimes the mother-in-law decides to stay in the village if her husband is still alive, but if not, she does not stay alone. If the older woman has no son to stay with and needs care, it becomes problematic if her daughter is living with her mother-in-law. Her mother-in-law will not accept her to come to her 'own' house, as she has senior status in the household. Mothers-in-law play a significant role in continuing the patriarchal structure.

Marriage is the identifying factor of the women's status in the village. The role of the bride and the participation of women in the marriage ceremony show us how the patriarchy has shaped this process and the limit of women's participation in the decision making process. In this village, there is only one woman who has never married, but she is an exceptional woman who has worked outside the village for years and has now returned to the village. She has no contact with the other women in the village. If a girl has not married by the time she is 19 years old, nobody from the village wants to marry her. The only opportunity for her to marry is to meet someone from the other villages, if they come to her house to contact her family. Otherwise she can marry someone from the city. When someone comes and speaks with her family about marrying her, her father and her brother/s investigate this person. They try to get information on his identity. Even if the girl likes this person and wants to marry him, if her father or her brothers are informed that he is not a good person, then they do not accept her marriage

to him.

There are some examples of elopement. In these cases, the family refuses to go to the wedding and refuses to have any contact with their daughter and her husband. When she gives birth to a baby, she takes the baby to her mother and father, and the family accepts their daughter. It is not prevalent in the village but there are some cases of it.

My uncle's daughter elope two years ago. She eloped with my uncle's son. My uncle didn't want her to marry him so she eloped.

-How does the family reacts when she elopes?

They react of course. There happens shoutings, fights. After 6 months, everything becomes all right. (A 50 year old woman)

(Benim amcamın kızı kaçtı, iki sene önce. Amcamın oğluna kaçtı. Vermedi amcam, o da kaçtı.

Kaçınca, aile nasıl tepki gösteriyor?

Tepki gösteriyor, göstermez olur mu? Bağırmlar çağırmlar, kavgalar oluyor. Sonra 6 ay olmadan düzeliyor.) (50 yaşında bir kadın)

The women are mostly told that, it is not forbidden for young girls and boys to marry if they love each other, but there is no an exact answer for the question of how they meet, get to know and love each other. The young girls explain that such a lover can be a friend from childhood years; they started to love each other and continued until they grew up. They usually stay in contact via mobile telephone, and meet in the city. The family does not about know these meetings, and the girl lies to her family, claiming that she must go to the city to buy something for school, or that she is going to visit another member of the family, and finds a way to escape. In the past the communication was provided through letters. The duty was given to a little girl or boy who was intelligent enough to convey the letter to the right person. It can be argued that such relationships

between girls and boys have always remained latent in the village. As a response to the question 'How did the girls and boys meet in the past, and how does it happen now?' a 40-year-old woman in the village said:

The boys saw the girls by the village fountain, I guess. There they viewed the girls. There were no verbal assaults or obscene remarks directed to girls as now. His mother and father would ask for the girl's hand. They said, "they had ogled", that is they flirted through looks. It would work if ok.

-How is it now?

Now they talk over the cell phones openly. Now they make arrangements and date. They go to Ankara and meet there. They go to Gençlik Park, meet at Gölbaşı, go up to the hills. It wasn't like this with us... I mean I didn't do such things, there were those who did.(A 40 year old woman)

(Çeşme başında oğlanlar kızları görürdü herhalde, oradan bakarlardı beğendiğine. Öyle laf atma söz atma yoktu. Anası babası isterdi. ' O kız bana baktı' derlerdi. İşte bakışmayla anlaşılırdı. Olursa olurdu.

-Şimdi nasıl görüşüyorlar?

Şimdi cep telefonlarıyla konuşuluyor açık açık. Şimdi görüşüyor, buluşuyorlar. Çıkıp gidiyorlar Ankara'ya orda buluşuyorlar, Gençlik Parkı'na gidiyorlar. Gölbaşı'nda buluşuyorlar, tepelere çıkıyorlar. Bizde yoktu da, yani ben yapmadım öyle şeyler ama yapanlar vardı) (40 yaşında bir kadın).

In the village, marrying relatives is highly prevalent; it is also an honour for the family to marry their son or daughter to a relative. It is usually the daughter/son of the aunt or uncle, or maybe the mother's aunt or uncle, or one of the father's relatives. In this way, the division of land is more controlled and is not given to another family. If one of the brides has a kinship relation to the mother-in-law, and the other is not a blood relative, then the bride who has a kinship relation is more privileged for the mother-in-law. It may be a relative but not a very close one. If the decision to marry is given, the 'promise' ceremony takes place. After this ceremony, the girl and the boy meet in the girl's house. It may be the first time that the girl and the boy have spoken. They are

allowed to stay in a room alone, or with little sister or brother. They speak with each other for a limited time, and if they like each other, the preparations for the wedding start. If either the boy or the girl does not want to marry, the family does not force them to. In the past, the family gave decisions on marriage, which meant that the girl did not see the bridegroom before they were married. Looking at how one 51-year-old woman described the conditions of her own marriage, it can be understood that she did not see her husband prior to the wedding.

As soon as I turned 14 and got 15, they sold me. They gave me out soon. They said he was a man of our village, and they just gave me right away. The man was at the military service, I didn't see him. He too didn't see me. Neither did I see him. He didn't say anything, and I didn't say anything.

-How did you then come along with each other?

Yea we did come along well. He was good and so was I. Why shouldn't we? (A 51 year old woman)

(14 bitip 15 yaşına basınca sattılar işte. Hemen verdiler, görücü usulü. 'Köyümüzün adamı' dediler verdiler işte. Adam askerdeydi zaten o zaman, ben görmedim. O da beni görmemiş, ben de onu görmedim. O da bir şey demedi, ben de bir şey demedim.

-İyi anlaştınız mı peki sonra?

Anlaştık tabii. O iyiydi, ben de iyiydim. Ne var anlaşılamayacak?) (51 yaşında bir kadın)

The responsibility for the preparations for the wedding rests with the mother and the girl who is going to marry. The other female relatives and the neighbours who live near their house help them with their preparations. They spend most of this time process on the trousseau preparation. Even if all the trousseau is ready-made, everything is washed, ironed and exhibited in a room of the bride's house. After all the preparations are finished, two or three weeks from the wedding, it is announced that the women in the village should come and visit the house to see the bride's trousseau. It takes a week for this exhibition. Then the wedding ceremony starts. On the first day of the ceremony, the

bride and the other guests henna their fingers, and dance. The bridegroom and his family also attend this ceremony and dance. On the second day, the wedding ceremony is performed, in which the relatives of the bridegroom and the bride give jewellery, gold and money. In the evening, the religious wedding is performed. The official wedding is performed on the next day, and the bride goes to her husband's family house.

With the marriage, women's labour and sexuality are appropriated by her husband. He has control over women's responsibilities and attitudes. In this context, when the women's behavior threatens the patriarchal family structure, violence is the usual response from her husband, mother-, father- and sister-in-law. The women explained that, in the past, there was more violence against women. A woman who was exposed to violence from family members states that:

And this one time for whatever reason my-brother-in-law hit me, I don't remember but this arm of mine got broken. Küüt! I beat up my Ayhan, he was then only a seven-month-old baby. My father-in-law got very angry with me, telling me not to beat him up. I don't know how I hit him but he turned purple immediately. Only when I die can I forget hitting that baby shamefully. The child passed out on my lap. My-father-in-law did some things, they took out his tongue, spilled water onto his face, etc. and the child recovered. My father-in-law used to protect me all the time. He would say "Touch her once more and I will take her back to her mother's place right away" I haven't been beaten like that by my husband, but by my brother-in-law. My-sister-in-law thrust herself onto my hair so violently that I dropped all the bowls onto the floor. She pulled all my hair, it was all shorn, she pulled handfuls of my hair. The woman tries to save me from her hand, but she can't. 3-4 handfuls of my hair were all gone in this. See? The top of my head is still bare, I don't have hair there.(A 49 year old woman)

(Sonra bir gün kaynım ne için vurduysa, şu kolum küüt diye kırıldı. Ayhan'ımı bir dövdüm, daha 7 aylık bebektir kucagımda. Kayınbabam çok kızdı bana, şu bebeği dövme diye. Nasıl vurduysam bebeğe, morardı gitti hemen. Ölmeyince unutmam o bebeğe vurduğumu. Bayıldı gitti çocuk kucagımda. Kayınbabam, bir şeyler yaptı, dilini falan çekti, su döktiüler de ayıldı çocuk. Kayınbabam çok korurdu beni, 'bundan sonra bu geline bir elleyin, götürüp anasına teslim edeceğim' derdi. 'Yeter bunun çektiği' dedi. O kaynımdan yediğim dayağı kocamdan yemedim. Görüncem, bir sarıldı saçlarıma, taslar elimden yerlere düştü. Saçlarıma hep yoldu, yün oldu yün saçlarım, hep yoldu avuç avuç. Kadın elinden almaya çalışıyor beni ama alamıyor. Üç dört avuç saçlarım hep yolundu gitti, bak hala kafamın üstü açık, saçlarım yok).(49 yaşında bir

kadın)

Another woman in the village who was exposed to violence by her husband, and herself exposed her children to violence, explains this situation as follows:

... if the man comes exhausted and if you ask him to go and do the painting, he beats you of course....It won't? Of course yes. Everybody's husband beats, but they say they were kicked by the cow, I bumped my head to the closet kind of things. They don't tell that their husbands have beaten them. No I don't [resist]. What else can he do? He comes home tense and just beats me to get relieved.

-What do you do to get relieved?

I beat the children.(29 year old women)

(... adam yorgun argın gelmişken, kalk şu badanayı yap dersin dövüyor tabii...morarmaz mı, morarır tabi. Herkesin kocası döver de, inek tepti, kafamı dolaba vurdu falan derler, kocam dövdü demezler. ... [Karşı] çıkmıyorum, ne yaparsın, sinirli gelince eve, rahatlamak için dövüyor işte.

