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**PEASANTRY: TRANSFORMATION OR PERSISTENCE
AN ANALYSIS ON TWO VILLAGES IN SOUTHEAST ANATOLIA REGION**

A Master's Thesis

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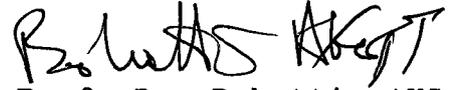
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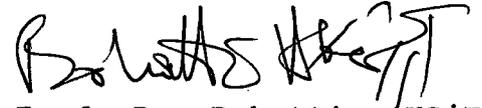
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ABSTRACT

PEASANTRY: TRANSFORMATION OR PERSISTENCE
AN ANALYSIS ON TWO VILLAGES IN SOUTH EAST ANATOLIA REGION

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M.A. in Sociology

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Bahattin AKŞİT

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This thesis presents a comparative study of two villages which have different structures at land property and administrative levels, in the form of monographs. The two types of landholdings are those of large estates and small peasant holdings. The first village in which large land holding predominates has three subvillages (hamlets) which creates another difference at the administrative level.

The dynamics of transformation of pre-existing structure of land tenure in these villages and the effects of the introduction of modern technology on these two different structures are the main subject of the thesis which is aimed at analyzing their present socio-economic and cultural structures as well as deriving

conclusions concerning the possible transformation processes of these types of villages considering the impact of the irrigation project to be implemented soon, which will constitute the second technological input in the region after the first mechanization in 1950's and onwards. The findings of present thesis are interpreted in the context of general debates on rural Turkey.

Keywords: South East Anatolia Project, Irrigation Project, Socio-cultural and Socio-economic Agricultural Structures and Changes, Small Peasant Holdings and Petty Commodity Production, Large Land Holdings and Landlordship, Traditional Socio-cultural Structures; Tribes and Sheikhs.

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ÖZ

DÖNÜŞEN YA DA DİRENEN KÖYLÜLÜK
GÜNEYDOĞU ANADOLU BÖLGESİNDE İKİ KÖYÜN ANALİZİ

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Bu tezde sunulan toprak mülkiyeti ve yönetim yapısı açısından farklı yapılara sahip iki köyün karşılaştırmalı monografisidir. Söz konusu toprak mülkiyeti biçimleri büyük toprak mülkiyeti ve küçük köylü mülkiyetidir. Büyük toprak sahipliğinin hakim olduğu ilk köyün üç tane mezrası bulunmaktadır ve bu özelliğiyle ikinci köyden yönetim yapısı açısından da farklılık göstermektedir.

1950'lerdeki ilk mekanizasyondan sonra ikinci bir teknolojik girdi olarak bölgeye girecek olan sulamanın bu iki farklı kırsal yapıda yaratacağı olası dönüşüm süreçleri konusunda birtakım sonuçlara ulaşmak yanında her iki köyün bugün sahip olduğu sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel yapıların analizini amaçlayan tezin ana konusunu bu köylerdeki toprak mülkiyeti yapılarının şimdiki

kadarki dönüşümü ve modern teknolojinin bu yapılardaki etkileri oluşturmaktadır. Tezin bulguları kırsal Türkiye üzerine yapılan tartışmalar çerçevesinde yorumlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi (GAP), Sulama Projesi, Sosyo-kültürel ve sosyo-ekonomik Tarımsal Yapılar ve Degisme, Küçük Köylü Mülkiyeti ve Küçük Üreticilik, Büyük Toprak Mülkiyeti ve Ađalık, Geleneksel Sosyo-kültürel yapılar; Aşiretler ve Şıhlar.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Research Problem

This thesis is a monographical study of two villages in South East Anatolia Region which is subject to implementation of the regional development project (Southeastern Anatolia Project, GAP). The studied villages have different structures at land property and administrative level.

This categorization is made based on the prevailing land ownership patterns (whether or not the whole village is owned by a landlord/lineage/family or by the village residents) rather than on the size of the owned land. In addition to the difference on land holding structure between two villages, the second one which is dominated by the large land holdings has three mezras (hamlets) which differentiate it from the first one at the administrative level.

The main assumption on Turkish agriculture is the overwhelming predominance of small scale holdings and the limited incidence of villages dominated by large farms

and it is commonly accepted that the latter is specific to Southeast Anatolia Region (Keyder, 1983; Akçay, 1987). We will discuss this argument in the subsequent sections. At this point we can say that large holdings or large farms are restricted in number but do still exist. In order to reflect these two types of holdings still existing in the region we have chosen these two villages.

On the other hand, sub-village settlements are widespreadly seen in the region. The average number of sub-village settlements per village in GAP region is 2.4 and in Urfa it is 4.36 (Akşit, 1990). Another criteria for choosing these two villages for the present study whether or not the village has one or more sub-village settlement was aimed at exemplifying this characteristic of the region and to try to understand their present socio-cultural and economic relations with the central village.

The implementation of the irrigation project in the two structures was the third criteria for choosing these villages. We paid attention to choose villages included in the implementation of the irrigation project to be implemented in the near future with a view to be able to make a post research study to define the real transformation processes.

Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) is one of the greatest investments of the Republican period, it consists of 13 major projects, seven of these being planned on Euphrate and six being foreseen on Tigris rivers. GAP comprises the construction of 21 dams and 17 hydroelectric power plants primarily for irrigation and hydropower generation. It is planned that at full development approximately 1.614.000 ha. of land will be irrigated and 25.000 GWH of hydroelectric energy will be generated annually with the installed capacity of 7500 MW.

With the implementation of GAP the realization of regional development is expected. The first outcomes and effects of GAP will be seen in the rural sector deriving from the implementation of irrigation. With this project, 16 million decares of land in the region will be irrigated and the total irrigated land in Turkey will amount to about 51 million decares (Akşit, 1990).

The size of this project and its possible effects make the future development of agricultural structures the most important matter for the rural sociologists. The present thesis should be understood as a descriptive study, rather than analytical, aiming to supply empirical data on the project area by the monographs of two different agricultural structures and by providing the knowledge of these structures it might be able to

evaluate the possible effects of technological inputs and the dynamics of changes in the region in the future.

1.2. Main Assumptions on Turkish Agriculture and Land Tenure Systems

Although there are some monographical studies about the rural sector at the village level, the most important discussions on Turkish agriculture arise in 1960's parallel to the structural changes in agriculture. The entrance of modern technology and inputs to the agriculture, the construction of highways linking the local markets to the national market, and the expansion of market oriented production, would surely cause transformation in the production relations and the related land distribution types. In the period of 1920-1950, minor changes took place in land distribution and organization of labour power in agriculture, the main and significant structural changes arose after the 1950's, parallel to the global socio-economic changes in Turkey. The discussions and researches are directed to explain these rapid changes in rural areas.

The main expectation about the future of agricultural structures in the 1960's, was land concentration and transformation of peasantry to a mass of agricultural proletariat. After the 1950's, in

addition to the unequal land distribution, land concentration realized within a very short period of time. Most of the peasant holdings were absorbed and the peasants breaking off from land migrated to the urban areas or transformed into agricultural workers. These indications were confirmed by the village studies conducted by Kıray and Hinderink in 1964-1965, Robinson in 1952, Hiltner in 1960 for the Çukurova region, Karpat in 1952 for Serik-Manavgat plain and Akşit in 1967 for two villages of Antalya (Akşit, 1987: 11-14).

Akşit (1987: 11-17) points out the problematic of rural transformation researches of 1960's as follows: while production for the market and usage of technology and modern inputs expand in the rural sector, firstly cultivated lands would grow through opening of new lands up to its boundaries, buying and selling land as a commodity would start and also together with handling other's land through non-economic processes, medium and large size farms would be established. In parallel to these developments, village consumption pattern would change and get urbanized. Consequently the relations with merchant and usurers would develop. The surplus created within the village would be transferred out of agriculture through merchant and usurer capitals. The other part of surplus created would be invested on land and purchases of modern inputs. By this way, holdings would grow, get modernized and capitalized. Capitalism

being dominant at the macro level would show its effects at the holding scale and peasantry would step into differentiation. In the villages, where large land ownership was dominant in the precapitalistic period, sharecroppers would be abolished through migration to urban areas or would be transformed into wage labourers.

However, in the 1970's, it was observed that most of the production units in agriculture were constituted by medium or small holdings. The types of agricultural structures in Turkey having an underdeveloped modern economy, are defined by Boratav (1981: 44) as capitalistic, semi-feudal and petty commodity production.

The further discussions are focused on these concepts of capitalistic, semi-feudal farming and petty commodity production, analyzing Turkish agriculture, but mainly on the survival mechanisms of the peasantry as petty commodity producers (for the detailed information about these discussions, see Boratav, 1981; Seddon and Margulies, 1982; Keyder, 1983; Erdost, 1984; 11. Tez Kitap Dizisi, 1987, No: 7; Aydın, 1986; Pamuk and Toprak, 1988).

Keyder, one of the researchers engaged into the problematic of widespread distribution of petty commodity production, defended that until 1950's, relative dominancy of big landownership or petty peasant

production in agriculture was depending on the expansion or construction cycles of world economy. Keyder (1983: 183-221) agrees with the concept that the placement of petty commodity production in Turkish agriculture developed after 1950's. According to him transformation and differentiation of petty commodity production should be analyzed at the village level because villages are communities and/or social formations with boundaries.

Thus, Keyder (1983: 183-221) classifies four types of socio-economic transformation for villages. In the first type, villages engaged in closed economy would become abandoned villages, because of migration to urban areas or abroad. The second type includes small landed village which get commercialized in time and has diversified its economic activities. The third group comprises village where the dominance of medium sized land distribution and usage of modern inputs and family labour, but which can make accumulation (kulaklaşan köy) has been formulated. Lastly, the capitalist village which determined by using modern inputs and waged labour power. As Keyder (1983: 183-221) states, the last type of is specific to Southeastern Anatolia Region where large landownership is inherited historically.

We have to point out Akşit's remarks on this specificity of capitalistic farm hypothesis. He asks whether or not the appearance of capitalistic holdings

would come out by capital accumulation through economic process in agriculture or by investment of industrial or commercial capital into agriculture. He goes further by asking the dynamics and conditions for the generation or non-generation of capitalist holdings through the differentiation and transformation of petty commodity producers. However, the power and struggle of non-economic processes should also be taken into consideration in the establishment of new capitalist holdings (Akşit, 1987).

On the other side, Akçay (1987) agrees with Keyder on his determination of the appearance of capitalist farming being specific only to the Southeastern Anatolia Region. As Akçay states, land distribution structure before the commercialization of agriculture at an increasing rate determines the alternative land distribution types being consolidated by the effects of mechanization and integration in the market. He also accepts the appearance of land polarization in villages where petty commodity production is dominant. However, Akçay adds that the examples for this type of transformation is so rare in the rural sector. His village studies also confirm his thesis (Akçay, 1985).

For the explanation of survival mechanisms of petty commodity production, Sirman-Eralp (1988) mentions

the family's unpaid labour force, especially women' working in different stages of production and close neighbourhood relations in village society provide the continuity of petty commodity producers in cotton production.

According to Bazoğlu (1987), peasants to continue their existence are engaged in the creation of additional income. Seasonal migration and working wage labourer has become an alternative for petty commodity producers working in agriculture. Meanwhile, in this process, they are not only employed in economically different works but also get subject to radical social changes. This is due to their very elastic structures. While engaging in different occupations, the division of family labour force and in accordance, inner class and family relations are restructured. As Bazoğlu states one aspect of this optimization is the breaking off the family both in time and space. Because this group represents heterogeneity as multi-occupational class, multi-fragmented class or hybrid class realizes its survival and continuity in agriculture.

For the continuity of petty holdings in agriculture, agricultural policies established by the governments should also be taken into consideration. These policies to a great extent helped to the continuity of petty commodity production in agriculture.

Modernization in agriculture has speeded up by subsidizing modern inputs, supporting product purchases, establishing cooperatives, making price arrangements and lastly by providing cheap credits. As Keyder (1983: 144) states that "the reclaiming of land and its distribution; political favouring of the agrarian sector; the spread of mercantile and communications networks and of new technology contributed to the consolidation of small peasant ownership. Through formalization of distribution of new land and a liberal credit policy the state contributed to this consolidation".

Based on the general assumptions on Turkish agriculture summarized above the present thesis assumes that the Turkish agriculture can be described with the predominance of owner occupied small holdings and, although it is limited in number, villages dominated by large farms. The villages studied in the present thesis were chosen to reflect these two kinds of structures in the region. Assuming on the other hand, that the agricultural structures in both villages has the historically inherited specificity of the region, their ways of transformation created differentiated villages rather than capitalist farms, at least up to the present time.

1.3 METHODOLOGY APPLIED FOR THE FIELD STUDY

Considering the transportation facilities, two villages were chosen around Bozova. As we explained above, the first criteria for choosing these villages, whether or not the village is owned by a landlord, lineage/family or by the village residents, was to exemplify both owner occupied small scale holdings and large land estates. The second criteria is made in terms of village settlements at administrative level, that is if the village has some sub-village settlements or not. For choosing these villages preliminary information was taken from the Ministerial Agricultural Office (ilçe Tarım Müdürlüğü) in Bozova. The information on 44 villages of Bozova were evaluated and these two villages were chosen among them.

For the empirical study two types of surveys were prepared; 1. general village questionnaires given to village headman and 2. household survey which was given to each head of the households included in the research sample. The household questionnaire consists of questions on the composition of the household, main and secondary occupations, from where and when the people have come to the village, emigration patterns of the household, land ownership, types of land tenure, agricultural machinery ownership, crop patterns and marketing, used family labour and waged foreign labour, animal husbandry, annual

expenditure and income in agriculture and animal husbandry. The results are summarized in General Information Tables attached to the thesis in Appendix A.

The research sample in the two villages was chosen partly following the random sampling method. From K. village 61 households were included in the research sample, which comprises about 37.7 % of the total households number (162) while from Ö. village (central village), the number of households included in the sample is 11 over 17 which comprises 64.7 % of the total. In the central village we aimed to survey every household but we could perform only with the head of the households we could find in the village during our field work. For K. hamlet we collected descriptive data by interviews. Research sample from Y. hamlet includes 11 households out of 25 which comprises 44 % of the total while the number of households in the sample from I. hamlet is 6 over 17 comprising 35.3 %.

In addition, mostly unstructured interviews made with selected people were another source for obtaining information. These interviews are summarized in Appendices B and C.

The studies conducted by the nurse of the health house in K. village was another source for of information on the population of this village.

1.4 OUTLINE OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE THESIS

The study includes 6 chapters. The first chapter gives the introduction. It presents the research problem and the purpose of the study, some underlying assumptions of the study and the methods followed during the field work.

The second and third chapters present the results of the field work performed during the summer of 1991 in the form of monographs of the two studied villages.

The fourth chapter describes the tribes and tribal relations and villagers' values about sheikh which are considered as aspects of socio-cultural structures of the villages. The emphasize, specially put in this chapter is transformation and/or continuation of some traditional aspects in these two villages.

An evaluation of the studied villages is given in the fifth chapter including a discussion on the villages' place in the typologies of agricultural transformation in Turkey and particularly in the region.

Finally, the conclusions arrived at concerning the resistance or transformational trends of the villages characterized either by owner occupied small holdings or large land estates with reference to their relative

similarities and differences, as well as an assessment of the possible effects of the planned irrigation project are presented in the last chapter.



CHAPTER II
A MONOGRAPH OF K. VILLAGE

2.1 General Information on K. Village

K. which is a compound type village located on a plain is about 22 km away from Bozova and 60 km from Şanlıurfa. It does not bound to the Fırat river, the latter being approximately 5 km far from it.

The population amounts to nearly 1059 people, with 162 households. All the villagers are Kurds, a few excepted. They are Moslem and belong to hanefi (Sunni) denomination (a type of sect in Islam religion). There were an Alevi family approximately at the time of establishing the village, but later on they have been assimilated.

They are speaking Kurmanc, a dialect of Kurdish language. Too old women excepted, all of them are able to speak Turkish. Since long ago they have a primary school in the village and, as is common practice everywhere in Turkey, education is given in Turkish language during the five years of primary school. On the other hand, each man

has an opportunity to learn Turkish during his military service.

There is a few people who are not Kurd in the village. They are all women who came to the village by marriage (exogamy).

The fundamental source of income of the village is agriculture (farming). Animal husbandry does not have a primary importance in terms of source of income, but, nevertheless, it provides some of the basic products for the households.

An additional - and not negligible - source of income is employment as a worker. As it will be expressed under the clause "Migration", approximately 4 or 5 years ago most of the people were working as seasonal workers during the summer time in Adana, Ceyhan or elsewhere, picking cotton. Since the start of the construction of Atatürk Dam and Power Plant, which is 10-12 km away from this village, a lot of people started to work there as permanent workers. Now most of them are either peasants or workers. But on the other hand, there are still (according to mukhtar) some 10-15 households or families who are going as seasonal workers to Adana or Ceyhan to pick up cotton.

K. village has a very good share of public services if compared with the average conditions of the region. There is a primary school with three teachers. The school was established 30 or 35 years ago and recently restored by the courtesy of ATA (Contractor company of Atatürk Project).

There is a mosque and an imam. The mosque is located approximately at the center of the village.

There is a health house which was constructed in 1990 and which is run by one nurse (ebe).

There is also an agricultural technical office with one agriculturist, who provides advices aimed at improving the quality of the land, and introducing new products and new farming methods. This service was established in 1983.

There is electricity and water supplies with distribution to the houses. There is a telephone line but with only one telephone in mukhtar's house.

There are five shops in the village to meet the grocery needs of the villagers. Newly, a privately owned bakery has opened. It serves flat bread (a special kind of bread of this region) which the villagers are used to buy for breakfast. This excepted, each household makes

their own bread on sac (piece of sheet iron used for cooking or baking), located in a separate room of the house and which is privately owned.

There is neither police nor gendarmery station, nor coffee house, library or reading house, and laundry.

Recently UNICEF has established a "woman room" in the village and launched a programme for improving their abilities on sewing and knitting. For that purpose, UNICEF has purchased two sewing machines. A permanent teacher is providing assistance to the housewives.

In addition to the above, UNICEF intends to purchase a television and a video player set. This is to provide the housewives with some entertainment facilities, keeping in mind that these will also serve for giving courses about health conditions, birth control methods and even cooking.

As far as cooking is concerned, a teacher from Şanlıurfa is coming from time to time to the village to teach cooking to the housewives, for instance the preparation of marmalades or canned food.

Once a week, a doctor from Bozova is visiting the village and proceeds with health control and gives as well advices to the women.

Last but not least, UNICEF has purchased some individual transportation facilities to the people in charge of the development project which will facilitate its extension to the neighbouring villages in the near future.

2.2 A Brief History of K. Village

K. village was an Armenian village in the nineteenth century. Around 150 years ago after the Armenian migration, some "klans" or "tribes" arrived to this village. The first newcomers were Ö. family. They belonged to OĞLAN tribe. They came together with another tribe which was called CIMIKAN. The previous location of the village was 2-3 km away from the present one. Some other tribes came later on, and, at that time, there were 17 households.

Ö. family excepted, other villagers did not possess any land, or they owned only quite small size fields.

Up to 30-40 years ago, Ö. family were the landlord family of the village. H. Müslim was agha at that time, and all the family was called H. Müslingil. Beside farming H. Müslim was dealing with smuggling sheeps between Syria and Turkey. He had about 1500 sheeps

3 shepherds and 3 azabs working for himself as "corvée" labourer. The families of these people were serving to Agha on houseworks, too.

When he lost his all sheeps once on the way because of illness he got indebted. Later on, a "city" lord called as E. Bey has settled in the village by buying some of the landlord family's lands. He was also agha in this village for 25-30 years.

After a while, E. Bey had to leave the village because of his debts towards the state. He sold all his lands and he left. Some of his lands were bought by agha H. Müslim and the reminder (about 3.000 or 4.000 decares) were bought by the other landless villagers with money collected among them. Then E. Bey moved to Urfa.

Villagers remember this event quite clearly. H.C., the oldest member of C. family, was saying that he was making his military service at the time of E. Bey's selling his lands and he turned back for a while to the village to buy some on his own account.

H. Müslim was still agha but he lost some of his authority because of the event described hereabove.

There are six important families at present in the village. The following table displays their old and new appellations as well as their previous tribal roots.

Their old tribes	Old family name	Present family name
OĞLAN TRIBE	H. MÜSLİMGİL	Ö. s
AVE-AŞE	MUSTAFAGİL	C. s, Öz.s
CIMIKAN		T. s
HAMOŞO	ABUZERGİL	G. s
	SERSİYANGİL	P.s, Gü.s, Y.s
		A.s

Y., P. and Gü. families are paternal relatives. The reason for having a different surnames comes from the time of promulgation of the "surname law" (one generation ago). They say that there was no another reason for explaining that. However, this may well results from some disagreements between the relative families. At the present time, there are a few households belonging to P., Y. and Gü. families. Most of the families' households moved to Y. village because of the blood feud that arose between P. and C. families eleven years ago.

C. family and Öz. family are paternal relatives, too. One generation ago, one C. family's individual changed his surname as Öz. According to the testimony of some villagers they had quarrels, they fought for very

long time and eventually this man changed his surname saying that he did not want to belong to his family anymore. However, the families pretended that there was no any special reason to do so.

Ö. family is still the richest ones in the village. However, they have lost their landlordship power.

At the present time, they are about 24-25 households in the village. This means that their lands are fractionated in tiny parts. Although they are not the landlord family any longer, they still differentiate themselves from the other villagers. In the course of our conversations with anyone belonging to the Ö. family, it was clearly felt that they were distancing themselves from the other villagers, saying "Those villagers.....and we (Ö. family)....".

2.3 Population; Composition of Households and Family

Structure

The population of K. village is 1059, of whom 500 are women and 559 are men, and the number of households is 162, according to 1990 census. According to these figures the average size of the household is 6.54. The population amounted to 792 people in 1985.

Table 2.1 displays the age and sex distribution of the village population. From this overall pattern it is feasible to differentiate the physically active population, in terms of production from those who are inactive.

Age groups	Man	(%)	Woman	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
0 - 14	277	29.16	243	25.58	520	54.74
15 - 64	196	20.63	210	22.11	406	42.74
65 - +	13	1.37	11	1.16	24	2.53
TOTAL	486		464		940	100

Table 2.1. Age and sex distribution of population*

*) This table is based on the information gathered from the health center of the village. This includes 950 persons, i.e 89.71 % of the total population.

Although in rural areas, children start to work when they are about 7 to 8 years old, helping their parents for simple jobs, those under 15 can be considered as relatively unproductive, since they are spending the greater part of the year going to school. Considering that the people aged over 65 is unproductive, as well, the first and third groups represent the population who is basically dependent on the production realized by the economically active group. Based on this statement, the people who are considered as economically inactive is 544 out of which 290 are men and 254 are women. Their respective percentage to the total population in the sample are as follows: 57.27 %, 30.53 %, 26.74 %.

Table 2.1. gives a general picture of the work force in the village. It clearly appears that the population of the village consists of a large proportion of young people. Only 2.53 per cent of the population are aged over 64 years, whereas the active group aged between 15 and 64 represents 42.74 per cent of the total, while the children represent 54.74 per cent. Among those aged from 15 up to 64, males constitute 20.63 % and females 22.11 %. All these figures give the physically active and inactive population in the village with regard to the production.

It clearly appears from the figures presented in the general information table in Appendix A (Column No 4), that the nuclear type of family consisting of a married couple and their children is predominant in this village. The type called "extended family" in which some of the close relatives (mostly of the paternal side) live under the same roof with the main couple is not widespread. Based on this table, number and rate of these two types of families are as follows: 45 are nuclear families representing 73.77 %, 16 are extended families representing 26.22 % out of 61. On the other hand, although it is a common practice in this region to have plural wives it is also not widespread in this village.

The most crowded household in the village, which is not included in our sample, consists of 20 people, composed of 2 brothers, their spouses and children, as well as their parents. The most crowded family in the research sample consists of 16 people (Hh. No: 59) (The abbreviation Hh. No refers to household number in the first column of general information tables of related villages, in Appendix A). The smallest household is that of a bachelor living with his mother (Hh. No: 57). The average number of people living under the same roof is 7.53 (8.42 for nuclear and 10.46 for extended families). Table 2.2. demonstrates the distribution of household sizes included in our sample. There is only one missing data in the table (Hh. No: 61).

Size of household	Number of household	Percentage (%)
0 - 2	3	5.00
3 - 6	20	33.33
7 - 10	27	45.00
11 - +	10	16.66
TOTAL	60	100

Table 2.2. Distribution of household sizes

Children are considered to be the source of social security for the parents in their old age, and male children are especially valued for this reason. On the other hand, according to people own statements, they are compelled to have a lot of children and depending on this, having plural wives as they have to have labour

force as well as man forces to consolidate their tribes (presently clan or lineage) as the number of people is one of the determinant factors in reinforcing the power of tribe and sub tribal organizations like clan and lineage or sub-lineage (sülale). The number of children in the surveyed households ranges between 1 and 10.

At the time of the field work, the nurse of the village reported that 15 women were applying birth control method. Despite the fact that the male children still keep their importance with respect to power relations being defined by the size of the family, women's attitude to apply birth control methods may be seen as a contradiction. All these women have at least 4 children including at least 2 sons. They never accept to use any birth control method prior to having a son. On the other hand according to women's statements, having 4 children is less or enough. The acceptable limit for them is 4.

According to cultural ideal, married sons stay within their father's household, in this village, sometimes for a while, but as soon as feasible they establish their own nuclear families. They stay together at least one year in the same house with their parents or they stay up to the time of the second son is getting married. Pending upon their wealth, the family may or may not establish a new house for their children. During our

field work about 15-20 new houses were constructed. There were no any immigration during that time, these houses were built merely for the young married couples or the families separating their houses from their parents'.

When they decide to establish a separate household, they have to find a way to sustain their family. This problem is being solved by receiving a piece of land from their families, to cultivate it on their own account or finding a job out of agriculture. Sometimes they establish a separate house but they continue to live without separating their daily life. That means that they continue to cultivate the same plot and they eat from the same pot without establishing completely independent household. This type of families shows transitional characteristics.

There are 5 cases of bigamy in the village and 3 of them are included in the research sample (Hh. Nos: 22, 43, 59). Only two of them are living together in the same house, and the others have separate houses. There is only one case in the sample including plural wives and having extended patrilineal characteristics (Hh. No 59), the other two cases can still be considered as nuclear families (with plural wives). On the other hand there are 5 cases of nuclear type but living together with the husband's mother. This type can be considered as transitional nuclear family rather than extended.

2.4 Agriculture

K. village has approximately 14.000 decares of cultivable land under dry farming. The distribution rate of all cultivable land per household amounts to 67.90 decares, figure which clearly demonstrates that, under dry farming conditions, the available land is not large enough to sustain households' livelihood. However, for the reasons expressed herebelow, it may be said that the main source of income is still based on agriculture in this village.

All the cultivable land - main resource for agriculture - is privately owned in fields of variable sizes. There is a too small amount of mera (common pasture land) (only 50-60 decares), most of it having been expropriated in the course of the Atatürk Dam construction.

Another need for agriculture is water. There is no natural water resource near the village and the Fırat river, 5 km away from the village, constitutes the only water source. There are only 3 water wells which provided drinking water in the past and which are still operated nowadays for irrigation. However, the capacity of these wells only suffices for irrigating some small grape gardens (40 decares out of the total).

As it can be seen from the general information table of K. village (Appendix A), 40 households (65.57 %) have their own lands and 46 households out of a total of 61 (our sample) are more or less dealing with farming. This means that 75.4 per cent of the people of this village are engaged in agriculture. On the other hand, 16 households (26.2 %) do not derive their livelihood directly from farming out of 21 landless families included in our sample. This figure shows that most of the people in this village, even some of the landless households, are related to agriculture in some way. If considering the high rate of employment as workers, it can be said that at least for some of them farming still keeps its importance as a secondary source of income. Given the above, it can be said that the economic activity of this village is based on agriculture. However, this does not mean that agriculture is the unique source of income and the diversification of the economic activities beside agriculture will be analyzed in the next sections.

2.4.1 Access to Land : Owned, Sharecropped or Rented

This section deals with the forms of land cultivation or, in other words, with the managing of lands. As it clearly appears in the information table, there are four forms of land cultivation. These are as

follows: cultivating owned land, sharecropping (both sharecropping in and out) and using family lands. These forms of land cultivation show the diversification of the modes of agricultural production at land managing level. In addition, this proves that peasants, given the limited possibilities of finding a work out of agriculture, try to deal with agriculture in any possible ways, recouring to differentiated access to the land. Another not negligible reason for having differentiated access to the land is its relative scarcity and/or the difficulty in obtaining it.

The following figures show the forms of land using in K. village.

Type of Land Use	Amount of Land (in decare)	Percentage
Cultivated by the owner	3533	59.23
Sharecropped out	747	12.70
Sharecropped in	633	10.76
Family land	616	10.47
Uncultivated	402	6.84
Total	5881	100

Table 2.3. Types of land tenure in K. village

The total surface of K. village is 14200 decares while the cultivable area is 11.000 decares. The common pasture of 2500 decares belonging to the village now remains within the basalt quarry and has been expropriated. The village has no pasture land any longer.

The research sample comprises in total 4884 decares of the land being owned by the villagers, out of which 207 decares are outside the village, mainly in Ö. village. That means that 4677 decares of village's cultivable land are included in the research sample, out of a total of 11.000 decares of land. This corresponds to 42.52 per cent of the total cultivable area. As evidenced by Table 2.4, 21 out of 61 households included within the scope of the sampling are landless, which corresponds to 34.43 %. According to the information received from the headman the number of landless households is about 50 which constitutes 1/3 of the total households in the village.

Land Size Groups	Number of Household	Percentage (%)
Landless	21	34.43
Family Land	5	8.20
1 - 49	8	13.11
50 - 99	7	11.48
100 - 199	11	18.03
200 - 299	5	8.20
300 - 399	3	4.92
400 - 499	0	0
500 - +	1	1.64
TOTAL	61	100

Table 2.4. Distribution of land per household

Table 2.4 shows the land distribution among the households. It can be deduced from these figures that 65.57 % of the households have land at varying rates. According to this table, the number of households possessing land between 1-49 decares is 8 while the

percentage to the total number is 13.11 %. The number of households owning land varying between 50-99 decares is 7 while the percentage to the total number is 11.48. The numbers of households possessing land between 100-199 decares and 200-300 decares are 11 and 5, giving rates of 31.43 and 11.29 %, respectively. The number of households being the proprietor of land between 300 and 399 decares is 3 representing 8.57 % of the total. One household owns the largest (one single family that owns the largest) land in the village, 500 decares, which represents 2.86 % of the total land included in the research sample.

The quantities and the distribution of the lands owned by the households included in the research sample are as shown in Table 2.5. As indicated in this table the total of the lands between 0-49 decares is 197 decares while the percentage of same to the total of 4884 decares is 4.03 %, which means that 22.86 % of the households keep 4.03 % of the lands under their control. There are 482 decares land in the group of 50-99 decares and the ratio of this area to the total of the lands is 9.87 %, while the number of households keeping this land under control is 7. The percentage of these households to the households owning land is 20.

There is a total of 1500 decares land in size of 100-199 decares which corresponds to 31.53 % of the total. The number of households having the control of

Holding Size Ranges	Sum of Land Areas Within Given Range	(%)	Number of Household	(%)
1 - 49	197	4.03	8	22.86
50 - 99	482	9.87	7	20.00
100 - 199	1540	31.53	11	31.43
200 - 299	1165	23.85	5	14.29
300 - 399	1000	20.48	3	8.57
400 - 499	0	0	0	0
500 - +	500	10.24	1	2.86
TOTAL	4884	100	35	100

Table 2.5. Distribution of land per land owner household

distribution of the land owner households reflects that ownership of medium size land is dominant in the village. Compared to the regional measures the largest land ownership of 500 decares in the village cannot be considered to be large land holdings because of the existence of dry agricultural conditions in this area. K. village is recognized as a widespread land ownership village (ahali köyü) where farming is in process with small or medium size fields. In other words, there is no any single family who owns the village or controls the entirety of the village's land, namely landlordship.

Land size ranges	Sum of land areas given ranges (decare)	(%)	Number of household	(%)
1 - 99	679	13.9	15	42.86
100 - 299	2705	55.38	16	45.72
300 - +	1500	30.72	4	11.13
TOTAL	4884	100	35	100

Table 2.6. Distribution of land holding sizes in K. village

There are 5 households in our sample which are using their families' land because the land is still undivided or because some of the members of the families are not dealing with farming. The size of these lands varies from 16 decares up to 300 decares. The family land users are sometimes landless or sometimes they have their own lands. 5 landless households excepted, the other 3

these lands is 11 and the percentage of these households is 31.43.

Similarly the total land in the group of 200-299 decares is 1165 decares while the percentage of the 5 households having the control of these lands is 14.29.

The total of the group of lands between 300-399 is 1000 decares while the number of households having the control of these lands is 3. The percentage of the lands of these group to the total is 21.48 and that of the households is 8.57.

The largest land in K. village is 500 decares and belongs to one household. The percentage to the total land is 10.24 and that of the single household in possession of this land is 2.86.

Assuming that at the village level any land smaller than 100 decares represents the small size holding, between 100-299 decares medium size holding, and more than 300 decares large size holding the distribution of the households without land or small, medium or large size is as shown in Table 2.6.

If we should summarize the analysis made in respect of ownership at the village level, it may be said that in spite of 42.63 % landless families the

households have lands the size of which varies between 35 decares and 265 decares.

There is a peculiar example of landless farmer cultivating the family land in our research sample. The head of the household is working as a waiter for DSİ (Devlet Su İşleri) at Atatürk Dam site. The family land was not divided up among the brothers. He and his 4 brothers are managing their 300 decares family land together, giving it to a sharecropper with a fifty-fifty percent agreement. After the harvest, they share the products they obtain from the sharecropper. This man pretends having no time to cultivate land and his brothers also work outside of the village. What they obtain from the land is just to complement their income and to meet a part of their families' basic needs.

Another kind of land tenure is made on sharecropping basis. Sharecropping is realized based on verbal agreement between the land owner and sharecropper. Land is given for one cultivation season. There are two kinds of sharecropping agreements realized widespreadly. One includes an advance payment paid by the sharecropper to the land owner. In this agreement the land owner has to give the half of the seeds and to pay the half of all expenditures to the sharecropper. At the end of the harvest, land owner and sharecropper share the product by half and the land owner pays back the money he received

as advance but without any interest. The second type of agreement does not include the advance payment and in this agreement the land owner is not obliged to share any kind of expenditures. The sharecropper meets himself all kind of expenditures and at the end of the harvest, he gives half of the product to the land owner. There is no reference scale for advance payment in sharecropping agreement, which would depend on some criteria such as size or quality of the land. According to the information gathered from the villagers this depends on the needs of the land owner and his verbal agreement with the sharecropper.

Table 2.7. shows the way the people access to land with sharecropping arrangement of both types: sharecropping in and sharecropping out, and the amounts of lands which are owned by those who practice these types of arrangements. It is evident from the table that 10 households (16.39 per cent) out of 61 are engaged in sharecropping arrangement and the size of sharecropped lands varies between 6 decares and 300 decares. These 10 households include only 5 (23.81 per cent) out of 21 landless households and the size of lands which they sharecropped varies between 6 and 36 decares. It appears that the landless people, as well as the household having only up to - say - 30 decares of land, do not recourse too much to sharecropping arrangement. In addition to that, the amount of land they sharecropped is too small

PATTERNS OF LAND SHARECROPPING-IN

PATTERNS OF LAND SHARECROPPING-OUT

Hh.No	Land Property	Size of Sharecropped Land (decāres)	Hh.No	Land property (decāres)	Size of Sharecropped Land (decāres)
4	Landless	20	1	350	225
6	30	55	9	95	60
19	300	70	10	50	50
26	150	100	25	60	57
28	150	100	27	70	35
38	Landless	6	35	20	10
46	Landless	36	36	130	40
48	Landless	22	39	35	25
55	Landless	24	42	150	100
61	180	200		60	60
				70	70

Table 2.7. Sharecropping patterns in K. village

to meet their livelihood requirements, particularly if considering that dry farming is practiced.

On the other hand, people who owns more than 100 decares shows having a higher tendency to have sharecropping arrangements than people having very little or no land. As it is indicated in Table 2.7, these people own land the area of which varies from 150 decares up to 300 decares and the area of the sharecropped land by this households is also greater than the lands sharecropped by the landless or small land owners (70 decares up to 200 decares).

The following table can help to understand the situation of the landless households engaged into sharecropping arrangement.

Hh.No	Age of the Head of the Hh.	No of People in the Hh.	Main Occupation
4	31	7	Farmer
44	24	5	Farmer
46	27	5	Worker
48	37	10	Worker
55	50	12	Beggar

Table 2.8. Situation of landless peasants engaged in sharecropping arrangement

Based on the above figures it can be seen that these landless households, the first two excepted, are not directly dealing with farming. The sharecropping

arrangement is for them just to support their families' livelihood. The first two households cultivate such a small amount of land that their production covers only their subsistence needs.

Other landless families which are not involved in sharecropping arrangement are mostly workers. The households engaged in sharecropping arrangement and the households which cultivate their families' land excepted, the situation of the other landless households is shown in Table 2.9. This table enables us to understand some of the reasons for which these people has no access to land. At first, they are mainly engaged in different kind of works, outside of agriculture. Only one head of household is unemployed and he derives partly his family's livelihood from the state insurance (Fak-fuk-fon) (Hh. No: 16).

If we look at the age of the head of the households and at the number of people living in those households we can say that they are on majority middle age people and are in charge of small households. We do not analyze in this section all kinds of work people are involved into. This table shows however an important aspect of the agricultural transformation, namely that people having a chance to find a job outside of agriculture are not too keen on cultivating land as farmers.

Hh.No	Age of the Head of the Hh	No of People in the Hh.	Main Occupation
3	27	4	Grocer
5	30	8	Worker
8	40	5	Worker
11	23	3	Worker
16	49	7	Unemployed
20	28	4	Truck driver
24	37	10	Worker/village
30	35	7	Worker/village
34	27	7	Seasonal worker
49	30	6	Worker
51	33	6	Worker
52	62	11	Seasonal worker
54	25	5	Worker
57	15	2	Seasonal worker
58	48	12	Shepherd
60	20	4	Seasonal worker
Average	33.06	6.31	

Table 2.9. Situation of landless people who are not engaged in sharecropping arrangement

Another reason for not getting involved in sharecropping agreement is to be found in the rules traditionally applied in sharecropping agreements. As we explained above, the sharecropper is generally requested to give some amount of money as an advance payment to the landowner. This rises difficulties for poor people, as sometimes the landowners ask quite a large amount of money for their land.

2.4.2 Crop patterns, Marketing and Consumption

According to the information given by the agricultural engineer in Agriculture Chief Directorate (ilçe Tarım Müdürlüğü) in Bozova, the crop patterns and

the sizes of cultivated land are given in Table 2.10. It is to be noticed that there is only 500 decares of land being cultivated for production of sesam seeds. This has not been mentioned in the general information table.

Crop patterns	Size of Cultivated Land (decares)	Percentage
Wheat	4500	32.37
Barley	1000	7.19
Lentil	5800	41.73
Water melon	1000	7.19
Sesam seed	500	3.60
Melon	250	1.80
Pistachio*	850	6.12
Grape*	850	6.12
TOTAL	13900	100

Table 2.10. Crop patterns in K. village

*) Pistachio and grape are cultivated on the same plot/field.

The cropping pattern is changed every year based on the marketing conditions experienced a year ago. For instance, in 1990, the peasants cultivated water melon and they were unable to sell them because of the golf crises, since this crop is merely exported to Middle East countries. Hence, this year, water melon cropping was replaced by lentil.

All produced crop products are usually being marketed, saving the part required for the household needs. The marketing rates is ruled by both the size of the household and the size of the cultivated cropping

area. Based on the villagers' statement, the yearly household requirement for wheat is ranging between 1 and 3 tons, keeping in mind that they have to keep some quantity as seeds for the next year, provided they do not have to sell the all lot.

There is only one case in the research sample who cultivates his family's 16 decares of land and do not market any product at all.

The peasants are used to sell grains to TMO (State Buying Office), merchant and "wheat bazaar" in Bozova. Water melon is mainly sold to merchants. The latter come to the houses with their trucks and buy the crops, paying cash. Although, the merchants are paying at a lower rate than the TMO, the peasants prefer to sell their products to them, as they are receiving cash money.

We do not put any emphasis on the relative rates of products marketed to TMO, merchants or to any other markets. This section is merely aimed at giving a general information about the prevailing marketing conditions.

Based on the villagers' own statements, the annual expenditures and income derived from the agricultural activity in the village is as follows:

Annual expenditure	: 158.525.000 TL
Annual income	: 347.700.000 TL

Distribution of income
per household : 5.700.000 TL

Distribution of income per
land cultivating household : 8.480.488 TL

General income range is varying between 500.000 TL up to 25.0000.0000 TL. Although the above figures are not likely to be realistic, they nevertheless enable to give a general picture of the differences existing between peasants.

2.4.3 Technology in The Village

The following table was prepared based on the data gathered from the agricultural office in Bozova. It shows the types and the numbers of the machinery available in K. village.

Type of machinery	Number
Tractor	11
Thresher	5
Seeder	3
Fertilizing machine	2

Table 2.11. Type and distribution of agricultural machinery in K. village

The above figures show that agricultural mechanization in this village is at low level. Comparing with the area of the cultivable land in this village there is one tractor per 1000 decares. It can be said

that investment in agricultural machinery and equipment is quite low.

The distribution of the tractors per household and the situation of the tractor owner peasants are given in Table 2.12. Tractor and its side devices excepted, there are no other agricultural machineries like combine, motor-pump, etc.

Hh.No	Land property	Type of Machine/ Year of Purchase
7	Landless (Fam.Land)	TRC/1976
12	67	TRC/1976
22	500	TRC/1984
28	150	TRC/1986
31	150	TRC/1987
33	150	TRC/1984
37	200	TRC/1990
38	250	TRC/1975
42	150	TRC/1990
53	Landless (Fam.Land)	TRC/1985
61	180	TRC/1986

Table 2.12. Patterns of tractor ownership, year of purchase

Agricultural production is carried out mainly by tractors. Wooden ploughs drawn by horses are only used by the people who owns 30 decares or less of land. In addition they are used for cultivating areas on which the tractors cannot be operated.

Peasants who have no any machinery have to rent from others or outside the village. For harvesting,

combines are hired outside the village. These combines come mainly from Middle Anatolia Region - from Nevşehir, Konya and Haymana -.

All the tractors included in our sample are owned by the peasants having 67 decares of land and over. They have been purchased between 1976 and 1990. There are 2 landless households which are using family land in this tractor owners group, as well as tractors belonging to their families (Hh. Nos: 7 and 53).

2.4.4 Hired Labour in K. village

There is no any permanent hired labour force in K. village. According to village headman's statement, about 100 people are coming to the village in a year to work at several periods of farming, mostly for harvesting the lentil. On the other hand as there is no any combine in the village, and for harvesting the other grains, peasants have to hire combines along with the drivers. These combines are coming mainly from Middle Anatolia Region.