-Sen sinirli olunca, rahatlamak için ne yapıyorsun?

Ben de çocukları dövüyorum.)(29 yaşında bir kadın)

It is obvious that the women internalize the violence and reproduce the patriarchal structure. It is also stated that women do not share this experience with the other women. However they identify with the women that feature on television. In this context; the relation between the rural women and television is meaningful. The results of the survey conducted in this study show that a high percentage of the Topaklı women watch the television every day.

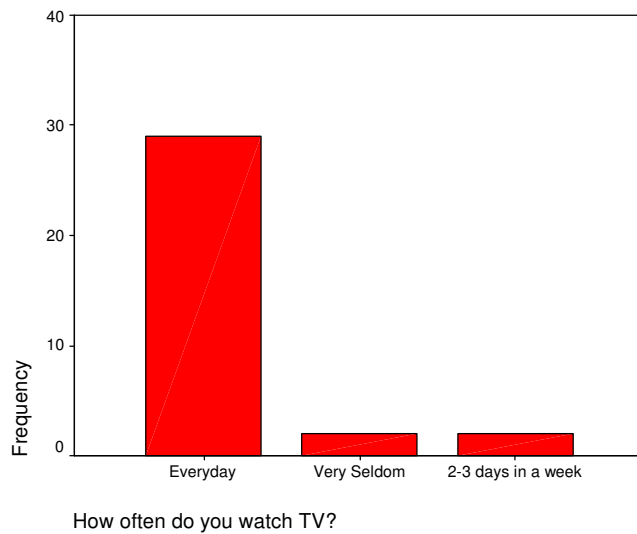


Figure 3 Frequency of Watching TV

The time spent in front of the television is a part of women's everyday life experiences. Rural women's everyday life is associated with the domestic sphere. The theories concerning the effects of the media, especially those of Gerbner, state that the television becomes a member of the family.¹³⁷ This statement reveals the importance of television studies, considering its relation with the audience. In this study, while I was conducting the in-depth interviews, I recognized that women are explain nearly every situation in their everyday lives with emphasis on the change, and when I specifically asked the question, "What brought about this change?" they explained that it was the mechanization of agriculture and their everyday lives, migration to the cities (only Ankara in this village), and the television. However, it seems that the roles of these elements are too mixed to allow understanding of the significant actor in the "change" concept, so I tried to understand the role of the television considering its different effects on the audiences in accordance with the theories in the literature.

¹³⁷ G.Gerbner et al., 1986

5.4. The Role of Television in Women's Everyday Life in the Village

In this study, the most significant role of the television in rural women's life is that it informs them about the public sphere outside their domestic sphere in an indirect way, as stated in Ertürk's study: "Women are drawn into a private domain, their linkage with the wider society is indirect either via the media (radio, television) or through representation by their men- folk."¹³⁸ I have analysed the role of the television with its relation to the concepts of information, socialization, identification and entertainment.

5.4.1. Sexual Division of Labour

As I have explained before, one of the television's characteristics as 'source of information' is significant, if we are to understand its role in rural women's everyday lives. When I look at the concept of sexual division of labour in rural women's everyday life, I see that there is an important role of television in it. With the function of giving information, television provides a lot of information about lifestyles, points of view, gender roles and relations different from the rural women's. As mentioned before there are other elements which provide some changes in rural women's everyday life, but television intensifies these elements' effects.

When we think of the rural women, sexual division of labour is the determinant factor of their everyday practices. The patriarchal structure shapes the sexual division of labour, which is very strong in rural areas. It is also the space of control by women and men. According to FAO reports, "Agricultural tasks are partly or wholly gender specific...However, because societies are constantly evolving and adapting to new pressures, the allocation of tasks between sexes within the community also undergoes change."¹³⁹ In Topaklı, as the unpaid family labourer, women have responsibility for

¹³⁸ Ertürk, Y. 1989, p.5

¹³⁹ FAO 1985, p.6

housework, child care, cultivation of the garden, animal care, care of the sick and aged, and labour-intensive crop combinations, while men are responsible for capital-intensive crop cultivation. In response of the question: 'Do you have a job?' they answered mostly, 'No,' considering only waged labourer as "work".

The women explained that there have been some changes in this division of labour. The changes for women are; driving the tractor and the car (limited to 3 women), and going to the crop field to help their husbands. As for men, they have started to help their wives paint the walls although it was only women's duty in the past; they cook when their wife is ill, they help clean the house, especially shaking out rugs. I have to indicate that these changes are limited to a change in the limit of the sharp division of labour. The limits became blurred in some kinds of labour. In the past it was very important for a man if he had to do some kind of work labelled as 'women's work', but now, however, there are only some fields strictly divided into men's and women's; depending on the situation, men can be involved in the women's work.

The important point is that there is no change in the division of men's and women's work, but with the act of 'help' they can be involved in the 'other's' side. By helping each other, they try to erase the sharp border between men's and women's work. This sharpness is mostly related with men's position, because to do a woman's work means to be a like woman, which is very dangerous for his status. As cited in Kandiyoti's study "The matter of the first provision of being a man is not to be a woman."¹⁴⁰ It is an important state to be a man, which is a gained status, but being a woman is a given status from birth. A woman from the village explained the division of labour and the changes in this situation:

¹⁴⁰ R. Stoller and G.H. Herdt *The Development of Masculinity: a Cross-cultural Contribution*, *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 30, 1982 p.34. quoted in Kandiyoti, Deniz *Cariyeler, Bacular, Yurttaslar (Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler)* Metis Yayınları 1997, p.185-186

Today men do help. In the past they didn't really help. They used to go the coffeehouses and sit there longer instead.

-How come is the situation like this then?

The women today have turned up to be dandy. There are these televisions. She doesn't let anyone maltreat her. There are machines at homes, the washing machine, say, is always running at home. If a woman doesn't have one at home, she is of a rare kind. Women today dare to say to men, "You get tired. How about me? Don't you think I also get tired?" In addition, now women and men work together. Once, men used to go to the field and ploughed the field with motor vehicles. They used to say that men got tired. Now women also go to the fields, and say "you go to the field, and so do I. You prepare the staw of the cows, and I will do the milking'. Not incidentally, There aren't many now who milk cows, very rare. There are machines now, thus women do not go to the barn very often. It is the men who set the machine, have the cow milked, take the milk and come.

-Can I take it then that this change is a result of both machines and television?

She learns from the television, yes. She looks and sees that other men's wives and daughters just sit, so she asks herself why she should work. In the past people used to take each other as a model, and it was the only means of learning. For example, if the man brought a drum of water, they would automatically condemn him, whereas now if there is no water, men bring it. They say it is too heavy for women to carry or that the woman is pregnant. When you go to the doctor, the doctor tells the women to lie and not to carry weight.

Women don't go when it is the yield time of barley and wheat crops. They go when there is cummin, chickpea, hoe, unripe melon, and bean work.

-You said that men started to lend a hand to women. Which programmes do you think are they influenced by?

Now they look at women's programmes, at the working women and the working men. And one more thing because now men go to Ankara for business, they see the women in Ankara and those in the village. And since summer house people come from Ankara. In other words, now there are many families which work in Ankara in winter and come here for vacation in the summer. This also makes a change. In Ankara both women and men work. So when they come to Ankara, and when they are to do some garden work, they do it together. Then women here say, "her husband does this, why don't you do it?" In the past the men wouldn't do painting, now men also do the painting. Now they see it on television, even in the commercials. "See? It is the men who do the painting," they say. They see that it is always the men who work. In the past men would feel bad when they worked, I don't know maybe they were bothered by being women-like. Now they have perceived that there is no men's or women's job anymore. Men come to women's help themselves anyway. They look and see: women also work with me .. she also gets tired, we mess the house together. As a result he helps with the cleaning.(A 29 year old woman)

(Artık erkekler yardım ediyor. Eskiden erkekler pek yardım etmezlerdi. Kahvede gidip daha çok otururlardı.

-Şimdi nasıl böyle oldu peki?

Şimdiki kadınlar yaman çıktı, televizyonlar var işte, kendini ezdirmiyor ki artık. Makineler var evlerde, çamaşır makinesi falan çalışıyor her evde. Çok nadir birkaç kişinin yok. Kadınlar artık adamlara, sen yoruluyorsun da ben yorulmuyor muyum diyorlar. Şimdi bir de kadınla erkek beraber çalışıyor. Tarlaya eskiden erkekler gidip motorla tarlayı sürüyordu. Yoruluyor erkek diyorlardı. Şimdi kadın da gidiyor tarlaya, onun için 'sen de gidiyorsun tarlaya ben de

gidiyorum' diyorlar, 'sen ineğin samanını dök, ben sağayım' deniyor. Sağmayı da yapan yok, çok nadir. Artık makineler var, onun için kadınlar artık ahıra da pek gitmiyorlar, erkekler takıyor makineyi, sağıyor, sütü alıp geliyorlar.

-Bu değişimin nedeni hem makineler, hem de televizyon mu diyorsun yani?

Televizyondan öğreniyor tabii ki, bakıyor herkesin karısı kızı oturuyor, niye eskisi gibi çalışsın? Eskiden herkes birbirinden ne görüyorsa o oluyormuş. Mesela erkek bir bidon su getirirse, kınıyorlarmış, şimdi su akmayınca erkek getiriyor, ağır, kadın nasıl kaldırsın diyorlar. Hamile diyorlar, doktora gittiğin zaman doktor, yat diyor hamile kadına mesela, ağır kaldırma diyor.

Ekin, arpa, buğday olduğu zaman gitmez kadınlar. Kimyon, nohut yolunacak olursa, çapa olursa, kelek, fasulye olursa onlara gider kadınlar.

-'Erkekler, kadınlara yardım etmeye başladı' dedin, daha çok hangi programlardan etkileniyorlar sence?

Şimdi kadın programlarına bakıyorlar, çalışan kadına, çalışan erkeğe bakıyorlar. Bir de erkekler artık Ankara'ya da gidip geldiği için, Ankara'daki kadını da görüyorlar, köydeki kadını da görüyorlar. Bir de Ankara'dan yazlıkçılar geldiği için. Yani kışın Ankara'da çalışıp yazın buraya gelen bir sürü aile var artık. O da değiştiriyor. Ankara'da kadın da çalışıyor, erkek de çalışıyor, buraya gelip bahçe işi yapacakları zaman ikisi bir çalışıyor. O zaman buradaki kadın da 'onunki yapıyor da sen niye yapmıyorsun?' diyor. Eskiden badana yapmazdı erkekler, şimdi badanayı erkekler de yapıyor. Şimdi televizyonlarda görüyorlar, reklamlarda bile görüyorlar. 'Bak görüyor musun erkekler yapıyor badanayı' diyorlar. Bakıyorlar hep erkekler çalışıyor şimdi. Eskiden erkekler çalışınca kendini kötü hissediyordu, kadın gibi mi hissediyordu artık. Şimdi kadın erkek işi kalmadığını onlar da kavradı, kendileri yardım ediyor zaten. Bakıyor, 'bu da çalışıyor benimle beraber, bu da yoruluyor' diyor, 'evi birlikte kirtletiyoruz diyor', temizliğe yardım ediyor.)(29 yaşında bir kadın)

As I have mentioned, the division of labour is determined by age, sex and marital status. The changes in this sharp division also affected the other elements such as age and marital status. The women indicated in the village that in the past nearly all the housework was done by the bride, but now the mother-in-law and her daughter also share the workload of the bride.

-Is it generally the daughter-in-law who does the housework?

She used to do it a lot in the past. It is not the situation now. If there are other girls, they share the chores. They do it together with the mother-in-law. Daughter-in-laws today are generally live comfortably. There is also less housework due to the machines. She loads the laundry and the hot water is ready. In the past they say it was the daughter-in-law who carried the water. If the mother-in-law did work outside the house, the daughter-in-law would do work inside the house. She would for example wash the laundry, hang them, etc. It is not like this now.(A 31 year old woman)

(-Ev işlerini genellikle gelin mi yapar?)

Eskiden gelin çok yapıyormuş. Şimdi öyle değil, kız varsa ortak yapıyorlar, kaynanayla birlikte yapıyorlar. Genelde şimdiki gelinler rahat. Bir de makineler olduğu için fazla bir iş yok. Çamaşırı dolduruyor, sıcak suyu hazır. Eskiden mesela suyu gelin kız getiriyormuş. Dışarının işini kaynana yapıyorsa, içerinin işini gelin kız yapıyormuş. Çamaşırı yıkıyormuş, seriyormuş. Şimdi öyle değil.) (31 yaşında bir kadın)

With the help of television's function of showing other life styles different from those of the village and the growing space of 'public opinion', some changes in the village occur. As Neumann revealed in her study, television allows people to be informed about what the other people are doing, what the prevailing events are, and the public's opinion. "The media in general and television in particular not only tells us what to think about, they provide the sanctioned view of what everyone else is thinking. Therefore the individual actually gets the knowledge of prevailing events, thoughts, the most popular people; in other words the public opinion, from the television."¹⁴¹ One of the previously quoted village women states that before television, they acted in accordance with whatever they saw from each other: "*In the past people used to take each other as a model, and it was the only means of learning.... . Now they see it on television, even in the commercials. 'See? It is the men who do the painting' they say*" but now the space of the people is not limited to the village; as the space has grown, so has their space of 'public opinion'. The words of Meyrowitz explain the relation between the television and our social locations: "Television may not deepen our understanding of a variety of forms of life, but it at least offers a surface familiarity with others who do not share our immediate social locations."¹⁴²

This brings the feeling of belonging to that space, which is created by the television. This point is important for this study, because as a hypothesis I tried to find out if there is a role of television that makes rural women marginalized from the life they live, but I

¹⁴¹ Noelle–Neumann, E. 1983, p.161

¹⁴² Meyrowitz, J. *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour*. New York, Oxford University Press 1985.

have found that it works in the opposite direction, that television lets rural women become involved in the society without a feeling of being different. Television eliminates the borders of city/village and creates another group of people. People meet in the news, in women's programmes, in serials and in advertisements. Watching the same kind of programme lets people to be in the same space with the others. The difference between the rural and urban tends to be decreasing. As a 15 year old girl explained, they learn how to act in the city.

TV brings people together. You know, for example, how the urban people are. You will know how they talk, how they behave, how they dress, for example.(A 15 year old girl)

(Yakınlaştırıyor televizyon insanları. Şehirdeki insanın nasıl olduğunu bilirsin mesela. Nasıl konuşacağını, nasıl davranacağını, nasıl giyineceğini bilirsin.)(15 yaşında bir kız)

As a result, with television's function of showing the world outside the village, it affects the people's current beliefs about the sexual division of labour. Men start to help their wives and women start to help their husbands. But as a result, the workload of neither the women nor the men changes, because women do not like the work done by their husbands in the 'women's work space'. For example, one of the women in Topaklı village tells of her response to her husband's help:

-What does your husband do at home for example to help you? What are the things he does at home?

For example he cuts grass and lays straws for the cows in the evenings. What else can he do? He doesn't do anything other than these.

-Does he help with the paint and limewash?

No never but it is okay.

-Is it your husband only, or can we generalize to the other husbands?

It is a little bit mine. So I think it is all about me. I don't want to have him do them. I don't like the things done by others. He doesn't do them properly. I do my work myself. Only rarely, that is if I am ill or something, he makes some soup for me, and that is always lumpy. He sometimes prepares breakfast, makes scrambled eggs with vegetables.

-Does he make the beds?

Well even if he does, the pile of sheets and quilts collapse as soon as he puts it here. He can't make it. I am little bit peevish. I don't want to get him to do them. There are, however, women who do. Men can't really do women's work properly. Just as a woman can't do man's job properly, men can't do women's job straight. It is in the women's nature I guess, she works women's job herself. If am to plow the field, I won't be able to do it as men do, I assume. Everybody's job is tailored for him or her. But he helps me during the time of illnesses, which is good. (A 29 year old woman)

(-Senin kocan ne işlere yardım ediyor mesela? Evde yaptığı işler neler?)

Mesela akşamları ineklere ot biçer, ineklere yem, saman döker. Başka ne yapacak? Başka evde pek iş yapmaz.

-Boya badanaya yardım ediyor mu?

Hiç etmez sağ olsun!

-Senin kocan mı böyle hepsi mi böyle?

Benimki biraz böyle, yani bende biten bir şey. Ben yaptırmak istemiyorum. Sevmiyorum ben başkasını yaptığı işi, düzgün yapmıyor. Ben kendi işimi kendim yapmak istiyorum. Çok nadir hasta falan olursam, o zaman bir hazır çorba karıştırıyor, o da top top oluyor. Menemen kahvaltı falan hazırlar.

-Yatak falan toplar mı peki?

Valla, toplasa da şuraya koyar koymaz yıkılıyor. Beceremiyor. Ben biraz titizim, yaptırmak istemiyorum. Yaptıran var ama. Erkek, kadının işini pek de düzgün yapamıyor. Kadın nasıl erkeğin işini onun gibi yapamıyorsa, erkek de kadının işini kadın gibi yapamıyor. Kadının yaradılışında var herhalde, beceriyor kendisi. Ben de tarla sürsem, erkek gibi süremem herhalde. Herkesin işi kendine göre. Ama hastalıkta yardım ediyor, o iyi oluyor.) (29 yaşında bir kadın)

This example reveals how the patriarchal structure continues with the participation and help of the women, and how they internalize it. As she does all of the work in the household, she sees this situation as a naturally given position of men and women. She divides the works done by women and men; however she believes that she won't be able to plow the field as men do, and she does not. Therefore she doesn't want her husband to do the women's work believing that he can not do it as well as she does. It can be argued that she creates a space of herself that her husband can not be successful and needs his wife, however she also needs her husband for the men's work. This could be seen the reason to be a family, the need of the husband and the wife to each other.

5.4.2. Social Relations

There is an important role of the television in rural women's everyday life which was revealed in the in-depth-interviews. I tried to get the picture of their social relations with a comparison of the past and the present. The women, who are old enough to remember their everyday lives before the television, explained that the relation between the women was more intimate in the past. The neighbours interacted with each other more, and they spent more time together. As for the need for information, the women got it from the other women and from their neighbours. The young girls especially came together more in the past; however, in the present, their space in the village is very limited if they do not go to school. The young girls also informed me about the role of the television in social relations telling their memories about the times when the electricity was cut. They clarified what they live through when there is no electricity: everyone in the house starts to speak with each other. It seems to be a good example of television's effect on the social relations.

It isolates people from each other, I think. When there is a power cut at home, first there is silence for a while and soon after this, everybody starts talking, that is, getting closer. On this point, TV is bad, for it ties people down.(A 17 year old girl)

(Televizyon insanları uzaklaştırıyor bence. Evde elektrikler gidince, önce bir sessizlik oluyor, sonra hemen konuşmaya başlıyor herkes, bir yakınlık oluyor yani. O açıdan kötü televizyon, herkesi bağladığı için.) (17 yaşında bir kız)

For one thing it makes people closer, for another it makes them distant. All are in it. People get themselves into their houses. Neighbours don't go to each other. Once, they were closer as in those weddings. But on the other hand, we can see those very far from us, those with whom we have never come into contact. It makes us closer to them.(A 54 year old woman)

(Bir baksan yakınlaştırıyor, bir baksan uzaklaştırıyor. Hepsi var içinde. İnsanlar evine kapanıyor, komşular birbirine gidip gelmiyorlar. Eskiden, o düğünler gibi birbirine daha yakındı herkes. Ama o televizyondan da uzaktakileri, tanımadıklarımızı görüyoruz, onlara da

yakınlaştırıyor.) (54 yaşında bir kadın)

The old women told me that the old days were better than the nowadays. They were closer with the neighbours, they shared their good and bad days, but now nobody knows what her neighbour is doing. They don't know if she is well or ill. They also express their belief that the neighbourhood in the city is better than in the village. The concept of kinship is important for their relationships; however, they state that only the relatives meet in the village, being a neighbour doesn't mean meeting. One of them expresses this situation saying: '*Now you don't really go [to neighbours] as you sit with the television.*' Here television is considered as someone who you can sit with.