24 households which employ temporary labour force in their farms are included in the sample. Most of the labour force is coming from the villages of Adiyaman. These people mainly work for collecting lentil. There are only 4 cases in the sample working in the village as

temporary agricultural workers (Hh. Nos: 24, 30, 57 and 60). We will explain these cases in detail under the title "Extra Agricultural Activities".

The area of land cultivated by these 24 households ranges between 16 and 500 decares and the number of the people they employ varies between 3 and 50 in a year. The frequency of their employment period is varying between 1 and 3 times. This depends on the household's having a tractor or not and on the labour power of the household itself. Households which do not have tractors need hired labour to plough their lands. For harvesting wheat and barley they need combines and combine drivers and for the lentil they need more labours than for harvesting other crops as the lentil is being collected by hand. Mainly for these three jobs peasants employ hired labour power. Depending on the size of the land and the kind of the cultivated crop, they recourse to external labour force for 3 up to 20 days in a year.

The agreement between workers and farmers is realized without any legal documents, only a verbal agreement is made. These temporary workers are staying in the houses they work for. The farmer or employer must therefore offer a place to stay to these people. Also they meet all the expenditures of the workers working for them, such as meals, cigarettes, etc. Last year, a daily wedge of 50000 TL was payed.

2.4.5 Financial Sources and Agricultural Credit

There are many kinds of financial sources for the villagers in K. village. The first one is the agricultural bank and they receive two types of credits; cash money or fertilizer. There are 6 cases of credit taken from agricultural bank as cash money (Hh. Nos: 1, 22, 25, 28, 43, 45 and 48). Their debts to the bank varies between 1.500.000 TL and 5.000.000 TL. The households which take credits as fertilizer are the following: 6, 28, 32, 39, 43 and 59. Based on these figures we can say that lands of these 11 households are under mortgage.

On the other hand, there are 5 cases of debtness to the usurer in Bozova (Hh. No: 3, 9, 31, 37 and 53). This usurer is a whole saler as well. Land belonging to these households is also under mortgage. Their debts to usurer are varying between 1.000.000 TL and 2.500.000 TL, according to their own statements.

As they were reluctant to explain their debts to the banks we had difficulties to learn this subject in detail during our field work.

There is only one case of taking consumer credit from a bank (Hh. No 49). He is working in Atatürk Dam construction and he bought a motorbike with this money.

2.5 Animal Husbandry

Though animal husbandry is not the main source of income, it has a considerable importance for covering the household's basic needs.

According to the information obtained from the Agricultural Ministerial Office in Bozova (ilçe Tarım Müdürlüğü) the numbers and the distribution rates of animals per household are as follows:

Kind of Animal	Number	Number of animals per household
Cattle	120	0.74
Sheep	1200	7.41
Chicken	400	2.47
Horse	22	0.14
Donkey	28	0.17

Table 2.13: Distribution of animals per household

Based on this table, sheep and chickens are the largest animal groups in K. village. Sheep are bred for milk, meat and wool. There is no poultry farm in the village. It clearly appears that horses and donkeys which are used as back animals are not widespreadly bred in this village. There is no any oxen used as draught animal. Cows are bred for milk. However, as it is shown in the table, the cows distribution rate per household is very low. On the other hand, there is no cattles of

selected species in the village. This means that peasants prefer to keep sheep rather than cattle, for the former being easy to obtain as well as easy to breed.

The analysis on animal husbandry will be pursued based on the research sample. However, it must be emphasized that, there are no technical improvements in livestock breeding and that, a few households excepted, animal husbandry is practiced in this village with aim to improve the fooding conditions, i.e., although animal husbandry is not their main occupation, it helps to reproduce peasant households themselves.

The type and the distribution of animals among the households included in our sample are shown in the Table 2.14. The analysis based on this table are given herebelow.

32 households, (53.3 %) in our sample own a variable number of sheep. The ownership range varies between 3 and 50 among the households. As it can be seen from the figures the distribution of the sheep is very unequal. Among the given ranges, if we consider from 1 to 10 sheep breeding as intended for subsistence production, 13.3 per cent of the households out of 60 enter in this category. Considering the sheep ownership between 11 and more which enable to produce for marketing, 21 households (35 per cent) out of 60 breed sheep for marketing as well

as meeting their households' needs and this means that for them sheep breeding is a part of their income, while 28 households (46.67 per cent) of the sample are not dealing with sheep breeding at all.

On the other hand, there are only 11 landless households which own some sheeps, and among them there are 2 shepherds with 30 and 24 sheeps, (Hh. Nos: 39 - 58), while only one derives his households livelihood from sheep breeding (Hh. No: 34).

There is only one household (Hh. No: 33) owning 50 sheeps, as well as 150 decares of land. Looking at the large land owners in this village (350 - 500 decares of land), there is only one household owning 500 decares and 33 sheeps.

The above figures show that although the sheep ownership is variable among the peasant households, it does not reflect a parallelism with the land ownership.

Although cows are one of the essential contributing factors of the peasant families' livelihood, 65.67 per cent of the families (40 out of 60) lack this essential constituent. As it can be seen from the Table 2.14 people breeding 1 or 2 cows are the most frequent. Considering the second and third category together, it is seen that 18 (29.5 %) breed in total 26 cows out of 40

(65 %). The maximum number of cows owned by the households is 5 and there are only 2 households which fall into this category. If we take the last two categories together, 3 households (4.9 %) own 4 or 5 cows (35.0 %). If we correlate the land ownership with these figures, it can be easily seen from the information table that the size of land owned by the households owning 4 or more cows varies between 50 and 180 decares.

Based on this statement it can be said that sheep and cow breeding is widespread among the middle size farming.

Cows are bred mostly for milk and the products made from milk like cheese or yogurt. From above explanations, it can be derived that, in this village, 3 households owning 4 or more cows excepted, cow breeding is just covering the peasant households' basic needs.

There is no any poultry farm in the village. Only chicken are widespreadly bred. That's why we did not make a classification on the type of the poultry.

Based on the figures in Table 2.14. the following analysis can be made: One household with 50 chicken excepted, other 31 households (52.7 per cent) own 248 poultry (83.2 pr cent) ranging between 1-15, while 28

SHEEP

Owned	No. of Hh.	Percentage	No. of sheep	Percentage
0	28	46.67	0	0
1-3	1	1.67	3	0.6
4-10	10	11.67	70	13
11-25	15	25.00	231	45.8
26-40	5	8.33	150	29.8
41-+	1	1.67	50	9.9
TOTAL	60	100	504	100

COWS

Owned	No. of Hh.	Percentage	No. of Cows	Percentage
0	40	65.57	0	0
1	10	16.39	10	25.0
2	8	13.11	16	40.0
3	0	0	0	0
4	1	1.64	4	10.0
5-+	2	3.28	10	25.0
TOTAL	61	100	40	100

POULTRY

Owned	No. of Hh.	Percentage	No. of Poultry	Percentage
0	28	46.67	0	0
1-10	26	43.33	177	59.4
11-15	5	8.33	71	23.8
50-+	1	1.67	50	16.8
TOTAL	60	100	298	100

Table 2.14. Distribution of animals per household

households (46.67 per cent) are not dealing with poultry breeding.

The household breeding 50 chickens owns 20 decares of land. Chicken breeding is the main source of livelihood for this household beside agriculture. This family sells eggs to the groceries in the village.

There are 10 horses and only 1 donkey in our sample. Although peasants still use horses in small size fields as draught animal usually, horses and donkeys are generally used for transportation. Due to the developing transportation facilities, between the village and town and city, these animals are mostly used for transportation in the village between the field and house or between neighbouring villages.

Based on the above, it is clear that there is no improved animal breeding facilities in this village and there is no animal farms. Animal husbandry as an economic activity is limited to the subsistence level in that peasants tend to breed animals to cover their basic needs. Nevertheless, for a few households, it can be consider as the secondary source of income beside agriculture.

As there is no organized animal husbandry (farms) in the village and as animal breeding is not a main

source of income, animal products are produced mainly for the peasant households' own consumption. However, this does not mean that there is no any marketing at all. Though being of rather subordinate importance it still exists at a certain level.

Animal products such as cheese, butter and yogurt are marketed mainly in the village. They sell milk, yogurt or cheese to the people who has no any sheep or cows and the state officers such as teachers or nurse. In addition, cheese is being marketed mainly to the groceries in Bozova.

Keeping poultry is not a common practice in the village either. One villager has 50 hens and he sells eggs to the groceries in the village. Other 31 households own poultries at the range between 2 and 15 and the products are mainly consumed within the family.

Wool production brings some amount of money as well. Finally, they also sell sheep in the village and in Bozova, particularly during the Bayram time.

There is no organization like cooperative or connection with merchant on a regular basis for these activities.

Although animal husbandry is carried on a primitive fashion, it provides one of the most important means of subsistence in K. village. Based on peasants' statements included in research sample, the balance between their annual expenditure, income and profit from animal husbandry can be summarized as follows:

Total expenditures :	20.900.000 TL
Total income :	35.900.000 TL
Annual profit :	15.900.000 TL

2.6 Diversification and Sources of Income out of Agriculture

There are no too many possibilities of diversification offered in K. village, particularly extra-agricultural activities but outside employment is an important source of income for villagers. These employments, permanent or temporary, can be handled in two parts depending on being related to migration or not. Because of this reason extra-agricultural activities in the village and outside employments of the village residents and migration patterns both temporary or permanent are explained in different parts of this section.

2.6.1 Extra-Agricultural Activities (Work Outside Agriculture)

As to source of income, most of the village residents get to a certain extent involved in activities related to land cultivation and animal husbandry. Although there are some limited possibilities of diversification in K. village, outside employment provides significant amount of income for the villagers.

There are 5 groceries in the village. Four of the owners of groceries are included in the sample (Hh. Nos: 3, 26, 32 and 59). Only one of them is landless and he derives his income merely from grocery (Hh. No: 3). The others have their own lands the area of which varies between 110 and 200 decares. This shows that they may realize cumulative profits through farming.

There is one mill in the village owned by the village headman. He was renting this mill, prior to starting to operate it together with a partner, two years ago. He does not work himself. His partner works in the mill and they share the derived income.

There is a newly opened and privately owned bakery. The owner is not included in the sample. There are two minibus owners transporting passengers between

village and Bozova and Şanlıurfa. Non of them is included in the sample.

There is one truck and one bus drivers. The truck driver is driving his uncle's truck for 5 years (Hh. No: 20). The bus driver has his own bus, with the partnership of the D. family in Ö. village. He is working for a transportation company in Adıyaman transporting passengers between cities. He is also not included in the sample.

Another source of "extra-agricultural" income in the sample is represented by the villagers who get a state pension (FAK-FUK-FON) extended to needy poor people (Hh. Nos:16, 55 and 57). The first one is beggar and he works as seasonal worker in Adana with his children for picking cotton for 1-2 months in a year. The second one is 15 years old. He lives with his 60 years old mother. He works sometimes for the contractor companies at Atatürk Dam site when they need temporary labour force for 1-2 months in a year as well as in the village at the time of harvesting lentil, as a temporary agricultural worker.

There are 4 shepherds in the village. Two of them are included in the sample (Hh. Nos: 39 and 58).

A last source of income is working temporarily for building houses or making repairments in the village. There are 4 such cases of temporary employment included in the sample (Hh. Nos: 24, 30, 57, 60). These people make these job whenever needed and they work as agricultural workers at harvesting time as well.

The most important and significant source of "extra-agricultural" income is employment as workers at Atatürk Dam construction.

As it can be clearly seen from the Table 2.15 there are 17 heads of the households who work for the Atatürk Dam construction as workers. 9 of them are landless and 6 of these landless households are not involved at all in agriculture, even in sharecropping. Two of them have an access to land by sharecropping. The sizes of land they sharecropped are 36 and 22 decares, respectively (Hh. Nos: 46 and 48). The last one does not have his own land because their family land is still not divided up among the brothers. He has 300 decares of land in partnership with his brothers and they give their all land to a sharecropper, and upon the harvest they share the product with the sharecropper and their part is divided up in 5.

The remaining 8 workers are engaged in agriculture, and they own some land. The sizes of land owned by these

Hh. No	Type of Work	Working Place	Land Property	Sharecropping In	Sharecropping Out
1	Miller	Village	350	--	225
3	Grocer	Village	---	--	---
5	Worker	A. Dam	---	--	---
8	Worker	A. Dam	---	--	---
10	Worker	A. Dam	50	--	50
11	Worker	A. Dam	---	--	---
12	Worker	A. Dam	67	--	---
15	Worker	A. Dam	40	--	---
20	Driver	Village	---	--	---
24	Worker	Village	---	--	---
26	Grocer	Village	150	100	---
27	Worker	A. Dam	70	--	35
30	Worker	Village	---	--	---
32	Grocer	Village	110	--	---
33	Worker	A. Dam	150	--	---
35	Worker	A. Dam	20	--	10
39	Shepherd	Village	35	--	---
40	Worker	A. Dam	12	--	---
45	Worker	A. Dam	50	--	---
46	Worker	A. Dam	---	36	---
48	Worker	A. Dam	---	22	---
49	Worker	A. Dam	---	--	---
51	Worker	A. Dam	---	--	---
53	Worker	A. Dam	300	--	300
				(family land)	
54	Worker	A. Dam	---	--	---
55	Beggar	Village	---	24	---
57	Worker	Village	---	--	---
58	Shepherd	Village	---	--	---
59	Grocer	Village	200	--	---
60	Worker	Village	---	--	---

Total: 30 persons

Table 2.15. Patterns of extra-agricultural activities in K. village

people are varying between 12 and 150 decares. The one who owns 150 decares excepted, the maximum size of land owned by these people is 70. This means that besides the landless people those who own less than 100 decares are compelled to seek another employment beside agriculture.

2.6.2 Migration Patterns in K. Village

The migration, whether "permanent" or "temporary" and both immigration and emigration are significant for K. village. There are 8 households and 48 people who migrated into the village. Among them there are 7 people who were appointed to their jobs in K. village (4 teachers, a nurse, an agricultural technician and a course teacher for women). None of these people is included in the sample. 30 of the people born outside the village are women who came to the village after having got married. The research sample includes only one individual who was born in the village but stayed 10 years outside and then turned back to village (3. sample below). Others came together with their families and they constitute 3 households. The reason for immigrating into the village and the time of arrival of these households are as follows:

1. sample: He is from another village of Bozova, but his wife is from K. village. After their

marriage they lived in his village of origin for one year and then, seven years ago, they migrated into K. village, hoping to get an employment at Atatürk Dam construction. Now, he is unemployed and he is cultivating land as a sharecropper (Hh. No. 4).

2. sample: He is from Ö. village. He is working for the Contractor company of Atatürk Dam. He migrated to this village together with his wife and his 2 children three years ago because of the transportation facilities offered from K. village to Dam site. (Hh. No 10)

3. sample: He was born in K. village. He has worked for 10 years in Ceyhan and when he got married in the village, he turned back, eleven years ago. (Hh. No 53).

4. sample: He was born in Halfeti and migrated to K. village in 1951 because of a quarrel in his village of origin. (Hh. No 52).

On the other hand, there is only one peculiar type of immigration in this village. This household is not included in the research sample, but because of its

significant importance in terms of reflecting the villagers cultural identity in this area we found it worthwhile to take it into consideration. The head of this household was working in Ceylanpınar for 4 years and he was living together with his family there. When a big fighting arose between two families in the village because of the elections of the village headman (see Appendix B, Title 2) he was called back to the village by his elder cousin, the most efficient person in their family, to kill their uncle, the eldest member of the conflicting family. Because of this reason he turned back to the village. He did not kill his uncle and a peace was realized between these two families but this man had lost his job in Ceylanpınar and he had to stay in the village working as a sharecropper of the fields of his cousin who called him back to the village.

The patterns of emigration is also significant in both types, permanent and temporary. It is much more common that individual women leave the village because of marriage. 22 girls from the households in the sample left the village after their marriage, out of a total of 35 people who emigrated from the village. Their destination is as follows: Austria: 1 case, Gaziantep or its town: 5 cases, Urfa: 4 cases, and nearby villages: 12 cases.

Other permanent migration patterns are as follows:

Destination	Type of occupation		How many years
Austria : 1 case	worker	with his family	7
Germany : 2 cases	1. worker	with his family	5
	2. worker	accompanying his elder brother	5
Cyprus : 2 cases	1. worker	head of household	3
	2. worker	his son	3
Gaziantep: 2 cases	1. worker	with his family	
	2. waiter	alone	
Urfa : 4 cases	1. civil servant	with his family	
	2. civil servant	with his family	
	3. worker	with his family	
	4. worker	with his family	
Karaman : 1 case	waiter	alone	
Adana : 1 case	agricultural worker	with his family	
Atatürk Dam : 1 case	civil servant	with his family	

Table 2.16. gives the figures related to the patterns of temporary migration. As can be seen all migration patterns are for economic reasons. There are 30 people migrated temporarily to Adana or other western cities in the research sample. There are two cases of working in some western cities temporarily in building construction sector.

All the figures on permanent and temporary migration show that emigration is more significant than

immigration for K. village. Although in the past 7-8 years Atatürk Dam construction supplied employments for people living in villages around, still emigration keeps its importance. Beginning from last year, because of the nearly completion of the work at Atatürk Dam, contractors started to dismiss their employees as they do need lesser work forces. We did not evaluate the consequences thereupon for the people from K. village working for Atatürk Dam, but it can be expected that this event can cause an increase of the emigration rate in the following years in both types, permanent or temporary.

There are 2 cases of temporary emigration because of educational constraints in the sample. Both stay in Urfa and one of them is going to middle school staying with his sister who is married and settled in Urfa. Second one is living in a student dormitory.

On the other hand, there is only one case of permanent migration from the village, which we can call as "obligatory migration". This was because of blood feud ten years ago. Three families and 9-10 households migrated because of this reason and then they settled in Y. hamlet. As it was observed during the field work this kind of migration is also widespread in this area. Because of the disputes in the village or blood-feud people prefer to migrate selling their lands and buying

Hh.No	Migrated members of the family	Age	Destination	Type of Work	Duration in a year	For How Many Years
14	Head of household and 4 children		Ceyhan/Adana	P. Cotton	1-2 months	8 years
15	2 sons	18-20	Adana/Hatay/Aydin	Worker-Cons.	3 months	7 years
16	son	18	Soke/Aydin	Worker-Cons.	3 months	2 years
17	Head of household three brothers		Ceyhan/Adana	P. Cotton	2 months	9 years
30	Head of household	35	Adana	P. Cotton	3 months	15 years
34	Head of household	28	Adana	P. Cotton	1 month	5 years
44	Head of household	24	Adana	P. Cotton	1-2 months	18 years
52	Head of household		Adana	P. Cotton	2 months	12 years
55	Head of household and 4 children	50 10-22	Adana	P. Cotton	2 months	10 years
57	Head of household	15	Adana	P. Cotton	2 months	2 years
58	Son and 2 daughters	20 16-18	Adana	P. Cotton	2 month	10 years
60	Head of household	20	Adana	P. Cotton	2 months	10 years

TOTAL : 30 people included in 14 households

Table 2.16. Temporary migration patterns in K. village

some others in another village. In general all the family or lineage migrates all together from one village to another either they establish a new village (this is their own terms) or they live together with the other village residents. Sometimes, they prefer to move to towns or nearby cities, when they believe that they would obtain a job more easily in these places (as it happened about 10 years ago in Ö. village).

2.7 Authority and Decision Making Mechanisms in K.

Village

During the course of extinction of landlordship in the K. village - where same had been ruling until 30 or 40 years ago - authority relations in the village were also subjected to transformation. The arrival of E. Bey in the village, after having purchased a major part of the land owned by the landlord family, should be considered as the beginning of the transformation. Similarly, two wealthy and powerful families came into existence in the village. However, various disputes arose repeatedly between Öz. family and E. Bey's family, while the latter, who, as it was rumoured, had to sell all of his lands and leave the village in order to pay the money he owed to the State. The fact that the villagers did their best and managed to acquire the lands sold by E.

Bey resulted in impairing the entirety of landlord family's power.

Ensuing from the tribe and landlord relations in the area, an authority relation system based on land ownership, wealth and multitude was created at the beginning. Owing to declining tribe relations as well as to loss of power of the landlordship in the village as all villagers had become owners of land, either large or small, it may be said that a new conception of authority is now in effect in K. village originating from the multitude of the members of the family (or of the clan, in their own terms) rather than from wealth. That is to say, a clan is powerful in proportion to its multitude. Naturally, such multitude is reckoned on the number of men in the lineage.

It is quite clear from the sample cases collected from K. village that in the event of discords of any sort, attempts are made to solve it by brute force and quarrelling, at the end of which the weaker of the two lineages (clans or tribes) is compelled to leave the village. Or, in the cases where the things do not reach such a severe level, the weaker one, or, in their own terms, the one whose clan is not powerful cannot intervene against the opposite party or protect himself.

In such fights where a man was killed in whatever manner, the fight then turns into a blood feud. Under similar circumstances, the party which has committed the crime generally has no choice but to leave the village. The reason for doing so is of course self-protection. According to H.C., an aged villager, leaving the village is not always a good solution. If the other party is powerful enough then the killer may be pursued for vengeance. However, nowadays such cases of running after the killer do not happen any longer. Families which had moved out of the K. village and were dispersed in neighbouring provinces, purchased later on land in the Y. village (hamlet) only 2 or 3 km away from K. village. Now, the two villages are in good terms in spite of the close vicinity. One of the main reasons for the settlement of the dispute, in other words the element securing the peace between the two villages is the SHEIKH.

Sheikhs now form another focus of authority and similarly provide well-balanced distribution of forces. Sheikhs who have recently, in particular in the last 15 years, acquired considerable power, seem to be now - according to villagers - the most respectable persons because of their religious leadership and of their ability to cure diseases (through their breath, sacred power, prayers) where doctors fail to find remedy. The information obtained concerning sheikhs have been

presented in previous part of this section, but their particular features and functions, their quality as mediator and their part in making decisions are dealt with in the following. Sheikhs act as mediators when disputes arise between families or villages and secure the peace. In a sense, they fulfil the tasks of a judge by issuing decisions and exercising authority to enforce the rights. Furthermore, they act as advisors when villagers cannot personally solve the problems they are facing with or are unable to make their own judgment.

The authority of the sheikhs is originating from two elements: the first one is religion while the second is resulting from shortcomings in the state organizations as various public services have not yet been implemented in the region. In addition to sheikh's functions for curing diseases by means of prayers and "breath", they fulfil those functions which had been undertaken by the head of tribes previously, later on by aghas at the village level. In other words, sheikhs' authority or leadership has come into existence after the tribes and aghas had lost their power in this region, and sheikhs have partly acquired their traditional authority.

However, it is clear that sheikhs are liable to loose their power as villagers are nowadays inclined to recourse to law and seek settlement of disputes in the courts which means that the state's justice order is

gaining ground. The case of the "girl" is a meaningful example of the above mentioned trend. The fact that the girl was not killed and whatever the sheikh said (the sheikh's proposal in this regard is not clear, according to some of the villagers he suggested that it was necessary to shed blood for the sake of honour and decency, while others did not believe in such an attitude of the sheikh's) the decision issued by the court was fully observed and the girl and her daughter who were under the care and surveillance of the gendarmery were not killed evidences sheikhs' loss of authority (similarly the above case is also indicative of the fact that there is a change and weakening in the traditions and behaviours adopted in certain events).

Taking all the above points into consideration the power relations in the village may be analyzed as follows:

Assuming that the authority in the village is bound with the clan's power, it may be said that the most crowded clan would be the most powerful and urging obedience. When judging from the above point of view, it is possible to say that there are 2 or at most 3 families or lineages or clans in K. village. The C. family are the most crowded clan in the village, in possession of 27 households. The previous landlord family, Ö. family, comes next with 22 households. To be able to define the

wealth of these two families we should check the lands they own. Out of the total of 27 households owned by the C. family, 10 have been included in the scope of the research sample. The Ö. family owns 22 households and 6 have been included in the research sample.

3 out of 10 households owned by the C. family forming the object of our sample have no land at all. The total area of land owned by the 7 remaining households is 875 decares. This represents 17.9 % of the total land area included in our sample.

As for the Ö. family, 2 of the 6 households are without any land while the total land owned by the remaining 4 households is 967 decares, which represents 19.80 % of the entirety of land included in the research sample. The statement according to which the power in the village results from the multitude of the clan members and not from wealth, as expressed by the villagers themselves, is thus demonstrated.

In the sequence of authority in the village Öz. family may be assumed to be third in line. Although they own only 4 households the present headman (mukhtar) of the village is from the Öz. family. The headman is cousin to C. family, and son-in-law to Öz. family and is an authority in his own clan (family). Consequently, he is in a position to have self interest relations with both

sides. There were two candidates for the post of headman during the last elections; Ö. Öz., the present headman and H.C. the previous one. All the Ö. family and some of the C. family members supported Ö. Öz. and the headmanship passed from H.C. over to Öz. family.

When Ö. family were asked why they did not present a candidate from their family, the answer received was that they were convinced having no chance at all with the elections, for all the C. family would jointly vote against the Ö. family. Such statements may show the considerable influence of the kinship which is denominated as being clan by the villagers, in the power relations.

During the time of the landlords, the headman of the village were usually elected from the landlord family, but later on P. family, C. family and Öz. family have been winner in the elections for headman of the village, successively. When the villagers were asked about the reason why landlords could not win the elections or how they could leave the headmanship of the village to others, the answer was P. clan's considerable power ensuring their success over Ö. family.

The fact that the Ö. family are still considering themselves to be superior to the other villagers originates from the period of landlordship which does not

rule any longer in the village. In addition, one of the reasons for behaving so is that almost all of the members of the younger generation of this family are employed in Urfa or at Atatürk Dam site as civil servants or workers. This is another fact that during the process of dissolving landlordship relations the second or third generation of the landlord family are becoming in general civil servants or employees in state offices having recourse to their families' influence to get these jobs. And the landlord families identify themselves like elites of the village, distinguishing themselves from the other villagers.

While dealing with authority originating from the clan power it would be advisable to refer to individuals who are considered as authorities in each clan. We may cite H.C. of the C. family, 62 years old and the oldest of the family (clan); M. Ö. of Ö. family, 66 years old and similarly the oldest member of the family. There is no formal organization chart in clan such as head of the clan, members, or classified duties, etc. When problems concerning the clan arise i.e., under circumstances requiring a joint decision, the family council meets. The conditions entailing the meeting of the family council are cases of murder or rape in which the murderer or victim is one of the family members, and decision is to be made on the kind of action which is to be taken. In addition to said cases, in the event of marriage of one

of the family members they exchange opinions or consult with the elderly members of the family. If there is no subject of concern for the family (e.g the one to marry his son or daughter is a member of an enemy family) no family council meeting is needed, just a bid for opinions takes place. The family council is not formally organized, in other words it is not an organization defined in terms of time and place, with a chairman and members. The family council may be described as a structure formed by the male members of the family to make decisions in the cases where an extraordinary situation has developed concerning all the members of the family.

After the clan and family council, we may refer to authority relations at the household level. All decisions in the family as well as in the village are issued by men, as a natural outcome of patriarchy. The head of the family is the father, in his absence the oldest son. In general, such sons are over 20 years old, married, having children. Should the authority be with the mother in the case of the absence of the husband and if children are of minor age? Such a case was never observed, for very young widows are either caused to get married again or the responsibility is taken over by the late husband's family and the widow lives with them. This means that, in all cases, the presence of a man to assume

the responsibility for the house and to exert authority is indispensable.

The authorities which are outside the village, but establish the connections of the village with the outside world are sheikhs and the state. One of the recent advices of sheikhs to their disciples is "Do not disobey the state". This may be considered as an element indicative of the relation between the state authority and sheikhs. Sheikhs take part in balancing the gap existing between the people and the state and at the same time they are developing initiatives in the areas where the authority of the state is not well defined. Although the source of their power is Islam, they endeavour not to be contrary to state's laws in their judgments, decisions or suggestions. That is to say, sheikhs are now situated at half-way between the traditional relations and the modern legal order.

CHAPTER III
A MONOGRAPH OF Ö. VILLAGE

3.1 General Information on Ö. Village and Its
Sub-villages

Ö. village is a small village including three sub-villages, and is located near to the Fırat river, 4-5 km away from K. village. The distance to Bozova is 26-27 km, to Şanlıurfa 65 km. The nearest city is Adıyaman at 52 km. The villagers keep, therefore, a closer contact with Adıyaman than with Şanlıurfa, except for official transactions, as the latter is the capital city of the province.

The village has a population over 50, with 13 households. The entire population are Kurds. They speak Kurmanc, a dialect of the Kurdish language. Men and young girls excepted, nobody speaks Turkish, since the primary school was established in the village only in the recent past.

Nomad families from a village of Adıyaman are coming temporarily to Ö. village during summer time. They belong to a different religious sect, namely the Alevi.

Ö. village has a very poor share of public services, if compared with K. village. There is a primary school with one teacher. It was established in 1984. Electric power is distributed to the houses. There is no water supply and drinking water is taken from the Firat river, thus with inherent health haphazards. Water is transported in small tanks pulled by tractors.

The access road to the village is not stabilized and is in such a poor condition that it become unpracticable for one or two weeks in winter time.

There is a telephone line with one telephone in mukhtar's house. There is no mosque in the village and the following services are not available as well: health center, cooperative, library, police station. There are neither privately owned shops and coffee houses, nor any bakeries. When the people need the services of the mosque or imam they take help from the nearest villages (usually from K. village and O. village).

The main source of income is agriculture (farming). Stock breeding also has a considerable importance in this village, not primarily for the inhabitants but especially for the nomad families. Although there are two households (three families) dealing only with stock breeding, there are no technical

improvements in livestock breeding and all animals are locally bred varieties.

The general information about the hamlets of Ö. village is summarized herebelow:

K. HAMLET

It is rather unfeasible to evaluate the K. hamlet separately from Ö. village. First of all, this hamlet is a part of D. family's property and the whole family and relatives are partners in almost everything they do outside of agriculture. Consequently, information on this village in this chapter is limited to the settlement and demographical features of the village, household layout and M.D.'s collectivity and other business relations will be evaluated together with the central village to avoid tedious repetitions.

K. hamlet is 3 Km far from Ö. village and bounded with Ö. village and with the other hamlet of Ö. village, I. hamlet.

The total population of the hamlet is 53, consisting of 27 women and 26 men, while the total number of households is 8. The village presents ethnical features similar to those prevailing in Ö. village. All the villagers speak Kurdish using Kurmanc dialect. As is

the case in Ö. village, men and children going to school can speak Turkish but women cannot.

The village is rather poor as far as public utilities are concerned. Electricity is the only public service provided for the village. The road connecting the village to Ö. village is quite bad and difficult to cross in winter. No primary school, infirmary, mosque, water system to houses, or shopping center such as grocery store, green-grocer's shop, butcher exist in the village. The children go to primary school in Ö. village. The villagers cover their requirements for water from Fırat river, transporting the water with small tanks and they make their shopping mainly in Bozova.

Y. HAMLET

Y. hamlet is located 3-4 Km far from Ö. village and 2 Km from K. villages. It is bounded by these two latter villages and partly by the village of K.P. Y. hamlet is, among the other studied villages, the nearest village to the Atatürk Dam Site. It's just 1.5-2 km away from it. The distance to Bozova is 24 km, to Şanlıurfa 62 km.

Y. hamlet has over 110 inhabitants, with 25 households. All the people in the village are Kurds and they speak Kurmanc, a dialect of the Kurdish language.

Some of the women over 30 years old excepted, every one knows Turkish. They belong to the Hanefi religious sect.

Y. hamlet has a poor share of public services, if compared with K. village. There is a primary school with one teacher. It was established in 1990. There is electrical power supply.

There are two access roads to the village, in opposite direction, which provide transportation facilities from K. village and from Atatürk Dam Site. These roads are not stabilized, but they are good enough for transportation.

There is no water supply. The villagers procure water from an artesian spring located near to the village and transport it by water tanks.

There is only one privately owned grocery. There is no mosque and also the following services are not available: telephone line, coffee house, health center, cooperative, library, police station. The grocery excepted, there is no another privately owned services like butcher's shop or bakery. All the households prepare their bred on sac.

The main source of income is agriculture (farming). Stock breeding is also a major source to cover

the needs of the households. On the other hand, employment as workers in Atatürk Dam construction is another source of income, particularly for the landless people of this village.

I. HAMLET

I. sub-village is a hamlet set up to the South-west of Ö. village at a distance of 5 km, attached to Ö. village. Its limits are encircled by Ö. village and IR. village and the Fırat river. The distance to Bozova is approximately 30 km, to Urfa 70 km.

The total population of the village is 100 consisting of 49 women and 51 men, the number of households is 17 according to 1990 census. The entire population of the village are Kurds. Owing to the fact that there is no primary school in the village, and that the school in the nearby hamlet has been in service since 10 years, children of school age, men and 4 or 5 women can speak Turkish, while the rest of the women in the village do not speak Turkish. As is the case in the other hamlets there are women who understand Turkish at varying levels but none of them can speak.

As far as availability of public services is concerned, the village has a rather poor appearance. There are no roads or other public utilities, except electric power. Transportation is done through the

service car of the nearest hamlet (a hamlet attached to Ir. village) or by means of horse carts. The hamlet has no any good road to Ö. village or to the other hamlets of Ö. village (K. hamlet is the nearest one).

Due to the lack of primary school in the hamlet, school children of go to the one in the nearest hamlet, which is at a distance of 1 km. In total 13 children, 4 of them being girls, go to school.

There is no water system to distribute water to the houses and villagers meet their requirements with the water carried from the Fırat river on donkey-back.

They have no shops as grocery store, butcher's shop, to cover their basic requirements. They buy groceries from the store in the nearby hamlet. The distance to Urfa is 70 km, while that to Adıyaman is 52 km. For this reason they are in closer connection with Adıyaman, except for official transactions. Another motive is the availability of service car from the nearby village to Adıyaman.

The only means of living in the village is agriculture and animal husbandry. To the contrary to the other villages, no one here is employed at Atatürk Dam jobsite. As reason for that, they refer to the location

of the village, far away from the Dam, and also to the lack of transportation facilities.

3.2 A Brief History of Ö. Village and Its Sub-villages

It was not feasible to obtain information about the past history of Ö. village. The known historical period, or that on which we were able to collect data from the villagers began approximately 60 years ago with the arrival of D. family at the village. The first settlers in the village and the social relations pertaining to that time is unknown to all the present residents. The D. family has come from O. village which is in the surroundings of Ö. village. The grand-grand father of the present headman of the village (H.D.) who was the leader of the family was at the same time the owner of O. village as well as of a section of Ö. village (It is likely that Ö. village was the hamlet of O. village at that time. There is no clear evidence in this respect but when considering the general structure of the region, this hypothesis is quite probable). After the death of the grand-grand father some disputes arose within the family and the grand father of the present headman of the village moved from O. village to Ö. village (or at the time of dividing up the land after the death of the grand grand father the portion in Ö. village was purchased by the grand father who then settled in

this village). Later on, they bought the remaining land which did not belong to them and they appropriated some other plots by force (they forced the previous residents to move out).

They have settled the sharecropper households in the fields of the two other hamlets, I. hamlet excepted. According to what we have been told, D. family have provided livestock plough and other supplies for these sharecropper families which then cultivated this land. However, they were taking back half of the product. (This sharecropping agreement is not correct, according to the opinion expressed by people of another village. Thus, according to them the sharing portion should be 1/8). Furthermore, at that time sharecropping in animal breeding and animal caretaking existed, animals like cattle, sheep or horses were drawn back by these families.

Beginning from 1950s, mechanization of land cultivation became common practice while by mid 1960s D.s owned tractors. D. family had 3 tractors and other agricultural equipment. Following this mechanization, some of the families in the hamlets moved (emigrated) to the city while other villagers were forced by D. family to move away. An extensive migration from the village took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s. D. family

started to cultivate their lands themselves. According to H.D. they were even cultivating land as sharecroppers.

After the death of the grand father (approximately 25 years ago), the headman's father and 4 brothers divided (split up) the land. Their property was divided in 5 lots. M.D. and a brother of his moved to K. hamlet with their families and had houses constructed. Their present lands are registered under their own name.

The present headman's father and one of his uncles are the only ones who stay in Ö. village. Their land was also divided into 4 parts after the death of H.D.'s father.

Upon commencement of the Atatürk Dam project this family has made a number of investments on busses and minibuses to run between the dam site and the villages or between Urfa and Adiyaman. D. family started in 1986 to invest in sectors outside of agriculture.

As they were mainly engaged in such activities during the recent years they started to use sharecroppers to cultivate their fields. To make such investments D. family sold their 3 tractors and some land in Y. hamlet and they obtain as well some accumulation from their fields. During this process, they changed their sharecropping relations to get their lands cultivated. At

the present time both H.D. and M.D. are owners of one tractor each in partnership with their sharecroppers.

About ten years ago five households among the oldest residents of the village sold their land and left the village. One of the reasons for their leaving the village is the dispute between them and D. family while the second reason was their hope to find employments in the city. After they sold about 250 decares of their land to C. family in K. village some of them moved to Nizip, other to Gaziantep. At the present time there are only 2 households from this family remaining in the village.

K. HAMLET

To the best of our knowledge, the history of K. hamlet began with the arrival of D. family at Ö. village. It is said that there was no one living there until their arrival. When the D. family acquired the ownership of the lands in Ö. village and K. hamlet they settled there 3 or 4 families to act as sharecroppers with them. These families were from nearby villages. But we were unable to obtain any information about the kind of relations they had with the D. family, all what we know is they were acting as sharecroppers.

About 20 years ago M.D. (uncle of the headman of Ö. village) and his elder brother, together with their families, moved from Ö. village to this place and built

their own houses. According to the information received from the mukhtar of Ö. village the reason for his uncles' moving out of Ö. village was a discord in the village and family quarrels. These two members of the D. family were step-brothers of the other brothers who stayed in Ö. village. Their lands were split up and they received the lands in K. hamlet side and settled there. As they owned a tractor, they expelled the sharecropper families and cultivated all of the lands themselves, and even other people's lands in nearby villages on the base of sharecropping. At the present time M.D. does not have his own tractor and does not cultivate land any longer. He bought a tractor together with one of his sharecroppers and he lets sharecroppers cultivate his land. M.D. commented as follows: "When we got our tractor, we began to cultivate our land ourselves. Later on we began to make investments and as we started to deal with other kinds of business, we were again compelled to have sharecroppers to cultivate our land".

Y. HAMLET

This village is the newest one among the other studied villages. It has been established in 1981. All the people of this village have come from K. village which is located 2-3 km away from Y. hamlet. Y., P. and Gü. families established this village. They had to leave K. village because of a blood feud.

The blood feud between two families started because of a disagreement on the boundaries of the farms. An individual from P. family killed a person from C. family because of this disagreement. Then, as it is common practice, P. and his relative families have left the village. After a while all these families decided to buy some lands and they made an agreement with the agha of Ö. village to buy some of his lands. They collected money among themselves and they bought 2.000 decares of land and they established a new village as a sub-village of Ö. village.

Later on, they made peace with the people from K. village through mediation of sheikh. As is required they paid the blood price by giving the land about which there was a disagreement to the victim family. After a certain ceremony, the sheikh "gave peace between the two villages".

At the time of establishing the village there were only 15 households, but now there are about 29-30 households. Y. hamlet is defined as a mezra (subvillage) of Ö. village, however not in an official way. Officially it is considered as belonging to Ö. village, being a part of it. But the people in Ö. village and in Y. hamlet consider this village as a separate subvillage of Ö. village. The people of Y. hamlet intend to become an independent village from Ö. village, as they believe

that their village is large enough to obtain the village status.

I. HAMLET

I. hamlet (its old name was N. and in 1983 it changed to I. hamlet officially) was established in the 1960s. People have come from a village of Bozova district. According to them, there was not any special reason to move here except that they were landless in their previous village. However, people from other villages informed me that they moved here because of blood feud, too. They sold lands they owned in their village of origin and bought some in I. hamlet. The old owners of I. hamlet sold them half of their lands. The remaining half is still under their control and they were living in this village until the present time. Recently, because of some disputes with the new comers, they had to sell all their remaining lands, and they left to Gaziantep. This time they sold their lands to people from another village called Kl. As I was informed, 20 households of Kl. village are to move to I. hamlet very soon.

3.3 Population; Composition of Households and Family

Structure

The total population of Ö. village amounts to 453 including 214 women and 239 men and there are 67

households, the hamlets included. Official statistics taken from agricultural office in Bozova include the information on the central village and on its hamlets all together without any distinction. That is why we do not refer to this information in this chapter.

The following section is a descriptive study about the central village's and its hamlets' population, composition of households and family structure. If not otherwise mentioned, Ö. village refers only to the central village.

Ö. VILLAGE

There are 17 households in Ö. village with about 85 people. 11 households and 79 of the population, composing also the nomad families, are included in the research sample. The number of people in these households is varying between 3 and 12 and the average population per household is 7.2.

The distribution of the households per families and the position of the head of the households in Ö. village are as follows:

1. H.D. : (34 years old) He is the headman of the village, living with his wife and 4 children. The nearly entirety of the deed of the land of about 1200 decares is

owned by his wife. As he was married to his uncle's daughter when his uncle died all the land his uncle owned was inherited by his sole daughter.

H.D. is the owner of 3 buses and 3 minibuses in partnership with his uncles and cousins.(Hh.No: 1).

2. F.D. : (30 years old) He is H.D.'s brother and lives with his wife and 4 children. Together with his brothers he is the partner of the investments made by D. family. He is also operating the bus owned by his own family, running between cities.

3. I.D. : (20 years old) He is H.D.'s brother living with his mother, his mother's partner (kuma) and with another brother of him who is now doing his military service. Although they are living in a separate house their relations with H.D. and his family present the aspects of an extended family as they are supporting each other for every kind of jobs and they are sharing daily life such as eating together. (Hh. No: 6).

4. Mt.D. : (65 years old) He is H.D.'s uncle. As his two sons are in Bozova he has rented a flat in Bozova where they stay throughout the school year. They come back to the village on weekends and during holidays. One of his sons is living in his house in the village together with his wife and their 3 children and when M.D. comes back to the village they stay all together. They own 1200 decares of land. He has authorized his sons to use part of his land. The remaining land is given to a sharecropper. (Hh. No: 7)

5. N.D. : (27 years old) He is M.D.'s son. He owns of 300 decares of land from his father. While the deed belongs to his father he is authorized to make use of this land. About three months ago he left for Germany with the hope to find a job. His wife and their 6 children are still staying in the village.(Hh. No: 5)

6. A.Y. : He is the husband of H.D.'s aunt. A.Y. and his wife are very old and have nobody to take care of them. H.D. has brought them here about ten years ago from Ü. which is another village of Bozova. They

receive money from state pension extended to needy poor people (FAK FUK FON) to ensure their subsistence.

7. A.Z. : He is the son of another aunt of H.D. He came from Ü. village of Bozova 6 years ago. He is working as a driver of a minibus owned by the D. family.