Well ... Yes we neighbours used to see each other more often. They would go to the neighbour at 6 and come back at 8. They would boil ribs and cook corns. Now there is no such thing. The relatives all go to each other's place and everybody seats himself in front of a TV...somehow it is not done any more. We don't go to neighbours as often as the inhabitants of Ankara do these days. You just have an occasional chat at the door if you see them outside, or else you don't go. It seems that everybody watches TV. In the past we were more likely to get bored at home and go to the neighbour. Now we look at TV as if it is good company, or as if it is a neighbour visiting us in our house

-It is said that it was more common to go to neighbors in the past.

Conversely, now it is not commonly practiced to go to each other. Now there are local grocers and markets, whereas in the past, you would go and ask the neighbor whenever you needed something at home. You used to borrow it from the neighbor as it was not possible to go to Ankara.

-Were evening get-togethers common?

Yes of course. They were... to sit and talk. Now you don't really go as you sit with the television. Everybody sits at home in a realm of their own. In the past children had no lessons, there was no school. As a result, they used to get bored. "For goodness sake, let's take the kids so that they can play with each other," they used to say. "Let them play in one room, and us play in one room and crochet, take crochet patterns from each other," they used to say. Today TV shows everything, the patterns, handiwork, etc. If you are interested, there are women's programs. They show everything from needlework to embroidery. It is better like this. In the past, you would go two or three times, and then there would certainly be a quarrel. There would be so many "he-said, she-said", so much gossip, and the kids would also fight when playing. Even if you go to the neighbor today, about two children come together. In the past there would be many more. Now the children do their homework.

-Don't you meet anymore?

We again see each other. On blue days, when we have a problem, when we are in trouble, in times of grief or weddings. Other than this, however, you don't go and sit like that. Usually, you come together with relatives instead.(A 29 year old woman)

(Tabii, daha çok görüşürdük komşularla. Saat 6'da giderlerdi komşuya, 8'de dönerlerdi. Kavurga kaynatırlardı, mısır haşlarılardı eskiden, şimdi hiç öyle bir şey yok. Hep akrabalar bir birine gelip gidiyorlar. Herkes bir televizyonun başına geçiyor...e ne biliyim gidilmiyor şimdi. Ankaralılar kadar komşuya gitmiyoruz biz burada. Dışarıda bir kapıda görürsen konuşuyorsun, yoksa gidilmiyor. Herkes televizyon izliyor herhalde. Eskiden daha çok sıkılırdık evde, komşuya giderdik. Şimdi arkadaş gibi televizyona bakıyoruz, komşu gibi evimize geliyor işte.

-Eskiden komşulara daha çok gidip gelinirmiş

Şimdi eskisi gibi birbirine gidip gelme yok. Şimdi bakkallar marketler var, eskiden bir şeyin olmasa komşuya giderdin. Ankara'ya gitme imkânın olmadığı için, komşudan ödünç alırdın.

-Akşam oturmasına falan gidilir miydi?

Gidilirdi tabii oturmaya, konuşmaya. E şimdi televizyonla oturduğun için fazla gitmiyorsun. Kendi halinde evinde oturuyor herkes. Eskiden dersi yoktu çocukların, okul yoktu. Okul olmadığı için, çocuklar da sıkılıyordu, 'aman çocukları götürelim de oynasınlar' deniyordu. Onlar bir odada oynasın, biz de bir odada oturalım, el işi yapalım, örnek alalım diyorlardı. Şimdi televizyon örneği, işlemeyi hepsini gösteriyor. İstersen kadın programları var, nakış dikiş her şeyi gösteriyor. Böylesi daha iyi. Eskiden iki üç kere gidiyordun, sonra dövüş oluyordu. Bir sürü laf söz oluyordu. Mesela, 'sen benim hakkımda şöyle demişin' deniyordu, şu şöyle demiş deniyordu, dedikodu yapılıyordu, sonra çocuklar oynarken dövüşüyorlardı. Şimdi gitsen de iki çocukla gidiyorsun, eskiden çocuk daha çoktu. Şimdi çocuklar dersini yapıyor.

-Şimdi komşuna hiç gidip gelmiyor musun?

Yine görüşüyoruz, bir derdimizde, sıkıntımızda, acımızda, düğünümüzde. Ama onun dışında öyle oturmaya pek gidilmiyor. Genelde akrabalarla daha çok konuşuluyor.) (29 yaşında bir kadın)

In spite of they miss the old days that they met more, they express that when they met they quarrelled sometimes, but now the quarrels decreased in parallel with their rarely coming together. However they do not quarrel as much as they did in the past they also do not chat, do not share the problem's of the other's and do not know what is happening inside the house of her neighbour but she knows everything happens all around the world, in Turkey and in cities just like living in there with a television.

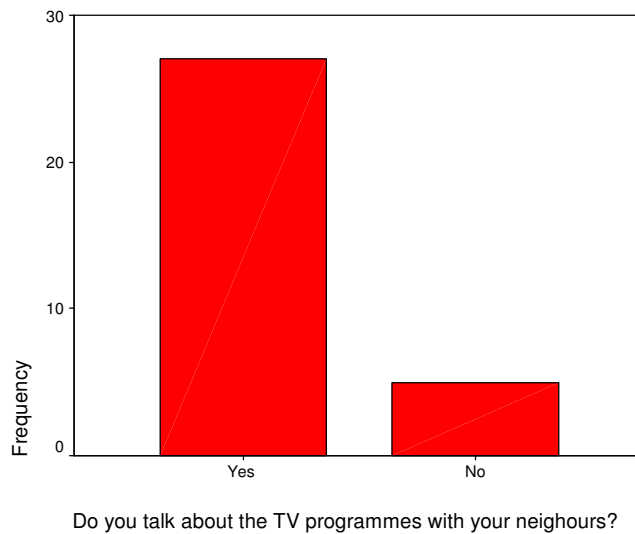


Figure 4 Talking about the TV programmes

One of the important findings of this study is that when the neighbours meet they like to talk about the programmes they watch on television. It can be argued that whether television has a role to detach them, it also plays a role to attach them. They talk about the programmes they watch, they criticise it and the television creates a space for the groups who like the same programmes. The ones who don't like the same programmes don't discuss a lot, but the ones who like the same programme; they discuss and transfer some issues if the other women have missed. This can be explained as a process of socialization of women.

Another point that is signified by the Topaklı women is that they argued more when they had more interaction, before the television. The biggest arguments happened near the fountain before the water main came to the village. While they told about the difficulties of carrying water, especially in the winter time, they also described the big arguments between the women which finished with beatings. They happened mostly because of the queue. They quarrelled, saying, "It's my turn," or, "You've spent too long." Finally, they would start saying rude words to each other.

Once upon a time there was a fountain, we saw each other, we spoke and quarrelled. Now we don't see each other. They hit each other and caused quarrel either by pulling hair or they escaped.(A 66 year old woman)

(Evet, o zamanlar, çeşme vardı, görüyorduk, konuşuyorduk, kavga ediyorduk. Şimdi kimsenin birbirini gördüğü yok. Birbirlerini iterlerdi, kavga çıkardı çeşmede, ya saç saça girerlerdi, ya da kaçardı bir tanesi.) (66 yaşında bir kadın)

Because of this there were a lot of women who argued with each other. When they evaluate the present time, there are fewer women who do not speak each other, except the relatives who quarrelled over the division of land by inheritance. A 16 year old girl going to the high school explained the role of the television in women's social relations. She said that the stories and the lives of the people in the serials took the place of the people gossiped about in the village.

Now my mother and the neighbours are talking about the women whom they have seen on the "Voice of Women" programme, or they are talking about the situations that they've seen in the serials like gossiping. They don't care as much about the people in the village as they care the characters on the television.(A 16 year old girl)

Şimdi annem ve komşular dedikodu yapmak yerine 'Kadının Sesi' programında gördükleri kadınları ya da dizilerde olanları konuşuyorlar. Artık köydekileri, televizyonda gördükleri oyuncular kadar önemsemiyorlar.(16 yaşında bir kız)

Another woman pointed out the distinguished function of the television with its appearance as an image, different from most of the communication by the words in the village. She says that television took the place of the neighbour, because she was

describing something orally but television showed the same thing as a picture. For her it is more effective to understand something by seeing than hearing.