8.-9. A.DG. and M.DG : Sons of H.D.'s father's aunt who have come from O. village, 20 years ago. When their father died H.D.'s father granted them with 250 decares of land and at present they are cultivating this land on their own account.

10.-11. O.DG. and M.DG. : Sons of A. DG. and M. DG.

As indicated above D. family and their relatives are now occupying 11 of the 17 houses existing in the village. One of the reasons (the main reason, actually) for D. family to have their relatives settled in the village is to increase their number in the village. This provides them with power reckoned on the number of men, in addition to the economic superiority.

12. A.C. : No relation with D. family, being one of the oldest residents of the village. He

owns 80 decares of land and one car. He is working as a taxi driver, running between Bozova and the surrounding villages.

13. M.T. : He is among the old settlers in the village, who stayed in the village together with A.C. He owns and cultivates 50 decares of land.

14. M.Dr. : He is the father-in-law of M.T. who arrived in the village at a later date. M.T. has brought them to the village as they have nobody to take care of them.

One of the 17 households belongs to the teacher who was appointed in the village. The other two houses in the village belong to D. family and are occupied by three nomad families engaged in animal husbandry.

As it is indicated in the general information table of Ö. village, in Appendix A, 8 households are of the nuclear type whereas 3 are extended families. These figures include the nomad families as well. The nomad families being not considered, there are 7 nuclear and 2 extended families in the village. Although it is common practice in this area to have plural wives, the headman's father excepted, there is no case of bigamy in the

village. Village headman's father had two wives. As he died, his second wife is living together with the village headman's brother and her partner (kuma). We consider this type of family also as nuclear type.

According to Table 3.1., displaying the distribution of the household sizes, number of people living in households varies between 4 and 12.

K. HAMLET

There are 6 households in K. hamlet sub-village having 53 people (including 27 women and 26 men). The average number of population per household is 8.8. The distribution of the households per families and the position of the head of the households are as follows:

1. M.D. : (40 years old) He has a block of apartments with two stairs and four flats. He is staying in one of them and his married son in another one. The other 2 are for his unmarried 2 sons. He is the owner of all the land in K. hamlet together with his brother's sons. Besides, he has partnership of 3 buses, 3 minibuses, and a car with his other brother's sons in Ö. village. He gives about all of his 2100 decares of land to sharecroppers.

2. S.D. : (18 years old) He is the son of M.D.. He is married and has one child. He has a separate house but he and his parents share the daily life together i.e. they are eating from the same pot. All the expenditures of his family are met by his father. He does not have his own land, and he is not engaged in another kind of work as well. When his father is absent from the village, he manages all the works.

3. A.D. : He is the son of M.D.'s brother. He is married and he lives together with his family with 3 children, his mother and his unmarried brothers and sisters.

4. STOCK BREEDER : He came from a village of Adiyaman with his wife and 6 children 6 years ago. He has about 100 sheeps. He derives his livelihood solely from stock breeding. He has 2 decares of land in his village of origin cultivated by his brother. The brother sends him some money for this land. The house he is staying in belongs to D. family. He takes care of M.D.'s sheeps and he meets the annual needs for

cheese of D. family instead of paying a rent to this family.

5. M.D.'s SHARECROPPER : (37 years old) He is one of the sharecroppers of M.D. He comes from Y., (the nearest district of Bozova). He stays in K. village temporarily at the time works are required for cultivation. He has his own land together with his brothers, about 180 decares. They cultivate this land together and they share the products.

6. WATCHMAN : He is the watchman of the pipe line crossing through the village. He works for BOTAS. As he was absent during our field work we were unable to get more information about him. We just know that he is coming from another village.

Nobody is living in the remaining 3 houses, they are being used as hayloft by the D. family and stock breeder.

There is only one type of extended family (3. case above) and there is no any case of polygamy in the

0. VILLAGE

Size of Household	Number of Household	Number of People
0 - 2	0	0
3 - 6	4	18
7 - 10	6	49
11 - +	1	12
Total	11	79

Y. HAMLET

Size of Household	Number of Household	Number of People
0 - 2	1	1
3 - 6	3	12
7 - 10	6	39
11 - +	1	13
Total	11	77

I. HAMLET

Size of Household	Number of Household	Number of People
0 - 2	0	0
3 - 6	1	6
7 - 10	2	10
11 - +	3	38
Total	11	54

Table 3.1. Distribution of household sizes in 0. village and its sub-villages

village. The other 5 households are nuclear families. The number of people in households is varying between 3 and 12.

Y. HAMLET

Y. hamlet is the biggest sub-village of Ö. village with its 25 households and 215 people (including 138 women and 162 men). The average number of people per household is 8.6. The research sample includes 11 households and 75 of the total population. The number of people living in the households included in the research sample varies between 1 and 13, and the average population per household in the sample is 6.8.

There are 3 cases of extended family (Hh. Nos: 3, 8 and 11), while the other 8 are nuclear families. There is only one case of single person living alone (Hh. No 7). He divorced from his wife. His wife and his daughter live in Adana. The sample does not include any case of bigamy, however as we told there are two cases in the village.

I. HAMLET

There are 17 households in I. hamlet. Its population amounts to 100 (including 49 women and 51 men). The average number of people per household is 5.9. The research sample includes 6 households and 63 people.

The number of people in households included in the sample varies between 6 and 14.

Out of 6 households 5 include nuclear families, while there is only one case of extended patrilineal family (Hh. No: 5). There are 4 cases of bigamy in the sample but there is no case of living together with plural wives under the same roof. For example Hh. No 4 has plural wives. He has 6 children from his first wife and 9 from the second. He lives together with his 9 children and his second wife. The first wife is living with her unmarried children in a separate house.

3.4 Agriculture

According to the information gathered from the agricultural office in Bozova (ilçe Tarım Müdürlüğü), Ö. village has 11.275 decares of cultivable land. This figure includes the land in hamlets, too. As there is no distinction in the data collected by the officials, the general analysis on this village will be made considering the central village and its hamlets all together. Based on the same information source, there are about 70 households in this village, thus the average size of cultivable land per household is 161.07 decares.

Although this village has water resources, being located close to the Firat river, agriculture is carried out still under dry farming conditions. There is only one motor pump which is owned by the large land owner together with his sharecropper. This motor pump is operated to irrigate small plots of land on which water melon is cultivated (about 100 decares).

According to official information there is only 250 decares of common pasture land in the village.

3.4.1 Access to Land: Owned, Sharecropped or Rented

Ö. VILLAGE

Based on the information obtained from the village headman there are 3 landless households in the village. As it appears in the general information table of Ö. village two of them are included in the sample (Hh. Nos: 4 and 8), the nomad families being not considered. The head of the first household is working as a driver while the other is shepherd.

The 2650 decares of D. family's land (Hh. Nos: 1, 5, 6 and 7) excepted, the remaining 3 households in the sample have 40, 60 and 100 decares, respectively (Hh. Nos: 2, 3, 11).

About all the land included in the sample is given to sharecroppers. The size of land cultivated by the owners themselves amounts to 5 and 60 decares, respectively (Hh. Nos: 2 and 3). The first one gives his 35 decares of land to the sharecropper. The remaining 5 decares are planted with pistachio trees and grapes. As there is no sharecropping arrangement for pistachio and grape cultivation he cultivates this part of his land himself.

One of the nomad families is landless while the other has 2 decares of land in his village of origin. His brother cultivates this land and gives annually some amount of money to his brother.

There are only two sharecropper households (Hh. Nos: 8 and 11). The head of the first household is a shepherd and landless and he cultivates 60 decares of D. family's land on sharecropping basis. The second owns 100 decares and he also cultivates 110 decares of his uncle's land on sharecropping basis.

Sharecropping agreement shows similarity with what is practiced in general in K. village. The only exception is in the sharecropping agreements realized by the D. family. Besides their extra-agricultural activities, this family, with a view to get their lands cultivated, found another kind of sharecropping

agreement, consisting of providing their sharecroppers with machinery to ease their work.

The sharecropping agreements of D. family can be considered as being a transition from sharecropping to partnership relations. The fact that the D. family was in possession of considerable amount of land provides them with accumulation and other investment possibilities. Their investments on extra-agricultural businesses and their dealings with such kind of occupations have brought up again new sharecropping relations.

The entirety of such investments are built up of joint investments in which the family members are owners of shares at various rates. Through such investments, some of the family members are provided with a number of (business possibilities) occupations, as for instance drivers of vehicles owned by themselves. Thus, the D. family was able to develop partnership relations within the family, beyond the domain of agriculture.

On the other hand, their relations with the sharecroppers to whom they have given their fields were subject to transformation within this period. Both H.D. and M.D. sold their tractors and used this money as capital for further investments. Both of them bought new tractors in partnership with their sharecroppers and they empowered the sharecroppers for using these tractors.

Namely, the D. family provided their sharecroppers with a number of facilities which enabled them to continue to cultivate their fields, and used the income acquired from the cultivation to proceed with other investments for the family.

Another significant point develops from the sharecropping agreement. The D. family either do not request any advance payment for the fields cultivated by sharecroppers and do not take part in covering the costs incurred for the cultivation, or they receive an advance payment and they bear fifty percent of the costs.

In general, they prefer the second choice since receiving pre-payment (downpayment) provide them with large amounts of money on account of the great size of their fields. For instance H.D. received approximately 30 million TL advance payment for the field he had rented to the sharecroppers last year. The amount he received as advance is paid back at the end of the harvest but this gives him opportunity to make some profit derived from using this cash for a minimum period of one year, for which no interest whatsoever is accumulated at the time of the reimbursement.

Although at the present time they do not make any agricultural oriented investments they have some plans for the future. They are considering to rent their fields

after implementation of the irrigation project (programme) to sharecroppers who know about cotton cultivation, and thus to learn how to cultivate it as well as to become able to deal with same on their own. However, the family's trends for future investments on occupations beside agriculture lead us to believe that sharecropping relations would be continued and that agricultural activities would be conducted only for meeting their basic requirements as well as to acquire capital or support for future investments, for their investment plans on extra agricultural activities appear to be more substantial than those pertaining to agriculture. Likewise they have already made some attempts to run in the near future a restaurant or a hotel in Urfa or Adiyaman.

K. HAMLET

All of the cultivable land of K. hamlet is owned by D. family. They are 3 households in the village. Only one cultivates his own land (about 500 decares) while the others give all their lands to sharecroppers. Sharecropping agreements are made on verbal basis and as we explained above it is similar to those made by D. family in Ö. village. In addition, they give a house to their sharecroppers to stay in during the cultivating and harvesting time in the village as they are coming from another village.

Ö. VILLAGE

Land Size Groups	Number of Household	Percentage (%)
Landless	2	22.22
1 - 49	1	11.11
50 - 99	1	11.11
100 - 199	2	22.22
200 - 299	0	0
300 - 399	1	11.11
400 - 499	0	0
500 - 999	0	0
1000 - +	2	22.22
TOTAL	9	100

Y. HAMLET

Land Size Groups	Number of Household	Percentage (%)
Landless	2	18.18
1 - 49	2	18.18
50 - 99	3	27.27
100 - 199	2	18.18
200 - 299	1	9.09
300 - 399	1	9.09
400 - 499	0	0
500 - +	0	0
TOTAL	11	100

I. HAMLET

Land Size Groups	Number of Household	Percentage (%)
Landless	2	33.33
1 - 49	1	16.67
50 - 99	0	0
100 - 199	3	50.00
200 - 299	0	0
300 - 399	0	0
400 - 499	0	0
500 - +	0	0
TOTAL	6	100

Table 3.2. Distribution of land per household in Ö. village and its sub-villages

Y. HAMLET

There are 3 landless households in Y. village. Two of them are included in the sample (Hh. Nos: 3 and 7). The first one is shepherd in the village and the second one is retired. Both of them are not engaged in farming at all. The third case, which is not included in research sample, is working at Atatürk Dam construction as a worker.

As it is shown in Table 3.2 the size of land owned is varying between 25 and 300 decares. According to villagers' statement lands over 100 decares are not in Y. but in K. village because some of the families did not sell their lands in K. village at the time of moving. 4 households being in such a case (Hh. Nos: 5, 8, 10 and 11) having some of their lands in K. village are comprised in the research sample.

There is only one case of sharecropping-out in the sample (Hh. No 9). He gives 20 decares of his land to a sharecropper because he is too old and he is unable to cultivate this land himself. The remaining 5 decares of land is pistachio area.

There are 3 cases of accessing land on sharecropping basis (Hh. Nos: 5, 6 and 8). The size of the lands they owned are 115, 70 and 300 decares and the size of lands they sharecrop is 100, 90 and 200 decares.

Ö. VILLAGE

PATTERNS OF LAND SHARECROPPING-IN

PATTERNS OF LAND SHARECROPPING-OUT

Hh.No	Land Property (decare)	Size of sharecropped land (decare)	Hh.No	Land property (decare)	Size of sharecropped land (decare)
8	Landless	60	1	1000	1000
11	100	110	2	40	35
			5	150	150
			6	300	300
			7	1200	1200

K. HAMLET

PATTERNS OF LAND SHARECROPPING-IN

PATTERNS OF LAND SHARECROPPING-OUT

Hh.No	Land Property (decare)	Size of sharecropped land (decare)	Hh.No	Land property (decare)	Size of sharecropped land (decare)
1	180	235	2	180	40
			1	2015	1600

Table 3.3. Sharecropping patterns in Ö. village and its subvillages

Table 3.3 (cont'd)

Y. HAMLET

PATTERNS OF LAND SHARECROPPING-IN

Hh.No	Land Property (decare)	Size of sharecropped land (decare)	Hh.No
5	70	90	9
6	104	100	
8	300	200	

PATTERNS OF LAND SHARECROPPING-OUT

Land property (decare)	Size of sharecropped land (decare)
25	15

I. HAMLET

PATTERNS OF LAND SHARECROPPING-IN

Hh.No	Land Property (decare)	Size of sharecropped land (decare)
5	Landless	70

The first one is cultivating his brother's land on sharecropping basis. The latter cultivates 90 decares of land in O. village. The third household cultivates 200 decares of D. family's land (H.D.) from Ö. village. He has a tractor in partnership with H.D. as well.

I. HAMLET

There are two landless households in the research sample (Hh. Nos: 1 and 5). The first one is cultivating his undivided family land, about 90 decares. The second one has an access to land by sharecropping agreement with H.D. from Ö. village. He cultivates 70 decares of H.D.'s land.

The remaining other 4 households in the sample have their own lands varying between 15 and 164 decares. According to their own statements, these lands do not suffice to ensure their livelihood because their households are very crowded. They want to cultivate land as sharecroppers but D.s do not give land to them. According to D.s they had a dispute because of a field two years ago, that is why they do not want to get in touch with the villagers of I. hamlet, while the villagers pretend that as they do not have enough money to make an advance payment (pre-payment) to the landowner (they call this payment as "power", "kuvvet" in Turkish), they do not obtain land to sharecrop.

There is no any case of land sharecropping-out in I. hamlet village included in the sample.

3.4.2 Crop Patterns; Marketing and Consumption

The general cropping patterns in Ö. village and in its hamlets, is given in the following Table 3.4.

Type of crops	Size of cultivated land (decares)
Wheat	6000
Barley	2000
Lentil	2000
Water melon	150
Seasam seed	1000
Pistachio*	500
Grape*	500
TOTAL	11650

Table 3.4. Cropping patterns in Ö. village

*) Pistachio and grape are planted on the same plot/field.

The village agriculture may be described as being mainly market oriented. Wheat production still has a significant importance if compared with other grains. As it is the case in K. village the cropping pattern is changed every year, based on the marketing conditions experienced a year ago. On the other hand, because cultivation of wheat and barley is easier than lentils, peasants prefer to cultivate wheat and barley, according to the agricultural technician in K. village. Seasam

seeds is a new product for the peasants, and they started to cultivate it in the last ten years.

Save the part required to cover for the household needs all crops are being marketed. The main markets for the crops are TMO (State Buying Office), a "wheat bazaar" in Bozova and selling to merchants.

As the merchants come to the village and buy the crops from the villagers' houses, most of the peasants prefer to sell their crops to these merchants. Another factor to do so is that merchants are paying cash money to the peasants. Most of the peasants need to sell their crops during harvesting year proper because they are not able to accumulate money. But for the D. family marketing shows differentiated characteristics. They sometimes leave their portion of product to the sharecropper and they receive money instead of product because they do not want to deal with transporting the crop from the village to the market. Sometimes, they sell to merchants when they need cash money. According to village headman statement, they prefer to sell to TMO because TMO gives higher price than the merchants, and to get more profit as bonus from TMO makes it preferable for the D. family.

In addition, since they do not need to sell in the course of the harvesting year, they sometimes sell the crops, especially wheat, the year after. They adapt

their marketing practicing to their actual needs, and this comes from the fact that they are able to make accumulation.

Other villagers, as they need cash money for their annual consumptions and sometimes for paying their debts to the merchants, sell their crops to merchants.

Grapes and pistachio are consumed mainly in the household. As the climate and location is not suitable for cultivating pistachio, the output of this product is at very low level. Grape is not marketed fresh, but dried.

We did not make a detailed analysis on the marketing rates, however, in general it may be said that marketing rates change depending on the size of the households and on the quantity of product. For example, in I. hamlet, because of having too crowded households the marketing quantity is at very low level if compared with the other hamlets. According to the figures given in the general information table, which are based on villagers' own statement, the total annual income derived from farming varies between 1.500.000 TL and 7.500.000 TL, while this rate reaches to 3.000.000 and 35.000.000 TL in Y. hamlet and 3.000.000 and 40.000.000 TL in the central village.

3.4.3 Technology in the Village

According to information gathered from Agricultural Office in Bozova, type and distribution of agricultural machinery in the village are as follows:

Type of Machinery	Number
Tractor	10
Thresher	5
Seeder	3
Water tank	5
Fertilizing machine	2

Table 3.5. Type and distribution of agricultural machinery in Ö. village

Based on these figures, there is one tractor per 1100 decares of land, in general. As indicated in the table there are 5 water tanks in Ö. village which are not included in the research sample. These tanks are used mainly to meet the households' need for water as there is no water supply with distribution to the houses in the central village and its hamlets as well. Beside, they are used for irrigating small size plots on which water melon is cultivated, or grapes are planted. As the villagers did not give information about these irrigated lands, we cannot give detailed figures of these lands.

9 of the tractors available in the village are included in the sample. The distribution of the tractors

Ö. VILLAGE

Household Number	Land Property	Type of machine/ year of purchase
1	1000	TRACTOR/1987
7	1200	TRACTOR/1985
11	100	TRACTOR/1985

K. HAMLET

Household Number	Land property	Type of Machine/ Year of Purchase
1	2105	TRACTOR/1987

Y. HAMLET

Household Number	Land property	Type of Machine/ Year of Purchase
5	115	TRACTOR/1990
6	70	TRACTOR/1987
8	300	TRACTOR/1990
10	250	TRACTOR/1988
11	165	TRACTOR/1985

I. HAMLET

Household Number	Land property	Type of Machine/ Year of Purchase
5	Landless	TRACTOR/1981

Table 3.6. Distribution of tractors in Ö. village and its sub-villages

among the central village and its hamlets, versus household and size of land owned is given in Table 3.6.

According to the figures given in this table, it appears that there are 3 tractors in central village purchased in between 1985 and 1987 (Hh. Nos: 1, 7 and 11). One of them, belonging to the village headman, is shared with his sharecropper from Y. hamlet (Hh. No: 8, in Y. hamlet).

The size of land owned by the tractor equipped households are 1000, 100 and 1200 decares. While the second one is cultivating 110 decares more with sharecropping arrangement, the others give their tractors to their sharecroppers to get their lands cultivated.

As we explained in previous sections, M.D. from K. hamlet has one tractor shared with his sharecropper coming from a village of Adiyaman (An interview was made with this sharecropper, see Appendix C, clause 3). The sharecropper has a motor pump which is used for irrigating fields on which water melon cultivated.

There are 5 tractors in Y. hamlet and all are included in the research sample (Hh. Nos: 5, 6, 8, 10 and 11). The sizes of land owned by these villagers are 115, 70, 300, 250 and 120 decares. The last two excepted, the others have access to land by sharecropping agreement.

The sizes of land sharecropped by these people is 110, 90 and 200 decares. The household with 300 decares of land has a tractor in partnership with H.D. and he cultivates 200 decares of H.D.'s land.

Only one farmer owns a tractor in I. hamlet and he is included in the sample (Hh. No 5). He is landless and he cultivates 70 decares of land of H.D.. He also works as a tractor driver in the village.

3.4.4 Hired Labour in Ö. village

Despite the fact that, expectedly, permanent or temporary labour power should be employed by large land owners, the D. family does not hire any labour force. This family state that, as they give all of their lands to the sharecroppers, they do not have to recourse to any kind of labour employment. All the farming works are performed by the sharecroppers and sharecroppers employ labour force, too. According to their agreement D. family does not even pay the wage for labourers hired by the sharecroppers.

D. family excepted, 20 people are employed by the other households (Hh. Nos: 3, 8 and 11). Two of these employers have 60 and 100 decares of land (Hh. Nos: 3 and 11) while the third one is landless. The first one cultivates his own land but the others have an access to

land by sharecropping agreement. The sizes of land cultivated by these people are 110 and 60 decares, respectively. The number of people hired by these peasants amounts to 3, 7 and 10, while the numbers of performed working days in a year are 7, 2 and 7.

The only case in K. hamlet who employs hired labour is constituted by the sharecropper of M.D., coming from Y. sub-district. He cultivates 235 decares of M.D.'s land and he hires 15 people for 3 days a year. As he has his own tractor, he needs these labour forces only for harvesting.

The number of temporarily employed people raises up to 35 in Y. hamlet. There are 6 households in the sample who employ such people (Hh. Nos: 4, 5, 6, 10 and 11). The sizes of land owned by these employers varies between 70 and 300 decares and the size of land cultivated varies between 160 and 500 decares.

There is only one labour employer in I. hamlet included in the sample (Hh. No: 3). He has 164 decares of land. He employs 5 people for 10 days, once a year.

3.4.5 Agricultural Credit

According to villagers' own statements they are indebted mainly to the Agricultural Bank and to the

merchants. Expectedly, D. family is the significant credit user in the village. The village headman has about 100 million TL debt to the agricultural Bank and his lands are under mortgage (Hh. No: 1). His uncle took a credit from the bank of about 7.5 million TL in 1985, now he has to reimburse, together with the interests about 45 million TL (Hh. No: 7). He is indebted to a merchant for fertilizer for about 7 million Tl, too.

Another case of debtness to merchant is Hh. No: 3. He bought fertilizer from the merchant and he will pay back the money at the end of the harvest.

In K. hamlet, large land owner M.D. is indebted to the Agricultural Bank for about 100 million TL. As they are not dealing with farming, he and his cousins spend these credits for businesses out of agricultural investments.

In Y. hamlet, there are two cases of debtness to the Agricultural Bank (Hh. Nos: 8 and 11) and one case to merchant (Hh. No: 11). The last one bought fertilizer from the merchant and he will pay for it at the end of harvest. When we asked about the bank credits, most of the people in Y. hamlet answered that as interest is forbidden in Moslem beliefs, so that they could not contract such credits.

There is no any case of indebted people in I. hamlet in the research sample. As the data collected are based on their own statements, it can be deducted there from that the reason that they were reluctant to express themselves about this matter.

3.5 Animal Husbandry

The figures in Table 3.7. which shows the general distribution of animals in Ö. village include the animals available in central village and the hamlets as well. Based on these figures sheep breeding is the significant type of animal husbandry. In addition, if compared with K. village, draught animals like horse and donkey have also some significance in this village. As there is no water supply in the village, these animals are being used, in general, to carry water in bidons to meet the households' need for water.

Kind of Animals	Number	Number of animals per household
Cattle	180	2.61
Sheep	1480	21.45
Chicken	700	10.14
Horse	6	0.09
Donkey	35	0.51

Table 3.7. General distribution of animals in Ö. village

As shown in the general information tables of the central village and of the hamlets, sheep breeding excepted, the others are not significant in the research sample and as the figures of distribution of the other animals can be followed easily from these table we did not prepare separate distribution tables for these animals.

The figures in the table which are related to central village includes sheeps owned by the nomad families coming from outside the village. It is for this reason that the number of sheeps in the range group of 41 and more, shows a higher frequency rate than the other range groups. The nomad families excepted, there is no any case of household which derives livelihood only from animal breeding. The information about these nomad families is given under the clause "Migration".

8 households in the central village own a variable number of sheeps. The ownership range varies between 16 and 205, and 16 to 58 if the nomad families are not considered. The two nomad families have 65 and 205 sheeps, respectively. 4 households including 3 of the D. families' are not dealing with sheep breeding at all. In this village, sheep breeding still keeps its importance as a second source of income. There is only one landless household who owns 28 sheeps. The household

head is a shepherd and he also cultivates 60 decares of land from large land owners by sharecropping arrangement.

In K. hamlet M.D. has 21 sheep which are bred actually by the shepherd.

There are 270 sheep in Y. hamlet included in the research sample. The number of sheep by household is varying between 10 and 53 which shows the importance of sheep breeding in this village. Like in the central village, sheep breeding is considered as a second source of income rather than being subsistence level in Y. hamlet. The sheep distribution pattern shows that the range 26-40 is the more frequent group. Despite the importance of sheep breeding, there is no any household deriving its family's livelihood only from it.

There are 106 sheep in I. hamlet included in the sample and their distribution per household varies between 8 and 38. There is only one case of a landless farmer having 8 sheep. But he also cultivates 90 decares of his family's land. There is one landless household which does not have any sheep as well.

Cattle breeding shows less significance than the sheep breeding. In the central village there are 6 cattles included in the sample and their distribution varies between 1 and 3 among 4 households. There is no

any case of cattle breeding in K. hamlet. In Y. hamlet 5 households own cattles, their number varying between 1 and 4. The total number of cattles of this village included in the sample is 13. The number of cattles in I. hamlet is 11 and their distribution is varying between 1 and 4 among 5 households. There is only one household not having any cattle at all.

There is no any poultry farm in Ö. village and in its hamlets as well. The distribution of chicken in the sample varies between 2 and 20 including the central village and its hamlets. This figure shows that chicken breeding stays at the level of just covering the households' needs.

Donkey and horses are bred for being used as draught animals. As mentioned above, donkeys are used particularly for carrying water from the river, as there is no water supply and distribution to the houses people have to recourse the Firat water. Horses are used for cultivating small plots on which water melon is merely cultivated.

In general, it may be said that sheep breeding excepted, there is no systematic animal breeding aimed at obtaining animal products for marketing. Animal husbandry in this village is not fully market oriented, but it is still significant than in K. village.

3.6 Diversification and Sources of Income Out of Agriculture

3.6.1 Extra-Agricultural Activities (Works Outside Agriculture)

There is no any possibility of diversification offered in Ö. village if we do not consider the investments of D. family residing in the central village. There is no any privately owned shops in the village. As it is indicated in the general information table there is one shepherd and one driver who derive their livelihood partly out of agriculture (Hh. Nos: 4 and 8). The driver works driving the minibus owned by himself sharing it with the D. family.

Regarding to the extra-agricultural activities, it is must to mention the D. family' business and investments out of agriculture. As we explained in the foregoing chapters Hh. Nos: 1, 5 and 6 in the sample and Hh. No: 1 in K. hamlet possess 3 minibuses, 3 buses and 2 cars in common. D. family has a company providing the transportation facilities to DSİ at Atatürk Dam site. DSİ rely on the servicing of private companies. D.s rent the cars and employ the car owners from the surrounding villages. DSİ pays to D. family 150.000 TL per day for each car. The car owner (owners are also drivers) receives 100.000 TL per day from D.s, and the maintenance

of the cars is left upon the owners while DSi pays for the fuel. That means that they make a profit of 50.000 TL per day per car they rent. For their own cars they employ drivers.

There is no any case of working at Atatürk dam construction as worker in the village.

The situation in Y. hamlet is quite different than in the central village and in K. hamlet. There are 3 people who were working at Atatürk dam as workers for 4 to 6 years (Hh. Nos: 2, 4 and 5). They were dismissed from the job site last year. Only one of them (Hh. No 1) has a grocery in the village which he has opened sometimes in the last 6 months.

There is one retired person who derives his family's livelihood from a monthly salary obtained beside agriculture (Hh. No: 7). There is a backer in the village (Hh. No: 8) whose two sons are working at Atatürk Dam as workers.

There is no any permanent employees in I. hamlet. The tractor driver excepted, there is no other person occupied outside but there are some seasonal workers which will be mentioned under the clause "Migration".

3.6.2 Migration Patterns in Ö. village

Ö. VILLAGE

The emigration patterns both permanent or temporary, are not significant for the central village of Ö. village. There is only one case of emigration to foreign country (Hh. No 5). This happened during our fieldwork. The head of the household (27 years old) went to Germany to find a job there.

The village headman's uncle lives in Bozova with his family in winter time as his two sons are going to middle school there, while they spend their holidays time in the village.

There is no any case of permanent immigration to this village in the last 10 years. The temporary immigration pattern includes only the nomad families which come from a village of Adıyaman for 6 months a year.

The detailed information about these families is given herebelow:

Two vacant houses in Ö. village are rented for the last 7 years to three families (Hh. Nos: 9 and 10) which stay there from November until May every year. Both

the natives of the village and these families identify themselves as "NOMADS".

Although these are Kurdish families from the religious point of view they are members of a denomination (sect) which is different from that of the natives of the village. These are Alevi families, and yet in spite of the reaction taking place in this area against individuals of other denomination, this difference has never created any problems in this village. According to the headman of the village H.D., Nomad families are engaged in animal husbandry in their village, and they return to this village at a determined period every year. In other words, they use this village as pasture (yayla).

In one of the houses of the village stays a nomad family of 9 while the other one is occupied by two brothers with their wives and children.

They do not pay any rent in cash to D. family for the houses they are staying in, they only meet the annual requirements of D. family for cheese.

These families do not deal with agriculture beyond the extent of animal husbandry and do not own any land in their own village. They live from the income acquired through animal husbandry.

K. HAMLET

There is no any case of temporary or permanent emigration in this hamlet. There is one case of immigration. This household is dealing with stock breeding, and is coming from a village of Adiyaman (see Appendix C, clause 4). On the other hand, M.D.'s sharecropper from Y. sub-district comes to the village for 1 or 2 months a year during cultivating and harvesting times and he stays in a house given by M.D..

Y. HAMLET

All the village residents originate from another village. They are coming from K. village and they left the village because of blood feud. There is no any case of permanent migration in this village, except 7 cases of girls who emigrated after having got married during the last 10 years.

According to information gathered from a member of the village council, there are 3 households heads who are working as seasonal agricultural workers in Adana. Only one of them is included in the research sample (Hh. No 1).

There is only one case of migration because of educational constraints, which is not included in the sample. A young boy who is studying in the university is living outside the village the major part of the year.

I. HAMLET

The most significant temporary emigration patterns are given by the I. hamlet. There are 4 households out of 6 in the sample from which all members or at least some of them are working outside temporarily (Hh. Nos: 1, 3, 4 and 6). The head of the household No 1 is working in Nevşehir in the construction building sector as worker 3 months a year, during the last 2 years. The other 3 households are going to Adana to pick cotton about 2 months a year, for 10 or 15 years.

There was no any case of immigration to this village in the last 10 years.

3.7 Authority and Decision Making Mechanisms in Ö. Village

The residents of Ö. village are members of the BESK tribe. Even if the concept of power of the tribal organization is outdated we can refer to clan (lineage) connections derived from the tribe period in Ö. village as it prevails in this area today. The authority of a single family in possession of large amounts of land marks the difference with the conditions prevailing in K. village. In spite of the fact that the land owned by this family has been split up into several pieces a great majority of the central village and its hamlets (I.

hamlet excepted) is owned by the same family. Consequently the said family keeps the village and the fields still under their control. Although they are not anxious about protecting the unity of their lands, the element that keeps such unity under security is the clan and kinship relation connections originating from the tribal organization securing the continuity of the authority, in spite of the fact that the land has already been and is still being split up between the family members. The fact that they behave as a clan rather than as individuals within and outside the village enable them to maintain the control and supervision of the village and land.

First of all, any new settling in the village is under their control. No outsider can buy land in the village and settle without their consent. Similarly, they are in position to control the population of the village. For instance the present inhabitants of Y. hamlet attempted to buy the entirety of the land from D. family in this area but D.s agreed to sell only half of it, because they did not want to loose their control completely. Another example that we can mention is a family from Ö. village having sold the land to K. village. The sale of this land without receiving their consent highly annoyed the D.s. Even now the D.s do not permit the owners from K. village to cultivate a major part of these (their) lands. Even if they would permit

they would never allow them to build houses on this land (or "to build up a village" in their own terms).

In this village each lineage constitutes a clan. In addition to being the land owner the fact that D. family (clan) is numerous is to be considered as another source of power (except I. hamlet and Y. hamlet). This is another reason why the other villagers are refraining from taking too much liberty with them.

On the other hand the D. family is not dealing with agriculture. They have a number of investments outside agriculture. Some of the family members have 3 buses, 3 minibuses and two taxi cabs at varying share rates. One bus among these vehicles is used for carrying passengers between Adiyaman and other provinces. The brother of the village headman is the driver of this bus. The other two buses, all the three minibuses and one of the taxi cabs are rented by DSI for services to Urfa and Adiyaman. Three of these vehicles are driven by three men from D. family. There are also 5 drivers employed by the family. The brother of the K. village headman is the share owner of one of the buses and he is also driving this bus. This bus excepted, all the other vehicles are in the possession of the D. family. It may be said that the authority of the D. family, which is the landlord family is being transformed from feudal relations into wealth, i.e into a capitalistic enterprise. D. family

have materialized these investments from incomes acquired from their cultivated lands as well as from loans obtained from banks, while a part of their income consists of the advance payments received for the fields rented to sharecroppers. Namely H.D. received nearly 30 million TL for 700 decares (this is his declaration) of fields rented to sharecroppers. Furthermore, H.D. sold his tractor to become partner to ownership of one of the buses.

At the administrative level it may be said that D. family is still dominating the village. According to the information received from the villagers the election of the headman in the village is not made respecting the general rules defined for elections. Under the constraint of their legal (lawful) obligations, the villagers are voting but there is always one single candidate on the list who is a member of D. family. The distribution (split up) of the headman and the village council members between the village center and sub-villages is established as follows:

The headman of the village is from Ö. village (D. family), the first member of village council is from Y. hamlet, the second one from Ö. village and the third one is from I. hamlet.

At the clan level there are two persons within the D. family who exert authority. One of them is M.D., the owner of K. hamlet while the other one is H.D. the headman of the village. Although Mt. D., who is M.D.'s elder brother and H.D.'s uncle, living in Bozova is the eldest man in the family he never interferes in the business relations of the family. But if and when deemed necessary for any reason whatsoever (such as the marriage of a member of the family) Mt. D. has full authority and his opinions and views must be received.

Furthermore, being the leader of the family his decisions are respected when problems arise concerning the ownership of land within the family or in case of disputes with families within or outside the village. In case of blood feud or family morals the family council convinced. In such councils all the members of the family give their comments, women and children excepted. In such cases Mt. D. is quite efficient in making decisions, for being the eldest of the family.

CHAPTER IV
TRANSFORMATION AND/OR CONTINUATION OF TRADITIONAL
SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURES IN TWO RESEARCH VILLAGES

This section of the study is aimed at evaluating some traditional socio-cultural aspects specific to the studied villages, rather than to present an overall analysis of the socio-cultural structures. This evaluation is based on information collected by unstructured interviewing of people and on some selected specific cases which are summarized in the appendices (see Appendices B and C). In order to avoid tedious repetitions we found practical to assemble information on two villages in a unique section. As it is not our purpose to analyze all socio-cultural structures of the region, this section can be considered as a brief essay to evaluate some aspects of traditional structures specific to the studied villages based on information and statements obtained from the villagers themselves.

Based on the villagers' statements we found out two significant traditional aspects being effective in the villages. These are tribes, and sheikhs.

4.1 Tribes and Tribal Relations

It is a known fact that the most significant social organization characterizing the region are tribes and tribal relations. Aydın (1986: 26) states that "Landlords (aghas), tribal leaders and sheikhs are very effective in the politics of the Eastern and Southeastern regions. The authority of this trio had been weakened due to the factors which had brought about the opening up of rural communities, such as such as mechanization, transportation and communication facilities, migration from rural to urban areas, education, rapid population increase, etc.". Although it seems that, because of the rapid urbanization and of the effects of the above factors, tribes and tribal organizations have weakened, still they are influential on internal and also external relations in the social and economic life of the village and urban communities in some areas of this region. Yalçın (1986), in her study on kinship and tribal organization states that there are still effective and important tribal organizations in the province of Hakkari. Beşikçi (1969: 103), on the other hand, claims the effectiveness of tribes and tribal leaders in East and Southeastern Anatolia, especially in Hakkari, while, according to him, these organizations had been weakened in Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakır and Gaziantep.

As we are not dealing with the overall patterns of tribal leadership and tribes in the region we refer to general descriptions and definitions of tribal organizations as well as to information taken from the studied village inhabitants themselves, to describe the present situation of traditional socio-cultural organizations in the studied villages.

The main characteristic of the tribal system is descent. After that, the most important factors which built up a tribe are blood and kinship ties. Beşikçi states that the second category of tribal organization is the clan which is based on kinship and alliance relations. Thus, tribe looks like to be the highest level of kinship relations which appear to result from alliance, and it forms an administrative and politic unity (Beşikçi, 1969: 225) and "lineage is the smallest tribally recognized social unit based on common descent ideology. Lineage includes a group of patrilineal kin descending from a fictive ancestor with a specified name. Clan, on the other hand, has been defined as a group of people being part of a larger unity, who claim kin links among themselves without being necessarily able to trace their origin to the common ancestor." (Yalçın, 1986: 186-187). Although the highest social form of kinship system is lineage in most of the village communities, in this region where lineage is a major concept, as Yalçın (1986)

stated, it is still subordinate to clan whereas a clan is weakly a subdivision of a tribe.

Based on these classifications, tribal and sub-tribal structures in the studied villages can be considered insignificant at the present time. In both villages the community consist of lineages, but not clans as they identified their patrilineal kinship relations. Although they have had a tribe and still have a tribal name, such a structure is not existing any longer in reality, but some traditional and cultural effects which derive from the period of the tribal organization, are still significant, though not at the tribal level but at the lineage level. The following explanations about tribal ties and relations of the studied villages were collected from the villagers' own statements.

All the studied villages and subvillages belong to BESK tribe. Before coming to this area (about 100 years ago), all families or sub-tribes belonged to different tribes. Besk is the last constitution of the people in this area. The territorial extent of this tribe can be drawn based on the boundaries of Hilvan, Suruç, Birecik and Halfeti villages.

Up to 20 years ago, there was a chief from Samsat called Mehmet Bey, but at present, there is no chief

anymore (in fact nobody knows who is the chief). This shows that the tribal structures have got undermined.

I tried to talk about the Besk tribe with the villagers but I could not get any complete information. However, based on some conversations, effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the Besk tribe can be assessed. This is illustrated by an interview of a member of Ö. family from K. village.

"We do not have any tribe anymore. We pretend to belong to Besk tribe, but actually, we even do not know if we have a tribe chief or not. All the tribes disappeared since 20 years ago. We have made a move to democracy. During this period, people became conscious. Tribal system was like a kingdom. The chiefs were doing whatever they wanted, and they were exploiting the people. They were harming the people instead of benefiting them."

As these two villages opened up to national market as well as to the external world (in of course different manner), that which resulted in transformation in land ownership and land tenure systems along with dissolving the landlordship, there is no significant tribal organization mentioned by the villagers. But the lineage includes some traditional tribal values which are different for both villages. Lineage is described with

paternal kinship relations. The present trends affecting the lineage which still carries on some traditional cultural features of the past and which has started to weaken are as follows:

1. Lineage constitutes the community the members of which have patrilineal kinship ties. It does not include the alliance relations. This makes it different from being a clan.
2. Each lineage has a lineage name. In the past they had Kurdish names which came from their specific characteristics and which were given by the other people living in the village on the time of their arrival to the village. Recently they are called with their surnames like C.s, Ö.s or Öz.s.
3. Lineage means a unity of kinship and all the members are the natural members of the lineage. Lineage is to share the ideology of tracing their origins to a common ancestor on one hand, and depending on this to behave towards the others with the mentality of being a unity. Any kind of disputes arising between an individual of a lineage and another person from another lineage is considered as a dispute between the lineages and they struggle as a unit against the others, as it was prevailing in tribal relations in the

past. It seems that the unity of a lineage has lost its significance in some aspects in K. village as it can be deduced from some selected cases collected in the village. First, people who moved from the village because of dispute between two families (lineages) and settled in Y. hamlet, broke down the unity of the lineage. Some families from this lineage continued to live in K. village and they did not meet with any reaction from the opposite family. Another case, the one of the young girl, can highlight the decreasing significance of ideology of the unity of kinship relations. Although because her father or brothers did not kill her, the other members of the lineage and even their alliances showed reactions (her sister was dismissed from her husband's house because of the young girl's situation) this girl and her baby were not killed in spite of the decision taken by lineage or family council and in the course of time they stopped to react and they started to live in peace again.

Similar cases can be found in Ö. village, too. When the old residents of the village moved to Gaziantep, 2 households from this family preferred to stay in the village instead of following their lineage. The opposite side (D.

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family) did not react against them with the ideology of considering these families as hostiles because of their kinship relations with others.

4. In general, the most effective person in a lineage is the oldest man member. There is no formal organization of family council which controls the lineage organization and takes decisions about the subjects related to the lineage. There is no example of holding a formal family council meeting in the studied villages. At present it is realized by paying a visit to each other to discuss and to ask each other's opinion on a certain subject, rather than holding a meeting.

5. Marriages contracted between individuals issuing from two different villages represent another weakness of the lineage ideology. Marriages between kins are still significant but, on the other hand, endogamous marriages have a significant importance in the two villages, too. At least, as it was the rule before, endogamous marriage between kins is not an obligation any longer.

6. The power of a lineage is defined based on its number of the men members. This still cause to have a lot of children and, sometimes, bigamy. But, parallely with the weakening of the tribal ideology, transformation in land ownership and land tenure systems, it seems that this mentality will become subject to change. The present sign of such a change can be seen in the women's tendency to have recourse to contraceptive methods for birth control.

In spite of the similarities existing in both studied villages, there is still some differences between these. First of all, Ö. village shows more close community characteristics than K. village. Endogamous marriages are still often conducted by the D. family in Ö. village. They keep still the unity of the lineage with the significant efficiency of kinship relations.

From these explanations we can say that the strong feudal kinship ties which is materialized as lineages and clans started to weaken and are becoming subjects to transformation. For the studied villages, it can be said that the highest level of kinship organization is lineage.