It puts a distance in between us as to neighbourhood, but brings us closer as to increasing knowledge. You have the opportunity to know people of various kinds. That is, it makes you distant to someone who is actually near you and closer to someone who is actually far. When you see a doctor, a lawyer, a policeman, you get to know what kind of people they are. You learn how a doctor thinks, what a policeman does, but when doing so you get farther from your neighbour, and your relative. We used to go to the neighbour and ask, "How can I do this and that, girl?" Now, however, the TV gives all the answers. Because it shows applied programs on specialized subjects. For example, it shows how you can prevent dough from becoming loose, thus it turns out somewhat more effective than what the neighbour tells you.(A 42 year old woman)

(Komşuluk olarak uzaklaştırıyor, fakat düşünce bilgiyi artırma bakımından yakınlaştırıyor. Her çeşit insanı tanıma fırsatın oluyor. Yani yakınındakiyle uzaklaştırıyor, uzağındakiyle yakınlaştırıyor. Bir doktoru, bir avukatı, bir polisi gördüğün zaman nasıl olduğunu öğreniyorsun. Doktorun nasıl düşündüğünü, polisin ne yaptığını öğreniyorsun ama işte ona bakarken de kendi akrabandan, komşundan uzaklaşıyorsun. Eskiden komşuya gidiyorduk, 'kız şunu nasıl yapacağım' diye soruyorduk, şimdi televizyon hepsini söylüyor. Uygulamalı olarak gösterdiği için, hamurun ne yumuşaklıkta olacağını gösteriyor mesela, o yüzden komşunun anlattığından daha bir etkili oluyor.) (42 yaşında bir kadın)

It attracts people to the city of course. It makes one closer with those who live very far. Take me, for example. I have never seen Eastern Turkey. Without TV I will never know how they live over there, but I see it on TV, get to know about them. In other words, it brings us closer. Yet, it really isolates us from those at home.(A 17 year old girl)

(Şehre çekiyor televizyon tabii. Uzaktakilerle yakınlaştırıyor. Mesela ben Türkiye'nin doğusunu görmedim hiç, televizyon olmasa onların orada nasıl yaşadıklarının hiç bilemeyeceğim, ama televizyonda görüyorum tanıyorum, onlarla yakınlaştırıyor yani. Ama evdeki insanlarla uzaklaştırıyor gerçekten.) (17 yaşında bir kız)

Another change in the social relations is that the old women told folk tales in the past as

an entertainment for the children. These folk tales were sometimes about real situations, or sometimes imaginative and frightening. The ones who remember these tales say that they were better than the stories they watch on the television. But some of the tales were frightening and this left the children afraid. A 15-year-old girl talked about some kinds of stories about the evil spirits which were real. She explains that she was listening to these stories from the old women and they all believed those stories and they were very scared. Because they believed these stories, they were seeing those evil spirits in reality. And she emphasises that before the television, those kind of frightening stories were told in the evening.

And for another thing my grandmother's clan used say that you could hear babies' voices, and they are the demons' babies calling human beings to their side. Only women could hear them, they said, and these women said to their husbands "a child is crying, go and check it". The men listened but didn't hear anything. My sister-in-law however heard the same sayings till morning. Then my mother would also tell the same stories. She says they said that the demons came to women who had just given birth to a baby. When I was born, this happened also to my mother, she lifted me to her lap, then the door was opened and a woman who had a headscarf and whose hair had turned white entered. As my mother said, she pointed to the child like this as if she was saying "give me the child". My mother was so scared that she was pinching my flesh in the meantime. Then she understood that the woman was making gestures as if to have me suffocated. My mother would wake up my father. When he woke up, the woman would go, but when he slept again, she would come again. As it went on like this, my mother stayed up till morning like that reciting all the suras she knows. My mother says in the past such occurrences were more frequent, but there aren't many now. I sometimes felt like laughing at the probability of these being real. I don't really believe in such things, yet they tickle my mind. In earlier times there was no TV, and there were frequent power cuts. So as we were sitting together at nights, people used to tell such scary things.(A 15 year old girl)

(Bir de anneanneler anlatırlardı, 'bebek sesi gelmiş, cinlerin çocukları ağlarmış, insanları yanlarına çağırırmiş. Ben bayılırdım o hikâyelere. Sadece kadınlar duyuyormuş, kocasına diyormuş ki, 'git bak şuraya bir çocuk ağlıyor' diye, gidip bakıyormuş adam, duymuyormuş o. Sabaha kadar duymuş öyle yengem. Sonra annem de anlatırdı, 'lohusa insana gelir cin' derlermiş. Ben doğduğumda öyle annemin başına da gelmiş, beni kucığına almış, sonra kapı açılmış birden başı bağlı, beyaz saçları çıkmış bir kadın girmiş içeri, böyle 'çocuğu ver' diye işaret ediyormuş, annem de korkudan beni sıkıyormuş. Sonra anlamış ki, ben boğulayım diye o kadın öyle işaret yapıyormuş. Babamı uyandırmış, babam uyanınca kadın gidiyormuş, sonra tekrar geliyormuş. Sabaha kadar uyuyamamış öyle, bütün sureleri okumuş. Annem eskiden daha çok olurdu böyle şeyler diyor, şimdi yok diyor. Benim bazen güleceğim gelirdi, bunlar gerçek

mi diye, pek inanmam ben yani ama kurcalıyor kafamı. Önceden televizyon yoktu, elektrikler de çok giderdi, o zaman akşam otururken hep böyle korkunç korkunç şeyler anlatırlardı.) (15 yaşında bir kız)

Her mother has told her that ‘in the past the evil spirits were appearing but now they don’t appear anymore.’ She says that she doesn’t believe these stories; she laughs. Another woman aged 38 tells that her mother told her some stories too. She does not know if they were true stories or not.

..Well you know what those the mothers say. They started with “once upon a time...” ...they also told true stories, this one time at a village they cut a man, a beggar came, he broke into a house, etc. We don’t know whether they made up these stories to stop us from opening the door or whether they really did happen.(A 38 year old woman)

(...İşte annemler anlatırlardı, “bir varmış, bir yokmuş” diye başlarıydı...kendi başlarından geçeni de anlatırlardı, işte köyün birinde şöyle olmuş, adamı kesmişler, işte dilenci gelmiş, eve girmiş diye anlatırlardı, artık kendileri mi uydururlardı, biz kapıyı açmayalım diye, yoksa gerçekten olmuş şeyler miydi bilmiyorum.)(38 yaşında bir kadın)

5.4.3. Individuality

While I was conducting this study, I realized that television as a space has value for the rural women since watching television is the only action that she does for herself. When a woman from the village explains her everyday life, she relates all the work done by herself which is for her children, for her husband or for the whole family to continue their subsistence. However, when she watches the television, it happens to be the only action which she does for her own needs, or to get pleasure by watching the entertainment programmes. It can be said that going to a wedding for example is also a kind of an action for entertainment but the difference with the television is that the one who is watching the television can do this individually, but going to a wedding is a

social action. There is a requirement for her to go to a wedding, for example, because if she doesn't go there, it may be perceived that she doesn't like the family whose wedding is happening. But watching the television is an action only for herself. However, this study has revealed that the control of the television is not with a woman except when she is alone at home. The priority is with the children to choose the channel in the day time. In the evening the remote control is with the husband or the son. Therefore, the percentage of the women who want to have their own room and their own television is highest as a finding of the survey.

It can be argued that there is no space for rural women, except a limited space in the television. 'Individuality' is a concept which is ignored in the village. The status of the woman is associated with her children, husband and household labour. As indicated before, with Ecevit's¹⁴³ emphasis, they are perceived as the daughters of their fathers, the wives of their husbands and the mothers of their children. A woman from the village explained that the women like to be alone more. The emphasis is not on being alone in fact, the emphasis is on the women liking to be alone with the television.

People get more detached from the larger society I guess. They tend to like solidarity now.(A 29 year old woman)

(Daha bir uzak oluyor herkes galiba. Yalnızlığı seviyor insanlar artık.) (29 yaşında bir kadın)

However the concept of 'solidarity' is more about the city life, a woman from the village can enunciate 'solidarity'. It can be argued that this solidarity shares its space with television. The 'solidarity' can only be shared with television that the woman were

¹⁴³ Ecevit, M. C. 1988, p.164

expressed it before; that they prefer to sit with the television instead of going to her neighbour and sitting with her.

5.4.4. Migration

In the village, the thoughts about the migration to the city are expressed with an emphasis on its economic dimension. The reasons for migration to the city are related with economic conditions and educational opportunities. Those who are well-off in the village do not go to the city, those who have little land in the village have no option but to go to the city. Men work usually as a worker without social security, or work in transportation. Women who migrate to the cities do not work. A woman from the village explained that living in the city is very comfortable because women rest and the men work. When I asked about the women who work in the cities, she said that if they migrate to the city, their husbands do not allow them to work. So she does not compare herself with the woman who works in the city, she compares herself with the woman who does not work in the city just like her relatives living in the city. However, among the well-off ones, those who want their children to receive education also go to cities. The village school does not give education at secondary and high level. For school, they go to the neighbouring village for the day, but they believe that the education is not of good quality there. Those who go to the cities are happy to be there in winter. As regards heating and cleaning, they believe they are more comfortable. They keep their village houses also; they rent another one in the city. Young people who want to settle there also dream about it. They do not want to abandon the village. They want to be in the village in summer. As one of the interviewees, aged 17, going to the high school, stated, she liked to have a house in the village to stay in the summer:

...the city would be more advantageous as to education. I would want this for my children's education. Everything would be within my reach. For example, when you needed a book, it is in your hand, you can go and get it, but it is not like that here. Opportunities are limited here, especially in terms of shopping. This place is detached from the city. Sometimes I wouldn't want to be in the city. The pollution and the noise of the city are bad of course. When you consider

these, I wouldn't like to live in the city of course. The air is clean in the village, so here is perfect to wind down and for the weekends.

-Would you, for example, like to have a house in the city and one here?

Yes, that would be what I want, I would want to be here in summer time. I would make a garden, plant trees. I pretty much like such things. I wish it would come true. (A 17 year old girl)

(Şehir eğitim açısından rahat olurdu. Çocuklarımın okuması açısından isterdim. Her şey elimin altında olurdu. Mesela bir kitaba ihtiyacın olduğu zaman, hemen elinin altında, gidip alabiliyorsun ama burada öyle değil. İmkânlar kısıtlı burada, alışveriş açısından özellikle. Şehirden kopuk burası. Bazen şehirde olmak istemezdim. Şehrin kirliliği, gürültüsü kötü tabii, o açıdan orada yaşamak istemezdim. Köyün havası temiz, kafa dinlemek için, hafta sonları için burası mükemmel.

-Mesela şehirde evin olsa, burada da bir evin olsun ister miydin?