4.2 Sheikhs

I heard the word "sheikh" for the first time during my first visit to the village of Ö. village. It was in mukhtar's house and there were some other visitors of mukhtar like his uncle's son from K. sub-village, the commander of gendarmery of Bozova and they were talking about establishing a company together. That time, I decided to only listen to them without asking questions, preferring to understand first their relations with the army and not to explain the reasons why I was visiting the village. During their conversation about financing this company, mukhtar's cousin started to talk about a man who borrowed some money from him and went to Gaziantep without paying this money back for one year. M.D (mukhtar's cousin) found the address of the borrower and sent him a message with someone to recover his money. The latter's answer is interesting: "M.D must call sheikh first, then I will come to the village and speak to him." But the interpretation M.D. gave to this message is also interesting: "He thinks that he can frighten me with calling sheikh. Why shall I be afraid? He must be afraid because he is guilty."

The borrower's idea was sheikh would protect him. He frightened to turn back to the village because he did not pay the money back to M.D and he was afraid of

meeting with him. For him sheikh was not only to protect him, but also to smooth the conflict between them.

At that time I thought that sheikh was probably balancing all kinds of conflicts between Agha families and villagers, and that this was some sort of special "institution" proper to these kind of villages only. But later on, I realized that sheikh has an importance at regional level, in any kind of villages or even in the neighbouring cities, as well as outside of this region.

I saw later on that it is not easy to obtain information about sheikhs from the people who are believing that if they make any comments about him, he will know it. As Gilson (1982: 116-141) states in his study about Islam in Lebanon the idea that the "sheikh knows" the inner secrets of others' most intimate lives makes the sheikh a conscience. The villagers mentioning all the positive points without making any comments and were hesitating to answer when I ask anything which could be in disfavour of the sheikh. For example, when I asked if the sheikh requests anything from the villagers to compensate for his service or helps, all the people joining the conversation reacted by rejecting such a question. When I changed my question, asking whether they give anything with their own will to sheikh for his help, just to show their respect to him, they answered the question. They were doing something for the sheikh. They

were giving some presents and sometimes money when he came to their village to solve a problem, but this never happens upon sheikhs own request, villagers give with their own will and how much they can. But even this was enough to create its own market. It means that there is a "cost" for each kind of sheikh's help, as described in terms of the demanders. On the other hand, sometimes the amount given to the sheikh is considered as the honour of the family or of the village which needed his help. For example, when the sheikh came to K. village to make peace between two families fighting because of the elections (see Appendix B), after the ceremony the members of these families paid at least 50.000 TL, not directly but putting the money into sheikh's pocket. Later on the amount of the money paid by these families was the main subject discussed in the village and this was a source for boasting for this families.

Although Kadiri sect is widespread mainly in Blacksea region, and Nakşı Bendi in Southeast (Çakır, 1991: 72), the sheikh in Suruç, as I was informed, belongs to Kadiri sect. But because of the difficulties I met to learn his sect since the villagers did not have a clear idea about it, and because of the fact that the villagers are not able to differentiate one sect from another, I came to the conclusion that the sect to which the sheikh belongs does not have any significant importance. On the other hand, they do not apply to a

certain sheikh. In this area there is another sheikh in Menzil in Adıyaman, who belongs to Nakşi Bendi sect (Çakır, 1991: 65-72). People in the research villages respected him, too. This demonstrates the insignificance of the sectual appurtenance of the sheikhs.

In addition, Beşikçi (1969: 185) interprets what the sheikhs are doing as a feudal exploitation, especially because of the sheikh's use of "corvee" labour for farming their fields. We did not study this subject but as I was informed, sheikh in Suruç cultivates land on sharecropping basis and he is well equipped for farming.

Beside these basic information and general interpretations about the sheikhs in the region briefly given above, the ideas and the values of the villagers about the sheikh are summarized in the following paragraphs.

AS A JUDGE: Sheikh in Suruç is also a judge who applies the law of Islam. If there is any dispute or fighting between the villagers he behaves like a judge to solve the problems and to render justice.

For the sheikh, and also for the villagers, the laws of Islam and the Turkish laws are different. Someone can be sentenced according to Turkish laws, but this may appear not to be drastic enough for them so that sheikh

gives another punishment according to the Islamic laws. For example, if someone kills somebody because of blood feud, he can be punished according to the Turkish laws, but later on Sheikh can again punish him to pay blood price to the family of the victim. This price is in most cases paid as land. This means that the murderer must give some of his own lands as a blood price to the family of the victim.

A second example can be given on the matter of kidnapping a girl. If someone does so, he must first accept to get married with this girl. Sheikh try at first to make the two families to agree on this matter. Later on, this gives all kind of rights to the girl's family to ask whatever they want from the family of the man and the latter must accept and perform all what the girl's family is requesting. Gifts can be in the form of money as başlık or golden as jewellery, or something else.

Sheikh also decide, if there is any fighting between people, who is right and who is wrong. Later on, he determines in which way the guilty must compensate all the losses endured by the injured, for instance with land or money or with something else. Then they must stop fighting to show respect to the Sheikh's peace. This does not mean that these people will be friends. Most of the time they are continuing not to speak to each other, but they are no longer fighting.

All the duties of sheikh are exercised with some sort of ceremonial. The ceremonies fashions will be explained under the relevant clause.

AS A FARMER: The sheikh in Suruç is not only a religious leader, he is also a farmer. He owns lands in his village of origin and he takes some lands from other villages as sharecropper (renter). For him there is no any restriction for doing so, he can rent land anywhere in Urfa district. According to a villager who I interviewed in Y. village, this sheikh had 42 sharecropped plots last year, i.e. he rented lands from 42 people. As he cultivates mainly cotton, he chooses the irrigated lands. Before the construction of Atatürk Dam he had been renting land in the villages alongside the Fırat river, around Bozova. Recently, all these lands were inundated by the impounding of the reservoir.

It is likely that, most of the time, the villagers give their land free of charge, as a gift. This could be a normal behaviour for his disciples and for the other villagers being his believer, to show him their respect and their loves and their devotion. Or, they would at least consider as being normal to lease their lands at a lower rate.

On the other hand, this is not an assumption but a reality that the sheikh uses not only hired labour

forces on his own and rented lands but also unpaid labourers who live in the villages where he is renting land. All the villagers cultivate his land by working 2 or 3 days, without taking any salary.

It is important to note that, the sheikh never asks from the villagers to work on his lands, but that the villagers do so at their own will to show their respects to him and to acquire merit in God's sight because they are of the opinion that to work as sheikh's servant or helper is one of the ways to perform merit.

Another example about this subject is from Siverek, a town of Şanlıurfa province. A sheikh, being also a member of parliament now, owns 4 to 5 villages. He does not have a powerful religious authority because he received his sheikh status from his father, and he is not keen on enforcing this aspect of his mission. Nevertheless, he is still granted the respectfulness of the villagers, which he does not want to lose. At present, he does not live in Siverek and he distributed some parts of the lands he owns in various villages with the rights of using these lands, keeping however his ownership. He hired a steward (kahya) to manage the reminder of his lands, and the villagers who are using the sheikh's land, cultivate these for the benefit of the sheikh himself, without taking any salary, as a compensation for the allocated rights.

This very case shows that this sheikh, although not having a strong religious power found another way to keep his respectfulness, e.g by giving some lands to the villagers. This kind of relation between the villagers and sheikh is no longer founded on the holy aspect of the sheikh and is therefore not thought to provide merit of any kind.

AS A HELPER OF VILLAGERS: Sometimes sheikh helps the villagers in some specific cases. If they need money they can easily borrow it from the sheikh and they can pay back this money whenever they want and without paying any interest, as charging interest is forbidden according to Islam laws. Sheikh always says to the villagers that if they are suffering any financial problem he would help, they should ask him.

Once or twice a year he visits the villages to listen to the people and to learn whether they are facing with difficulties or problems, or whether fightings or unrest situations exist in the village. This visits are based on his religious leadership, too. He visits mainly his disciples in the villages.

CEREMONIES: The information taken from the villagers excepted, there is a concrete example of the ceremony for giving peace from the village of K village. This was at the time of the elections for the territorial

administrations. Two families in the village have fought with each other because of the elections (this was described in detail under the title "Some Cases From the Villages" (Appendix B). At that time nobody was able to solve the problem and to stop this fight between the two families. Then the villagers decided to call sheikh to give peace to these two families. All the members of two families went to the mosque together with the sheikh himself. Sheikh wears a white zıbın, a long dress. First, each participant kisses his shoulder, then they pray namaz together. After praying they are taking a lunch which is collectively prepared by the enemy families, in the village central square. At the time of farewell of Sheikh, villagers again kiss his shoulder and they give (put in his pocket) some money. This money has the meaning of joining the Sheikh's peace. Each of the heads of the households belonging to the fighting families has to pay some money. If someone does not, it means that he does not want peace or he does not accept the Sheikh's peace.

In this case, all the family members gave at least 50.000 TL and Sheikh collected over one million.

If sheikh is absolutely sure that one of the families is wrong he goes together with this guilty family to the house of the injured one to force the guilty family to present his excuses and to convince the

injured family to forgive. Then they go to the mosque and pray together, following the sequence mentioned above, they eat together and kiss the Sheikh's shoulder and eventually they give some money.

In some cases Sheikh does not accept to be a mediator. On the event of the girl in the K. village, the family of the girl met several times with the sheikh to ask what they should do, but he did not offer any peaceful solution and according to the teacher of the village he wanted them or - made an allusion - to kill this girl, her baby and his procreator. But I am not entirely sure whether this can be done or not because I recently heard that sheikhs try not to oppose to the Turkish laws. He cannot give such an advice directly, he can only make an allusion.

ACCORDING TO VILLAGERS: People believe that sheiks who dedicated themselves to God and religion come from the family of prophets. They are holy persons which have some metaphysical and mystical powers. They are religious leaders. They perfectly know the rules of Islam, they pray and they are near to God. They well know the laws of Islam and they apply them for judging. They show to the people how to pray God, explain what is true and what is not, and they show the way of life according to Islam rules. They have a kind of holy "breath" which can help to treat patients or diseases. They can find the solution

of every kind of problems suffered by human being in their holy books and in the Koran itself.

They show the true way of life. They help the poor people when they need money or something else. They make peace between the enemy people and they bring justice in any kind of unrest situation in the villages.

They do not request anything from the villagers except their prays to God for them. But the villagers (oral communication) give as a compensation for their help, money or some wheat or something else, just as a gift. Sheikhs do not request anything and they are not covetous so that they do not take money or any other thing directly in their hands, you should put your gift (if it is money) under the sheikh's pelt which he sits on or, in his pocket without drawing up his attention. There is no any fixed rates for his helps, you can give whatever and how much you can. It depends on your financial situation and your own will.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION OF TWO RESEARCH VILLAGES

K. village and Ö. village are two villages which show different structures at land property and administrative levels, although both had dominant landlordship relations in the past. As the monographs reveal both villages described here were placed under the dominance of large landed estates up to the time of introduction of modern inputs from which a transformation of traditional land tenure patterns in both villages resulted.

The two villages have undergone structural transformation differently, inasmuch as in K. village this process has started before mechanization, and has been triggered by economical factors, while in Ö. village changes took place only after the mechanization. In the former village it is clearly seen that the dissolution of large land estates and landlordship relations occurred while the latter still reflects dominant large land characteristic, though being subject to transformation in the traditional land tenure patterns. But, nevertheless, in both villages, the land property structure is characterized by multiple ownership.

K. village is a compound type village with about 162 households and a population of 1059, and it is one of the biggest villages in Bozova district. The total cultivable area of K. village is about 11.000 decares.

The firstcomers in the village were a few tribes or clans. It can be claimed that the most powerful tribe or clan took over all the village land and became the landlord family afterwards. Their landlordship continued up to the arrival of E. Bey to the village. When the landlord lost their sheeps which he was smuggling to Syria, he had to sell some of his lands to cover his debts towards the state. E. Bey who came from Urfa bought H. Müslim's land and settled in the village. He was also landlord (according to the villagers, although they were not able to explain his landlordship characteristics he was considered as an agha) during 25-30 years. As he left the village at the beginning of the 1950's, it can be inferred that H. Müslim sold his land in between 1920 - 1925. he previous landlord family did not want E. Bey to stay in the village. If this can partially explain why E. Bey left the village, the second reason was that he was indebted to the state for taxes. He had to sell his lands to the villagers. H. Müslim's hostility caused E. Bey not to sell his lands to this previous landlord. H. Müslims also bought some part, but as villagers state not too much. All the villagers bought about 3.000 or 4.000 decares of E. Bey's land. This was the first step for the

landlord in the process of loosing his power in the village. H. Müslim was still keeping the dominant part of the village, land but the villagers owned some lands, even if not very large.

The second transformation step coincided with the purchasing of tractors in the village. Since the beginning dissolution process, the villagers got some lands and they started to cultivate them on their own account, while continuing to cultivate landlord's land as sharecroppers. This gave them a chance to make some accumulation to get modern equipment at the time tractors entered the villages in Turkey. As a member of landlord family stated, that they did not need the additional labour forces any longer when they got tractors in 1960's.

Concomitantly with his loss of power as landlord, H. Müslim lost as well his village headman position. As H.C. states, the villagers opposing to the landlord, took over the headmanship. He also states that "this depends on the power of the clan. Our clan outnumbered theirs. We, all the villagers outnumbered them and acquired the headmanship". Probably this was the reason why the landlord could not react against the other villagers to force them to move out from the village.

Given the accumulation possibilities which can be materialized when owning some lands, villagers also had tractors and they cultivated their own lands. The dissolution process in K. village started before mechanization, but continued and gathered momentum with tractorisation.

K. village is now comprising 34.43 % landless people and 65.57 % land owning farmers. The size of land owned by these people is varying between 10 and 500 decares. The fragmentation of the land through inheritance has a significant importance for the present distribution of the lands among the households.

It can be concluded that despite the fact that 34.43 % of the households are landless, the dominant land tenure in the village is multiple (differentiated) ownership.

Agriculture in the village can be considered as being mechanized as the farmers use tractors, combines and fertilizing machines, etc. About all households cultivating land of variable size are using temporary hired labour power, and the production is mainly market oriented. Owing to these characteristics, the agricultural production of this village can be described as petty commodity production. On the other hand, sharecropping arrangements based on verbal agreements are

still existing and there is no land renting in the village. But alongside the fragmentation of the land and the population increase, it resulted that the land area of the village became insufficient, and consequently the sharecropping agreements changed with time. The land owners take pre-payments from the sharecroppers as much as they need (there is no any determined scale for this pre-payment) and those who are able to make this pre-payment take land to cultivate from the land owner. The land owner gives the half of the seeds and fertilizer and all other expenditures, like wages for hired labour, running cost for tractors or combines are paid by the sharecropper. At the end of the harvest, the land owner takes his part (half of the product) and pays back the money he received at the beginning as pre-payment. In case he does not pay this money back, the sharecropper has the right to cultivate the land for one year more. This pre-payment is not an obligation and it depends on the land owner's will.

On the other hand, sometimes land owners leaves the product completely to the sharecropper as they do not want to deal with any works related to the transportation of the products and selling. In that case, the sharecropper pays the landowner's part in cash after having sold the product. But all the rules on sharing the expenditures and product, or other rules prevailing in sharecropping arrangement can change depending on the

verbal agreement made between the land owner and the sharecropper.

This kind of sharecropping shows the characteristics of traditional sharecropping and partly land renting together. It is like a transitional arrangement type.

Pre-payment makes it difficult to access to land for landless and poor peasants of this area. Most probably because of this reason landless people seek for employments outside of agriculture. As it is indicated in the monographs there are only 5 landless households engaged in sharecropping arrangement out of 21.

In addition, we observed that under dry farming conditions most of the people who have less than 100 decares of land have to find complementary employment. This employment can sometimes be sharecropping or working as worker. As this also function of the size of the household, one should refrain from arriving at hosty conclusions, but it can still be said that peasants in general are of the opinion that 100 decares are a prerequisite to ensure their livelihood.

Considering the petty commodity production, we have to point out that the farmers owning small size lands, but having an employment out of agriculture are

continuing to cultivate their lands themselves or getting their lands cultivated on sharecropping arrangement. As Bazoğlu (1987) stated, because of their moving economical activities it is not easy to establish a strict class boundaries between peasants, workers or seasonal workers. But, it can be said that for this people agriculture a source for gaining some cash money for their livelihood, like animal husbandry for the households merely dealing with agriculture. Bazoğlu (1987) describes this group, seasonal workers as well, as multi-occupational class, multi-fragmented class or hybrid class realizing its survival and continuity in agriculture because of its heterogeneity.

As it is revealed in the monograph, there are 30 people dealing with extra-agricultural activities in K. village and 16 of them are landless. It can be noticed that for a few excepted, the distribution of the occupations or sectors among the land owners but having another job is differentiating according to the size of the land property. All the landless people are workers, shepherd or driver (working with someone else's truck). The others dealing with businesses like grocery or of any other kind requiring some investment possess more than 100 decares of land, with only one exception. This man was working as a worker at Atatürk Dam and when he was dismissed from the job he opened a grocery in the village.

Considering their opinions about working out of agriculture are generally positive. They were able to build new houses and to buy some electronic goods like television, tape recorder or others. The most significant fact is that they state that, they are not tied to the land anymore and they do not have any debts to anybody, because they are able to earn money monthly not annually and more than what they could ever obtain from agriculture. Another significant point expressed by these people is that, being employed out of agriculture, they do not depend from anybody else and that they have more liberty than others.

As it was pointed out in the preceding sections, because of the Atatürk Dam construction people in K. village had more opportunities to find employments. However, emigration patterns both permanent and temporary keep a significant importance for this village. This is due to the fact that the land is too scarce to cover the village population requirements, and also to the fact that still limited employment possibilities out of agriculture are offered.

There is another point which we should emphasize here, namely that during the dissolving process of land ownership pattern from large land estates to differentiated ownership or multiple ownership, the members of the landlord family, especially the second

generation, get employments out of agriculture at a relatively higher position than the other villagers could get, such as becoming civil servants, using their families' influence on the state offices, this influence deriving from the past landlord period.

Depending on the differentiated land property and differentiated economic activities, the basis of authority and power relations changed in the course of the time. As the villagers themselves expressed that the "power" is constituted by the men members of the clan (actually lineage). This is so partly originate from the previous tribal relations but partly derives also from the dissolution of the landlordship relations.

Although the cultural features carry on some characteristics of the traditional structures which prevailed in the village in the past, in K. village, the lineage links started to weaken as well as the tribal or clan relations did years ago.

Considering the situation of the woman, there is not much change observed in this village. They do not have any right to make decisions on the matters concerning the village or the family before reaching an age worthy of respect (in other words, after having practically lost their seductiveness). We did not analyze directly the situation of woman in the village but we can

say that, based on our observations, woman have much more liberty than in the other villages around. The first reason is deriving from having a primary school in the village since very long time ago. About all women in the village know Turkish and are able to get in touch with everybody in and outside the village. Because of the transportation facilities they are able to maintain relations with people outside the village, with people in the town and in neighbouring villages.

Based on the above explanations, we can describe K. village as a village which has differentiated land property, which can be still considered as being of the multiple ownership type, with differentiated economical activities, but still presenting the dominant characteristics of petty commodity production.

Referring to the transformation typologies of agricultural structures, K. village takes place between the category of small landed villages getting commercialized in time and having diversified economic activities, and the villages in which medium sized land distribution prevails, usage of modern inputs and family labour are dominant but which can make accumulation, as Keyder (1983: 254-272) stated. On the other hand, this village is characterized by the dissolution of the large farm and by the emergence of a differentiated village in the typologies, as pointed out by Akşit (1985: 92 - 102).

Ö. village is located 4-5 km far from K. village. It has a population over 453 with a total number of 67 households and it is a untidy type village with its three hamlets. It is three times smaller than K. village regarding to the household number and its population while the total cultivable area of each of the two villages is nearly the same (in K. village 11.000, in Ö. village 11.275 decares). D. family has about 1/2 of the total cultivable land in the village. The average size of land, D. family's excepted, varies between 15 and 300 decares.

The history of village starts with the arrival of D. family. This was about 60 years ago. Up to the time of purchasing tractors by D. family, there were a central village and two hamlets in which they settled their sharecroppers. Beginning from 1950s, mechanization in agriculture came into existence, while by mid 1960s D.s owned 3 tractors and other side devices. Following this mechanization, some of the families in the hamlets emigrated while others were forced by D. family to move away. An extensive migration from the village took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s. D.s started to cultivate their lands themselves, even they were able to cultivate lands in surrounding villages on sharecropping basis. At that time the landlord, grand father was keeping the unity of the lands and of the village. After the death of the grand father, approximately 25 years

ago, the present headman's father and 4 brothers divided the land in 5 lots. Two of the present headman's uncles moved to K. hamlet, dismissing the previous sharecropper families from this hamlet. They constructed their own houses.

The previous residents of Y. hamlet were also sharecroppers of D. family. There were about 6 households there when D.s forced them to move away. In 1981 D.s sold some plots of land in this hamlet to the people who had to move from K. village because of blood feud.

N. village, nowadays named I. village, is the farthest hamlet from the central village. Its history is not clear as well as its relations with the central village. The present residents settled here in 1960's. This stays in contrast with the tendency of D. family to dismiss the villagers from the hamlets. It seems that I. hamlet became Ö. village's sub-village later on. It is also common practice in the area for obtaining the village status, to widen the village and increase the population, that which some small sized settlements achieved by tying to a central village.

Ö. village and its hamlets have a very poor share of public services. There are two primary schools; one in the central village and one in Y. hamlet. Y. hamlet

excepted, there is no any grocery or other kinds of shops and services in the village.