Evet işte öyle isterdim, yazın köyde olayım isterdim. Bahçe yapardım, ağaç dikerdim. Çok severim öyle şeyleri. İnşallah olur.)(17 yaşında bir kız)

Television does not play a role in people's decision to migrate to the city but it can be argued that the television allows the individual to be socialized in the city. She learns the different codes and aspects of the city, therefore she knows how to behave, how to dress and how to speak in the city. As in the second chapter it was emphasised that for Gerbner, "television has become the primary common source of socialization and everyday information."¹⁴⁴ With the help of the television, she knows which events are occurring in the city, what the problems are and the risks to be avoided. Althusser considers the mass media which socialize people into the acceptance of the dominant ideas and values.¹⁴⁵ The woman goes to the city well prepared feeling a part of the city. As mentioned before, television blurs the difference between rural and urban; rural woman goes to the city not as a stranger but as an individual who watches the same programmes, the serials and the same news as the people who live in the city. They have also expressed in the interviews that their conditions are like the women living in the city since they have water and electricity in their houses, they also go to the market place. It is interesting that they do not consider the lack of the opportunity

¹⁴⁴ G.Gerbner et al., p.16

¹⁴⁵ Taylor and Willis. p.31

for education, the lack of a village clinic in their village, and the lack of having transportation to the city other than the milk cars. It can be argued that the television provides them a pseudo reality. Also I must mention once again that the role of their relatives who immigrated to the city, and their neighbours who come to the village in summer and quote their experiences to them play a significant role in their perception of the city, and, as one woman mentioned, they have the opportunity to go to the city and see the conditions with their own eyes.

-In your opinion, are people who want to immigrate to the urban are influenced by television?

Come on, no. Not by the television. They go to cities themselves. They see the conditions there and see the conditions here. They also look at the television. I don't say they don't. There is not the same as in fiction. One goes there, and stays for a week or a month and observes life there.

-Do you say that the things we see on TV are different from what happens in reality?

Of course. TV doesn't show everything. It shows some of the things; it doesn't show of course all the daily troubles. It depicts the city as better. In fact, it is not like that in reality. Wherever you go, you need to spend money. They show the glittering houses, but not everyone lives in those houses. Because there are more vehicles now, people go and see Ankara themselves, so it is not because they see it on TV. The city is better as regards school, hospital, shopping. But in my opinion, if you have the money, the village is better...healthier. (A 46 year old woman)

(-Sence kente göç etmek isteyenler televizyondan da etkileniyor mu?)

Yok canım televizyondan değil. Kendi gidiyor, oranın halini de görüyor, buranın halini de görüyor. Televizyona da bakıyor, bakmıyor değil de, filmdeki gibi değil orası, insan gidiyor, bir hafta bir ay kalıyor bakıyor, yaşıntıya

-Yani televizyonda gördüklerimiz, gerçekte olandan farklı mı?

Tabii canım, televizyon her şeyi göstermiyor ki. Bazı şeyleri gösteriyor ama bütün bir gün yaşadığın sıkıntıları göstermiyor ki. Kenti daha iyi gösteriyor. Esasında öyle değil işin gerçeği. Adım attığın yer para. Parıl parıl evleri gösteriyor, ama herkes o parlak evlerde oturamıyor gerçekte. Artık vasıta, araba çok olduğu için, herkes gidiyor görüyor gerçek Ankara'yı, televizyonda gördüğü için değil. Kent, okul bakımından, hastane bakımından, alışveriş bakımından iyi. Ama bence paran bolsa köy daha iyi, daha sağlıklı.) (46 yaşında bir kadın)

In some cases they discuss the reality of television. They do not believe everything they see on the television. They discuss the news; they discuss the women in women's

reality programmes. Some of them told me that they had heard that the women in reality programmes such as 'Women's Voice' took money from the producers and play roles. They expressed the belief that there cannot be such kinds of things as a women leaving her children, marrying with another man, being exposed to violence by the second husband, and consequently wanting to return, only to be refused by her former husband. On the programme, she cries and cries. Some of the women watching these programmes believe that it is not true; on the other hand, some of them believe these situations, identify with the women on the television, and also cry in front of the television. Some women stated that, due to the effect of these programmes, some women decided to divorce. This shows us the active position of the audiences in Topaklı village. As Morley argues, "the process of meaning generation is dependent upon the internal structure of the television message (semiotics) and the cultural background of the viewer (sociology)." ¹⁴⁶ This study revealed that although the women have similar cultural backgrounds, there are some individual differences in their perception of the TV programmes. However, it was explained by Stuart Hall that, "Mass communication is understood as a circuit of articulated practices - production, circulation, reception, reproduction - each of which represents a site of meaning-making." ¹⁴⁷ A 32 year old woman who has three children and living with her mother-in-law expresses that she is effected negatively by watching the woman programmes such as 'Women's Voice'. She explains that she identifies with the women she saw on the television and afraid of having the similar situations as they live.

-Do you think that the way a husband and wife treat each other has changed when compared to the past?

Now there are more divorce cases.

-Is this also increasing in the village?

Of course, why shouldn't it? It happens as people see on TV. In the past we hardly ever heard about divorce.

Do you watch women's programs like 'Women's Voice'?

¹⁴⁶ Morley, D *Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies*, London: Routledge. 1992.

¹⁴⁷ Hall, S. *Encoding/Decoding*. in S.Hall et al.(eds.) *Culture, Media Language*. London: Hutchinson. quoted in Taylor and Willis, 1980, p. 172.

Yes I watch them but the problem is sometimes I feel under their effect. Sometimes it causes tension at home. I feel down.

-What happens at home?

The stress in the programmes reflects upon my children. I feel that I reflect it onto my husband. I feel as if I will experience the same things, as if the circumstances I live in are the same.

Are the things you see happening on the programme similar to what you experience?

Yes, sometimes I come across them. We have common points. Our life is not as orderly as this all the time. We have of course experienced bad things or lost our peace. It reminds me of them. Thus I prefer not to watch the programs (A 32 year old woman)

(-Sence karı kocanın birbirine davranışı değişti mi eskiye göre?

Şimdi daha çok boşanmalar var.

-Köyde de çok mu?

Tabii olmaz olur mu, köyde de var. Televizyonda görünce oluyor. Eskiden hiç boşanma falan duyulmazdı.

-Kadın programlarını izliyor musun?'Kadının Sesi' gibi.

Onları seyrederim da, bazen etkisinde kalıyorum. Evde bazen tatsızlık çıkmaya başlıyor. onları görüyorum.moral bozukluğu çok yaşıyorum

Evde ne oluyor?

Ordaki stres cocuklarıma yansıyor. Kocaya yansıtıyorum gibi geliyor. Onların yasadıklarını ben de yasayacakmışım gibi geliyor, durumum aynı gibi geliyor.

-Senin yasadıklarına benzer şeyler mi oluyor?

Evet, bazen çıkıyor. Ortak yönlerimiz var. Hep böyle düzen değil hayatımız. Kötü yanlarımız da oldu, bazen düzensiz hallerimiz de oldu. onlar aklıma geliyor, o yüzden bakmamayı tercih ediyorum.) (32 yaşında bir kadın)

I have also talked with some of the men, and the first thing they expressed about the women programmes was that they were all harmful for their wives. They told that when they watch such things like a divorced couple, or a quarrelling couple; their waife becomes aggressive and starts quarrelling with them. Some times the women starts punishing her husband when she finds some similarities with the men in these TV programmes. They also told that these programmes are harmful for their wives that they forgot the saucepan in the fireplace that sometimes the food burns. The most important point which they revealed was that their wife learned the concept of 'women's rights' that thought them to quarrel with their husbands. Therefore it can be argued that men in the village do not want their wife to watch the women's programmes since they stop doing the housework they become resistant in some situations and they have the ability to consider the situations from the 'women's rights' point of view.

5.4.5. The Advantages and the Disadvantages of the Television for Topaklı Women

The women in Topaklı explained some advantages and the advantages of the television. This point is important for this study in order to understand television's role in rural women's life. I tried to find the answers, asking four questions, namely: "How do you think it affects people?", "How does it affect you?", "What are the advantages of the television?", and "What are its disadvantages?" When I asked the second question, they generally described its effects on children and young girls. They did not mention anything about its effects on young boys or on men. I have to mention that this situation can be considered as revealing the women's control area as being the young girls and the children. They mentioned that it affects the children seriously, revealing to them the world of the adults. As Stevenson stated the television has given the children access to the public life of adults:

Television has given children access to a previously socially distant adult world. Children regularly watch soap operas that reflect upon many of the public and private problems adults routinely encounter as part of everyday life.¹⁴⁸

They learned "to be in love" (emphasis is the women's) when they are 7 years old, due to the television. It can be argued that the reason why women are pointing out the effects of the television on children and the young girls is their limited relations with the public-sphere. The television's function is to be a window on the world outside the village, and even on the whole world, with satellite TV. I must indicate that digital satellite is widespread in the village which contains approximately 700 channels but because of some harmful channels especially for children they do not watch all, they only watch Türk-Sat channels that have 84 channels. The other houses nearly the half of the village can watch the channels of TRT 1-2-3-4, TGRT, ATV, Kanal D, Show TV, Flash, NTV, CNNTürk, STV, Kanal 7 and Kral TV with an antenna.

¹⁴⁸ Stevenson, N. 1995, p.137

The role of the television in young girl's everyday life differs with her education level. It can be mentioned that, considering the relation with the public sphere, it is more important for the uneducated young girls than the educated ones. The situation of the girls who go to the high school is different from the girls who are not going to the high school. They stay at home usually and the only way for them to see the public life is by television. But a girl who goes to the high school goes to her school in the city by bus and joins the public life. Therefore she finds the opportunity to compare the public life and the city life she is living and seeing with the image of the public life and the city life she sees in the television. Meyrowitz stated that *there is a breaking down of boundaries – those between the sexes and those between public and private spaces* by mass communication.¹⁴⁹ Mostly the woman and the young girls inform about the public spaces with the television. A girl who is going to high school illustrates the relation between the educational level and the effects of the television:

...it[television] causes attachment a little bit. If the girl is uneducated for example, generally she is influenced by what she sees on TV. She says "I wish I had this, I wish I were like her", or she wishes she had that particular life-style and friends. She may even reject her family. But if she is one who has been educated outside of the village, I don't think that she will be influenced at all.

-How does it affect you, then?

I am not affected by television. I accept my own life, I was born here and I am leading this sort of life. What I mean is, I don't envy somebody else's life. Everybody has to admit his or her own environment. I usually watch the TV quiz shows, the series occasionally appeal to me.(A 16 year old girl going to the high school)

(..biraz kendine bağlıyor[televizyon]. Eğer cahilse mesela genellikle o gördüklerinden etkileniyor. Benim de şuyum olsa, ben de şöyle olsam diyor. Ya da benim de böyle bir hayatım olsa, böyle arkadaşlarım olsa diyor. Belki ailesini bile istemeyebilir. Ama dışarıda okuyan biriye, pek etkileneceğini zannetmiyorum.

Peki seni nasıl etkiliyor?

Beni pek etkilemez televizyon. Ben kendi hayatımı kabulleniyorum, ben burada doğmuşum, böyle bir hayatım var. Başkasının hayatına özenmem yani. Herkes kendi çevresini kabullenmek zorunda. Ben genellikle yarışmaları izlerim, diziler arada sırada ilgimi çeker.)(Liseye giden 16 yaşında bir kız)

¹⁴⁹ Silverstone, R. 1994, p.30

Another point mentioned by all women is that they are concerned about the “nakedness” on television. They say that, whatever they watch, the women are not covered, and they wear low-cut dresses. This especially affects the young girls badly, because they don’t like to dress in a traditional way, they want to dress like those women and they want to make up. This causes disagreement between them and their families.

In my opinion those in the past were more decent, more ethical. There were fewer programs. Whatever was on TV was watched. Now they are all indecent...too much flesh, you never know who wears what. Even the commercials are full of nakedness.(A 55 year old woman)

(Bence eskiler daha ahlaklıydı, daha terbiyeliydi. Eskiden program azdı, ne olursa o izlenirdi. Şimdi hep açık saçık, kimin ne giydiği belli değil, reklâmlar bile hep açık saçıklarla dolu).(55 yaşında bir kadın)

However they express the disadvantages of television, they also expressed that they would not prefer not to have a television.

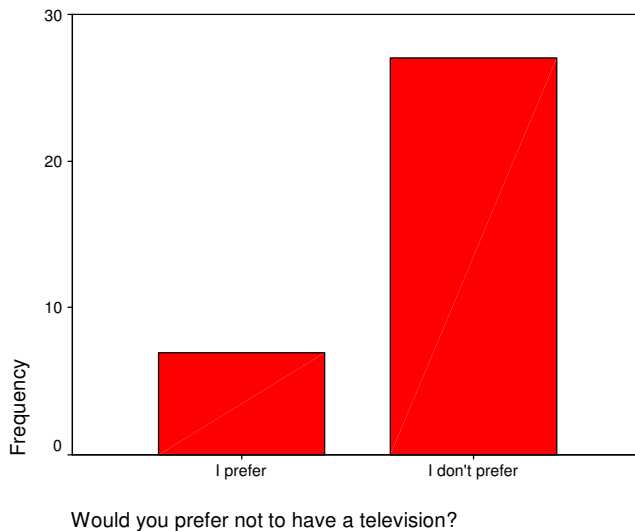


Figure 5 Rural women’s preference of having a television or not.

As a result of the strong bonds with religion, women perceive the television in line with their religious beliefs. None of the women chose an entertainment or music programme as her favourite. Neither did they say that they openly watch entertainment programmes. Only when I asked the question "Do you like music or entertainment programmes?" did they answer that they do not watch, like but do not watch, or watch with the children, to emphasise that they do not watch of their own accord. Later, I learned that the hodja whom they all like watching, named Osman Hodja, has the point of view that listening to music and watching entertainment programmes is a sin. So, it can be argued that the reason why nearly all the women told me that they watch television is firstly to be informed, by the news, health and education programmes, may be the result of the belief that watching entertainment programmes is a sin. A woman from Topaklı village gives her views on the television and religion

Yes, they get bored at home. It helps children to be relieved of their boredom. Can there be any other benefit of TV? It would be better if it had never existed and if children were listening to cassette players. It is a sin. You may listen to whatever tape you want on the cassette player. It may be gospel songs as well as the folk songs. It causes our children to blossom suddenly, the more they watch TV, the less they observe the practices of Islam. It is even more harmful for the younger kids. Only news does good. (A 49 year old woman)

(Evde sıkılıyorlar işte, genç çocukların sıkıntılarını alıyor, başka bir faydası olur mu televizyonun? Bu olmasa da teyp dinleselerdi daha iyiydi bence. Bu günah. Teybe istediğin kaseti koyarsın dinlersin; ilahi de olur, türkü de olur. Bu hep bebelerimizi açıyor, Müslümanlığı yaşamıyorlar ona baka baka. Küçük bebelere daha çok zararlı bence. Haberlere iyi oluyor sadece).(49 yaşında bir kadın)

As the last disadvantage of the television, some of the women from the village said that it is bad because it makes it difficult for them to sleep. At first, I did not understand what they meant, but when I stayed in the village and slept there for two days, I understood the situation. In nearly every house, the room with the television is also the room where some of the household sleep. It changes from house to house, but usually

the young boys sleep in that room. The mother and the father have a separate room, but if it is an extended family, the mother-in-law, for example, may sleep in the same room as her grand sons. Actually, the sleeping places are not divided as sharply as they are in the city. They can be changed according to the number of people staying in the house on any given day. The reason why the women said that it makes difficult for them to sleep is that leaving the television on while sleeping is prevalent among the men and young boys. After learning this, I asked the women about it and they told me that, in nearly every house, it is prevalent for men to leave the television on until the women wake for the morning prayer. When they get up early in the morning, they turn off the television. They don't like it to be left on, but if there is a man or a boy in that room, they want the television to be turned on while they are sleeping. I think this statement makes a contribution to understanding the role of the television, but maybe a further psychoanalytical analysis is needed to understand this situation. The other disadvantages of the television are as explained before, its effect on the social relations, such as being more distant from the neighbours while being closer to the distant places.

As for the television's advantages, women emphasised that they get information from the television about news, health, religion and about education for their children. They emphasise also that it takes away their boredom, mostly in winter time. Besides its disadvantageous effects on children, it has an advantage in that it makes a contribution to the children's education as one woman emphasises:

They want to imitate the people on television. They see someone who is educated; if the television did't exist, they wouldn't go to school. They see the good and the bad on television. The child sees the village, working and working but having no money, and also sees the educated people with diplomas, and imitates them. Somehow the television provides some information for children's lessons.(A 29 year old woman)

(...televizyondan özeniyorlar hep, bakıyorlar okumuş birilerini görüyorlar, televizyon olmasa okumazlar ki. Televizyonun sayesinde oluyor hep, iyiyi kötüyü görüyor. Bir köye bakıyor, çalışıyor çalışıyor parası yok elinde. Bir de elinde diploması olana bakıyor, özeniyor ona. Çocuklar için iyi kötü dersleri de gösteriyor televizyon.) (29 yaşında bir kadın)

It can be argued that the studies on television should be carried out by considering its various functions with its advantages and disadvantages in order to see its different roles in people's lives with the help of the viewer's experiences. The reception of the television varies with the different situation of the individual's educational level, identification process, age and beliefs.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the role of the television in rural women's everyday life, conducting a qualitative ethnographic and feminist media research. I've conducted this study in Topaklı Village using the methods of in-depth interview, group discussions, survey and participant observation. The main focus of this study is the rural women's experiences related with the television. I did not try to get the exact answers from the respondents in the in-depth interviews. Instead, I tried to find out the answers from the conversations derived from the interviews. To this end, I've attempted to conduct the interviews through chatting with them over their whole life stories and everyday lives. Doing so, I avoided letting them feel that they are being examined. As I've explained, within the feminist point of view, I used the feminist methodological approach and the research methods derived from feminist theory and from feminist media theory. As van Zoonen discussed researching women's everyday surroundings and experiences could be realized by ethnographic mass communication research that focuses on subcultures of communicators and media audiences.¹⁵⁰ The methodology of this study plays the most crucial part for conducting the study and for analysing the data.

I've analysed the data derived from in-depth interviews, group discussions and from the survey, considering the concepts of 'sexual division of labour', 'individuality', 'migration'. Finally I've discussed the advantages and disadvantages of the television for Topaklı women in order to get the general role of the television in their everyday life. During the interviews I've tried to perceive the conversations from these aspects.

¹⁵⁰ van Zoonen, L. p.125

Firstly, the role of the television on 'sexual division of labour' happens to be a consciousness, and realization on the sharp division of labour between men and women. Before the television the rural women used to take the situations that take place in their village as a reference for their attitudes; later however they referred to the revealing values from TV. After they watched television, they saw the other cultures, the other life styles, other pictures of men's and women's works and they became conscious that theirs should not be the only way to live.

Within the television's role, the families who live in the city in winter and come to the village in summer play a crucial role in their getting informed about the life style in city, mostly about the sexual division of labour. As they get used to do different works in the city they continue to do it in the village. It affects the attitudes of men's and women's sexual division of labour. Television provides them with a space to identify, to be socialized and to be informed. Another point that was revealed in the findings is that the most important role of the television for Topaklı women is that they use television as a tool to be informed about the whole life and the society. While 'to be informed' has been expressed while they were comparing the old days and nowadays, it is an important point as being informed has the power to change their beliefs, attitudes and the norms of the village. While they watch the advertisements, the serials and the 'women's programmes they find some information about the works done by men and women and they present this as a real situation within the society to her husband.

The important point here is that she does not need to refer to the values of her village any more, she can also refer to the values revealed as she watches on the television and becomes a part of the society at large. The television also plays a crucial role on blurring the difference between rural and urban. As a matter of fact, women do not feel themselves excluded from the society; they feel they are a part of the society. They express this feeling saying that they do not live as if they are living in a village, they live just as if they are living in a city where they have water and electricity at home, and

where they go to the market place.

Another point that is noteworthy is that, while I was conducting the interviews, I realized that the only 'space' for her own was television. All the actions that she has done during the day were for her family, for her children and for her husband and they were all a must for her to do. Television, however, provided her with an opportunity for being an individual who decides to watch whatever she likes to watch. Sometimes, while they are talking about the programmes they watch; they say 'my serial film'. For the first time maybe she is in the subject position who decides to do what she wants. Yet, this is still limited as she is watching TV with her children and her husband. Therefore it seems like whenever she escapes from the family members and whenever she watches the television, she .she becomes an individual.

TV does not really influence rural women's decision to migrate, but it encourages them by its 'socialization' effect. The women who are informed about the life styles, the values, the fashion in dressing feel like women without any difference from the those living in the city. They get the idea of how to speak, how to dress and how to behave in the city, which encourages them to join the society, i.e, to socialize. Television creates a group of people who watch the same programmes, thus who can talk about it differently from the ones who do not watch it. It seems like a medium of gossip through which they talk about the other's life, who is right and who is wrong and predict the future events.

The analysis on the advantages and the disadvantages of television enabled me to get a general picture of the women's experiences. However, they first express its disadvantages on the young girls and the children; for the rural women, the disadvantage of the television is that young girls desire to imitate the life styles of the people who are richer than themselves, which can, indeed, also apply to them. A girl who is a student in a high school analysed this situation with the relation between education and the behavior of imitation; she expressed that the uneducated girls and the

people who want to imitate these life styles become alienated from their life, while the educated people are not influenced at all. The analysis of their life styles, and their attitudes point to the fact that while the young girls are affected by this more, their mothers and fathers are not affected in the same way. This tendency to imitate is related with their consumption and their position to reach the products depending on their distance causing the difference between the village and the city.

Lastly it can be argued that television provides a more expanded society for the rural women to be socialized. As D. Mc Quail stated, the media 'construct' social reality; "mass media tend to offer us a 'preferred reading' of 'social reality' along with inbuilt cultural assumptions that are related to the distribution of power in economic, cultural, ethnic and gender terms. The media can be said to 'construct' social reality."¹⁵¹ It happens to be such a window throughout the world that she can find the solutions of her problems by being informed about the current situations in the society, becoming a part of the society, which reduces the sharpness of the difference between village and city. However, this provides them with a pseudo reality wherein she is like a woman living in the city; without having the opportunities for education, without having a village clinic in their village and without having transportation facilities to the city except for the milk cars going to the city.

Further research is needed for the analysis of the role of television on rural women's everyday life. More research should extend into other villages and involve more people. Conducting further study with greater coverage is important. It can also be useful to conduct a study which is more distant from the city in order to get the different situation of rural women more clearly. The distance from the city also provides to make a better comparison between the city and the village which would make the analysis more productive.

¹⁵¹ Mc Quail, D.(ed) *Mc Quail's Reader in Mass Communication Theory*. Sage Publications 2000, p.11

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SURVEY QUESTIONS

1-How old are you?

15-24 () 25-34 () 35-44 () 45-54 () 55-64 () 65- + ()

2- Educational Level

Illiterate ()

Literate ()

Primary school ()

High school ()

3- Marital Status?

Single () Married (performed by an official authority) () Married (performed by an imam) () Widow () Divorced ()

4- How many children do you have? How old are they?

5-Are you employed currently? (If so, specify where you are employed.)

Yes ().....No (.....)

6- Is your husband employed? (If so, specify where you are employed.)

Yes ().....No (....)

7- How many acres of land do you have in the village?

8-Do you employ labourers?

9-What do you grow on your farms?

10-Do you have livestock? If so, state what livestock do you have.?

11-Which one of the following do you possess?

Radio ()

Television(how many) (....)

VCD ()

VHS-Video ()

Fridge ()

Vacuum cleaner ()

Sewing machine ()

Washing machine ()

Oven ()

Stove ()

Hot-water-heater ()

Solar heating ()

Tractor ()

Car ()

Other ().....

12- Do you listen to the radio? How often?

Never () Everyday () Seldom () Once a week ()

Two-three times a week () Four-five times a week ()

13- Which programs do you listen to?

.....

14- If the same program was on TV, which one would you prefer?

Radio () Television ()

15- Why?

16-How often do you watch television?

Never () Everyday () Seldom () Once a week ()

Two-three times a week () Four-five times a week () Six-seven times a week ()

17- How many hours a day do you spend watching television?

Less than 2 hours ()

2-3 hours ()

4-5 hours ()

6-7 hours ()

More than 7 hours ()

18- Why do you watch television?

19- Under which circumstances do you generally watch television?

When doing housework ()

When eating ()

Sitting in front of it ()

Other ().....

20- Who decides on what to watch on TV at home?

Me () My husband () Children () My mother () My father ()

Sisters and brothers () Other ().....

21- Who do you watch TV with?

I watch alone ()

Other ().....

22- Would you like to a room of yourself with a TV in it?

Yes ()

No ()

23- Why/not?

24- Do you select what programs to watch in advance?

Yes ()

I sometimes select sometimes watch randomly ()

Randomly ()

25- Please rank your favourite TV programs?

26- If commercials intervene when I watch a program, I?

Turn to another channel Yes () No ()

Watch them carefully Yes () No ()

Feel like buying the products on commercials Yes () No ()

Children feel like buying the products on commercials Yes () No ()

Want to watch but they turn to another channel Yes () No ()

Other ().....

27- What does TV teach you? (Consider all the programs you watch to respond to this question)

28- Would you have preferred that you had no TV at all?

Yes () No () Other ().....

29- What is the major benefit of TV in your opinion?

30- What is the major harm of TV in your opinion?

31- What programs do you think the rural women mostly watch?

32- What programs do you think the urban women mostly watch?

33- Do you converse with your neighbours about the TV programs you watch?

Yes () No ()

34- Which programs mostly stimulate these conversations?

35- Are there particular programs that are not shown on TV for the present and that you want to be able to view on TV?

Yes (specify) ()..... No ()

36- Do you think the majority of TV programs are tailored for women' or men's choice?

Women () Men ()

37- Do you think TV programs are mostly geared to rural or urban viewers?

Urban () Rural () Both ()

38- Would you like to see more of TV programs about rural life?

Yes () No () Other ().....

39- Would you like more rural news to be incorporated in the news programs?

Yes ()

No ()

Other ()

40-What is most influential on your perception of urban life?

My observations when I go to the city ()

Television ()

Neighbours ()

Neighbours who have been to the city ()

My husband ()

My mother ()

My father ()

Other ().....

41- What places have you been to other than your village?

Other villages ()

Town ()

City ()

Abroad ()

42- Would you like to be living in the city?

Yes ()

No ()

Other ()

43- Would you rather your children lived in the city? Why/not?

Yes ().....

No ()

44- Does TV makes you distant from or close to the city ?

Distant () Close () Other ().....

45- Does TV makes the urban people distant from or close to the village?

Distant () Close () Other ().....

46- Have you lived in the period before TV?

Yes () No ()

47- Were those days better or worse than today?

Better () Worse () Other ().....

48- State reasons.

49- Do you believe that you were more productive those days?

Yes () No () Other ().....

50- Was a typical day boring without television?

Yes () No () Other ().....

51- What did you use to do when you were bored?

52- What were neighbours generally talking about when there was no TV ?

53- What are they talking about now?

54- Do you think TV has led to this change?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1-How old are you?

2-Would you tell about your childhood, your family?

3-How was your relationship with your parents?

4-How was the years before going to school, which games were you playing?

5-Did you go to school?

6-Which games did you play in the school?

7-Did you play the games mostly with girls or boys?

8-When did you start to do work in the house?

9-Did you go the farm when you were a child?

10-How was your parents relationship with each other?

11-Did you have a dream in these ages? What was the most important thing that you wanted to happen?

12-How was your mother's one day passing? Would you tell her one whole day?

13-How was the girls and the boys see each other in the village and did they meet?

14-Do you remember the advent of the television to the village?

15-Would you tell these years, how did you watch it, who bought the television first etc.?

16-When did you bought the television?

17- At what age did you get married?

18-How did you meet with your husband? How did you then come along with each other?

19-Did you stay with your husband's family when you married?

- 20-How many children do you have?
- 21-How did you get along with your mother-in-law and father-in-law?
- 22-Which works did you do when you married? Would you tell about your one whole day in these years?
- 23- Did you apart from your mother-in-law and father-in-law?
- 24-Did the works you do changed when you moved your own house?
- 25-Would you tell about your one whole day? Which works do you do in a day?
- 26-Do you think that the way husband and wife treat each other has changed when compared to the past?
- 27-Are there tasks that men or women do today but didn't in the past?
- 27-Which programs do you watch on TV now?
- 28-Which programs does your husband watch on TV?
- 29-Which programs do your children watch on TV?
- 30-If you are to compare the TV programmes of the past and today, which one is better?
- 31-Are the things you see happening on the TV programmes similar to what you experience?
- 32-Do you think TV is harmful?
- 33-Do you think TV is beneficial?
- 34-Do you know what the other women in the village watch in television?
- 35-Are there any customs and traditions of the village that have eroded and not observed anymore?
- 36-What kind of different problems do the rural and urban women have?
- 37-Does television brings people together or sets them apart in your opinion?
- 38-Do you think TV programs are mostly geared to rural or urban viewers?

39-Would you like to see more of TV programs about rural life?

40-What is most influential on your perception of urban life?

41-Would you like to be living in the city?

42-What is most influential on your perception of urban life?