D. family in the recent past 6-7 years started to make investments out of agriculture. As it is explained in the monograph they have 3 buses, 3 minibuses and a car with the partnership of the family members. According to their own statements as they are dealing with businesses outside agriculture, they needed sharecroppers again. But this time sharecropping arrangement changed. As it is clearly appears from the samples, they give their lands mostly to the sharecroppers who are well equipped with agricultural machinery or at least who are able to have some equipment sharing it with D. family. Since D.s sold their old equipment to constitute capital for their investments and since they are not cultivating land themselves, they have to find someone to cultivate their land. Beside the agricultural equipment, they sometimes provide houses to their sharecroppers to stay in. They give large portion of their lands to these sharecroppers who have partnership on some equipment with themselves. The remaining small plots are given to ordinary sharecroppers.

Apart from this feature, sharecropping arrangement shows similarity with what is practiced in K. village. But still there is no strict rules on sharecropping, that is the rules change depending on the

verbal agreement made between the land owner and the sharecropper. Because D. family has a large estate, the pre-payment taken from the sharecroppers gives them much more accumulation and investment possibilities than for others'.

This family does not employ permanent or temporary labour for cultivating.

Regarding the authority and power relations, the D.s are the dominant ones in the village. Although fragmentation of the land through inheritance is significant, they are still able to keep the unity of the family and control the village. But this fragmentation changed the terms of landlordship. There is no a single landlord in the village any longer and the authority also fragmented together with the land. Villagers use now the term "landlords", to characterize the whole family (see Ertürk, 1980: 121-134) for a similar interpretation of social status and the decision making mechanisms in two villages in Southeastern Anatolia).

This village shows similarities with the Korukçu village studied by Akçay in terms of the relations between the landlord and the villagers. One exception can be pointed out namely that contrary to what Akçay observed in Korukçu village, the landlord family in Ö. village is involved in extra-agricultural investments.

The following citation shows the similarity with the landlord in Ö. village. He states that "There is a general satisfaction among villagers with their lives in Korukçu...there is no physical, nor social distances between the landlord family and villagers in Korukçu. None of the brothers in the landlord family in Korukçu were educated beyond secondary school. They look like and behave as one of the villagers, only in a much better and higher position" (Akçay, 1985: 183). Although the landlord family in Ö. village have some capitalistic investments, as these investments are not directly related to agriculture it does not create too much oppositions between the landlord family and the other peasants. On the contrary, they have the possibility to access to the land by sharecropping agreement because of the landlord family does not deal with agriculture directly. On the contrary, if the investments of the landlord family would be directed to capitalistic agriculture the opposition or struggle could appear between the landlord family and the other peasants as it is the case in Sinan village which is the second village studied by Akçay. (Akçay, 1985: 181-182).

Considering the Keyder's (1983: 183-221) classifications of socio-economic transformation types of the villages, it is not easy to range this village in this typological scheme. Ö. village can be characterized by the dominancy of large land holding and partly

fragmented landlordship when the land tenure system is considered, but, on the other hand landlords are capitalistic investors with respect to their extra-agricultural activities. This village may be identified with the dominance of large land estates together with multiple ownership, but on the other hand still undergoing transformation processes which are not completed as yet.

It is not easy to make predictions about the future of these villages after the implementation of the irrigation project. For K. village it can be said that the owners of relatively large lands can make capitalistic investments in or outside the village and as they will need more labour force they employ more people than at present, permanently or temporary. These labour forces could be found among the landless people in the village or from outside, as it is the case at present. As an alternative, these landless peasants could continue to cultivate land on sharecropping basis or rent land from the land owners. It seems that growing and diversification of the village economy will continue in this village and, given the accumulation possibilities, this village could become a central village among the surrounding villages.

For Ö. village, considering the landlord family's investments and the plans they made for the future, it

can be said that capitalist farming is more likely to prevail than in K. village. This will be realized depending on the landlord family's intention to keep the unity of their lands and to make investments on agriculture. Otherwise, if they intend to invest in sectors out of agriculture, which bring up higher benefits, they would reduce their land property or they can continue to get their lands cultivated by sharecroppers.

But still it can be predicted that in both villages the multiple ownership, which means the existence of large land estates and small peasant holdings together, will remain the dominant ownership pattern, and, consequently, capitalist farming and petty commodity production will exist together in these villages.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Whereas the aghas and tribal leaders have relatively lost their power, sheikhs have been continuing to be effective in the region, especially in the studied area, not only in rural areas and on peasants but also in cities and on urban societies, because they are fulfilling some functions the state should take care of.

The conditions in the outer world and the conditions in the village in itself are forcing the peasant household to persist to survive their life. It is observed that whenever they have a chance to get a job out of agriculture which allows them to have a regular income they leave their lands and the village. On the other hand, this is partly because of Atatürk dam construction which supplies job opportunities to the villagers around, villagers have a concept of "being unemployed". In the process of articulation to the national market of the petty commodity producers it is interesting for the peasants to identify themselves as "unemployed".

Because of the limited possibilities of finding a job out of agriculture they have to cultivate land as sharecroppers to survive. And the sharecropping agreement between the sharecroppers and land owners varying depending on the existing conditions, the law of demand and supply. The land owners take some advance money and they justify this referring to the scarceness of the land compared with the demand. It means that landowners want to give their land to the sharecroppers who can give more money. This money is being paid back at the end of the harvest but it still profit to the landowner.

On the other hand, this kind of sharecropping agreement still allows the landowner to have a control over the crop will be produced on his land by the sharecropper.

When the development of the agriculture in this region will realize in the near future, most of these peasants could become agricultural workers whereas some of them will continue to survive as petty commodity producers on their small amount of lands.

On the other hand, they use presently hired labour though not permanently. After the implementation of the irrigation project which will allow them to cultivate and harvest two or three times in a year they may continue to use temporary labour force or even some

on a permanent basis. This is because of the characteristic of agriculture itself that the production does not require permanent labour power mandatorily. It is clear that if they are able to find temporary labour power when needed without any difficulty, they will prefer temporary labour power than permanent one. After implementation of irrigation in this village, depending on the crop patterns they will produce and the conditions of finding labour power this situation could change and depending on the size of the farm and on the production they could turn over to employ permanent labour forces in their farms.

In the studied areas, sharecropping agreements between the landowners and sharecroppers show different characteristics, because of the scarceness of the land, it gives the land owners the opportunity to make more benefit from the land by taking cash money as advance from the sharecroppers. This is also an obstacle for the poor peasants for accessing land as sharecroppers.

Both villages do not show close economic characteristics anymore since they articulated national and international economies and cultures, too. The role of merchant and usurer's capital has been significant, both in expropriating peasant surpluses and in articulating the household on village economy with national and international economies. On the other hand,

the effect of the mass media and the transportation facilities with towns and cities have changed their consumption habits, that, as it is observed, peasant household is not powerful enough to struggle against market relations to survive their life by lowering their production at subsistent level and by lowering their consumption in the market. This is another factor which forces them to have a work which provide them with a regular income.

During the changing process, the relations between the landlord, villages and its subvillages differentiated, too. Whereas in the past the landlords used to locate the landless villagers in their own land to cultivate and control it, now all these subvillages are owned by the village residents themselves and all of them are petty commodity producers. These relations between the central village and its subvillages illustrate how the landlords or the large land owners use the subvillagers labour as sharecroppers. In the studied village (Ö.), the landlord family dismissed all the peasants from their own land and they started to cultivate themselves after procuring tractors. Recently, in the last 5-6 years, this family started to make other investments out of agriculture and they got a sharecropping agreement with the subvillages or with the people from other villages.

But the sharecropping agreements made by the landlord family at the present time move towards creating a company with their sharecroppers. They buy tractors together with their sharecroppers and they do not get money as advance from their sharecroppers. The capital obtained by the landlord family by selling some of their land or getting cash money from the sharecroppers as an advance is invested for acquiring transportation facilities like buses, minibuses or cars. And they think of augmenting their investments in the city center to establish or manage hotels, restaurants or other kind of service facilities.

The profit obtained from the peasant households by the landlords or from the sharecroppers by the land owners or peasant households themselves goes first to agricultural bank for reimbursement of the interests of the credits taken and to the cooperatives again for reimbursing credits and also as investments of landlords in the city or out of the agricultural sector.

The existence of sharecropping families in landlord dominated Southeastern Anatolian agriculture is not a sign of semi-feudalism, as some might claim, but a reflection of the landlords' strategy to take advantage of concrete conditions, making use of the destitution of the peasant households struggling for surviving, as Aydın (1986) states.

The most important conclusion is the following:
"As it is commonly accepted the capitalist farming is not a certain outcome of the feudalistic agricultural structures which existed in the past in this region. The studied villages show that although they originate from similar feudalistic structures, their transformation ways could be different. These feudal structures can turn into capitalist farming or petty commodity production relations" as predicted by Akşit (1990).

The results of the implementation of the irrigation project on these structures will also depend from the state policy, as well as from the internal structures of these villages.

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SELECTED CASES FROM THE VILLAGES

This clause gives some specific examples from the villages. These cases are thought to be of high interest as they illustrate the traditional structures as well as power and kinship relations in the villages.

One of the three teachers has, by now, spent three years in the village so that she has got a good knowledge of the villagers' customs and of their cultural characteristics and she also witnessed some particular events.

The reported events are meaningful as they enable to understand the way of life of the villagers - which is still traditional -, their conflicts, as well as the solutions they found to solve them, finally the power relations between them.

The three described cases are entitled as follows: 1) A scandal in the village (The event of a girl), 2) Fighting because of elections, 3) Conflict between minibus owners.

1. A Scandal In the Village (The Event of The Girl):

Last year an unmarried girl in K. village had a baby. Up to the time to give birth nobody was aware of her

pregnancy and her family got shocked at the announcement of the birth. Her state of pregnancy was fortunately discovered by a doctor in the hospital just before giving birth, that's why nobody have had any opportunity to harm the girl and her baby. Doctor informed the attorney general and the gendarmery. Hence, the girl and her baby were taken under official protection.

In spite of the official protection, family council was called in to discuss and decide about what had to be done. First, the family felt dishonoured by the immoral aspect of the case. Therefore, they felt having to punish the girl and the procreator of this baby. They decided to kill all of them.

According to girl's deposition the father of the baby is one of her cousins. When the man and his family heard about the situation, they immediately left the village. But later on the girl changed her testimony and said the father was another cousin of her. Gendarmery arrested him and the court case started.

During this period, the girl's family tried to find a solution of their own. They asked sheikh's advices, too. Sheikh said (?) that they were to be killed.

This family did not kill their daughter, although her uncles made attempts. According to the villagers, the mother saved her daughter and struggled against her husband and other relatives. But, on the other hand, the court decided that the gendarmery must protect the girl and her baby during two years and if they were killed, all the family would be considered as being responsible.

Besides, all the villagers started to exercise pressure onto this family to kill her daughter and her baby. Pressures were exerted from outside of the village, too. The elder sister of this girl who is married and living in another village was sent back to her father's house by her husband's family because of her sister. In addition, other villages in the surroundings started to react against the people of K. village, saying they were completely immoral (dissolute), allowing the girl to keep alive.

Short time ago, this girl got married with an old man in a village of Adıyaman and the baby died. Villagers say that this man did not want the baby and that he therefore killed him. Now, the father (the girl's uncle) of the man who was arrested before - for being accused to be the procreator of the baby - brought a suit (filed a complaint) against the girl, her husband as well as her family, pretending that the

cause of the baby's death was unclear. Now the court is continuing searching on this matter.

The following points have a sociological significance in this event:

- . Considering the conflicts which arise between the traditional and the modern structures which are developing in any traditional society, particularly in this region, under this peculiar circumstance, the conflict was solved taking into consideration the trends enforced by the developing modern structures.
- . However, in spite of the above, the family councils (or family decisions) have still a considerable importance.
- . The fact to apply to sheikh's advice still demonstrates his authority, although it did not perform efficiently in this very case.
- . The resistance of the mother against the family council's decision may reflect changes of the traditional cultural structures in favour of women. However, such a statement must be made cautiously because the important point in this event is that this girl had a chance to give

birth in the hospital and up to that time nobody understood her situation. Otherwise, the people could have react quite differently.

. On the other hand, the man and his family had to leave the village. This is another characteristic of this region: people either must either fight or escape. They did not have any alternative because in any case the people of this region is still trying to recourse to solutions of their own to solve their problems according to the traditional ways. It must be emphasized here that they had to conform with the decisions of the official authorities.

2. Fighting Because of Elections: For the last territorial elections there were two candidates for muhtarlık (territorial administration at the village level). Although they have different surnames they are cousins.

After the elections the loser started to fight against the winner with stones, sticks and even with weapons. Later on all the families moved their goods outside of the village to save them as looting each other's houses and goods is a common fashion of the people of this region under such an unrest condition.

This fight has been continued for one or one and a half month. In the village nobody was able to solve the problem and to stop this fighting, even the army. Then they (some of the villagers) decided to call the sheikh to make peace between the two opposed families. After the peace ceremony of sheikh this fighting finished.

This example shows the function of sheikh who is balancing the relations between conflicting people. Apart from the sheikh's social function, this example gives an idea about the kind of laws which are ruling this region. Tribes and tribal organizations are not effective anymore but the lineage or kinship relations as a sub tribal organization are still effective.

3. Conflict Between Minibus Owners: There are two people in the K. village who own a minibus to supply transportation between Bozova, Şanlıurfa, Atatürk Dam and the village. One of them bought his minibus newly. The other one does not want to allow him to work. There is a competition between them and recently this competition transferred to a conflict. The latter is always trying to destroy the minibus of the new owner.

The villagers say that the injured driver is alone in the village (his family includes only 2 households and therefore, he is weak) that's why he has not any chance to resist against the other.

This example gives some clues about the powerfulness concept of the villagers. Power relations between the villagers not only depends on the richness of the families but depends also on the number of the family members. This means that the powerfulness in the village is directly proportional to the size of the family.

This concept leads sometimes to have a lot children and even to polygamy practice in this region.

SELECTED INTERVIEWS

1. AN INTERVIEW WITH A VILLAGER IN K. VILLAGE

61 years old, oldest man in C. clan.

G- Did K. have a previous name? Was it called as K. from the time it had been set up?

H- People used to call it as KV. because the soil of the village was fertile. I do not remember when they started to call it K.

G- How did they set up this village?

H- The first ones who arrived were Ö.s and a few more tribes. During the initial period there were 5 or 6 households.

G- How long ago?

H- More than a hundred years

G- Who were living in these 5-6 houses.

H- Ö.s; people used to call them OĞLAN clan. There was also Abuzer-i Buluca clan. They have left the village long ago. The whole clan has gone. There was Mustafayi-Hacole (the present A.s). These three clans were settled there and later on others arrived and the number of people increased.

G- When did your family, I mean your clan arrive?

H- Our clan has come from Besni. We arrived at the village about one hundred years ago.

G- Did your clan have a clan-name?

H- Certainly. They called us Ave-aşe clan.

G- What was your family doing in Besni?

H- Also farming. Then they migrated and came over here due to blood-feud.

G- Who was the senior member of your family or clan at the time of their arrival?

H- The senior of the family is my grandfather's grandfather.

G- Did landlordship exist from the onset of the village?

H- Of course it existed. The Ö.s took possession of everything when they arrived. They were the landlords of the village. H. İsmail was the landlord. Then his sons took over and became landlords. The whole village was in their possession. Then our clan arrived, also CIMIKANs and BIŞAR. Now there are 7-8 clans in the village. Everyone has his own cultivated piece of land, and there is no landlord in the village.

G- How could your clan come and settle here when H. İsmail was landlord? In other words, how did the landlord permit you to settle?

H- Our grandfather married their sister, namely H. İsmail's sister. When our grandfather was killed in a blood-feud, my father's grandfather and uncles became orphans, and the landlords brought them over here. This is the manner in which we came to this village.

G- Did you have your own lands then?

H. Not at the beginning. Then we got some. Our grandfathers sold the lands they owned in the previous village and bought some here.

G- You were the headman of the village before the present one, is that correct?

H- This was a long time ago, that is, until 30 years ago Ö.s were the headman as well as the landlord family. H.Ö. was the headman at that time. Then M.P., from another clan, was nominated as headman. Later on R.Ö. (the present headman's father and my uncle's son) was the headman of the village, then I took over. The present headman was elected after me.

G- Why did Ö.s left the headmanship or could not be elected once more?

H- That depends on the clan. Our clan outnumbered theirs. We, all the villagers outnumbered them and acquired the headmanship.

G- What does clan mean?

H- Clan means lineage. That is the lineage of the same father.

G- What does the power of a clan depend on?

H- The power is in line with the number of man you have.

G- You mean to say that it depends on the multitude in the clan. Is this somehow related to wealth? I mean, is one powerful if he is wealthy or if he has land?

H- No, land is not to be considered as basic element. Even a man who owns large size land is not powerful unless he has a large number of men in his family.

Now, Ö.s have plenty of land but they are not powerful. Our clan is the strongest in the village.

G- Do you mean that Ö.s lost their power because they are not multitudinous in the village?

H- Yes, they had a lot of men, but still not enough. Some of them went to Urfa to work there. They do not have many men in the village. They are now selling a great part of the land they own and spend the money so earned.

G- I was told that a certain E. Bey came to this village, E.Ön. He was also a landlord, is that correct?

H- Yes, he was a landlord. But he did not stay here long. At the time he arrived Ö.s owned nearly the entirety of the village. They got loans from banks but were not able to repay. Part of the lands was sold on bailiff's order. E.Bey bought nearly half of the village, and settled there. But he could not live in peace with the landlords, he then sold his fields and went back to Urfa.

G- Who has purchased the fields?

H- Our villagers bought and divided them among themselves.

G- What about Ö.s?

H- They bought some but not much. The greatest part was acquired by the villagers.

G- Do you remember those days?

H- Of course I do. I was serving in the army when E. Bey sold his fields. I am 61 years old now, so this happened 30-35 years ago.

G- I assume that there were tribes in the region, am I correct?

H- Yes, there were. Our tribe was AŞAR. But when we came to this village we were named BESKİ. This area is attached to BESKİ tribe.

G- Do you still have your tribe?

H- No, we do not. In the past there were tribe chiefs. Our chief was from S. village. He was the chief for the whole territory. At the time of mobilization he used to light a fire on the top of S. village, which meant calling his men. Everyone from the surrounding villages would come to S. village and go to war. Everyone would follow his orders. The chief was the head of the guerillas.

G- Did such relations exist in your time as well? Have you seen those days?

H- No, I have not. My father used to tell me about it.

G- There are also sheiks in this region. What kind of relations did exist between the sheikhs and tribes?

H- The chief of tribes and sheikhs had their own men and they did not each other. Sheikhs were ignorant, landlords rather advanced.

G- What do sheikhs do nowadays?

H- Sheikhs tell their disciples to believe in God, never lie, pray, never betray the Government, and give such

advices. They follow the commandments of the Koran. When a quarrel develops in the village the Sheikh intervenes and restores the friendship.

2. AN INTERVIEW WITH THE HEADMAN OF Ö. VILLAGE

He is about 34 years old. He became mukhtar (headman) after the last territorial elections in 1989. Before, his father was performing this duty and the acting mukhtar was the first member of the village council at that time. According to people sayings there is no any election in this village. People vote because of legal constraints, but there is always only one candidate, usually from agha family, and they vote for him. The following interview was made with him and was aimed at understanding his personal statements as well as his family's situation in the village.

G- I heard you sold the land to the villagers of Y. hamlet. Could you please tell me how many decares of land you did sell to them?

M- Yes, we (he means he and his family) sold our land. It amounted to 2000 decares, but half of it only is arable land. We sold 5.000.000 TL with one title deed.

G- Do you have any sort of kinship relations with them?

- M- Yes, but very far.. from my mother's side.
- G- Why did you sell this land to them?
- M- They are our relatives.. and they were living under difficult conditions. They had to move from K. village because of the blood feud and therefore they needed some lands. We decided to help them and we sold these lands at a very low price.
- G- How many decares of land there are in this village?
- M- 6.000 decares.
- G- Does this figure include the whole land or only the arable one?
- M- The arable land amounts to 6.000 decares, including the lands of mezzas.
- G- Now, I would like to know what you think about the irrigation project. I mean, what will you do when this project is implemented? Do you have any plans for the future?
- M- We will decide at that time, according to the situation. For example, if the conditions are such that I can manage to irrigate all of my lands, and employ workers, I could make some investments. People who will be unable to do so or who are indebted, will perhaps try to sell their lands. I mean, future is essence.
- G- I think, the value of the land here is quite different from K. village's..

M- Yes, that's right. If it is 500.000 TL worth for a decares in K. village, here it's price decreases to 400.000 TL. This is due to the fact that K. village is quite crowded and there is no enough land, so that the price follows the demand. There is a land market in K. village, but here the village is mine and land is mine, too.

For example, that man who left you to the Atatürk Dam yesterday stays alone in this village as his relatives moved elsewhere. Those people had sold their lands to the villagers of K. village although I did oppose to this. They sold without asking any permission. The sellers and the buyers together intended to dismiss me from the village but they could not manage. They sold their lands and they moved to Gaziantep. Only this man stayed here. He reacts against his relatives by supporting us.

(Later on I was informed that D. family sold land to the people originating from K. village (presently living in Y. hamlet) because of this event. The buyer of these lands belongs to C. family in K. village and the people in Y. hamlet had a blood feud with this family. A young man from C. family informed me that D. family sold some of their lands to the people staying presently in Y. hamlet, who are the enemies of C. family, just for getting revenge.)

G- When did this happen?

M- About eleven years ago.

G- Does the people from K. village still own these lands nowadays?

M- Some of these lands are with them, some are with us.

G- Are they cultivating those lands?

M- Sometimes, yes. We can allow them to cultivate the land but they will never be authorized to establish a village (he means, to build a house or houses) on those lands. We do not allow them to do so because these lands still belong to my village. I mean these lands are still within the boundaries of our village.

(D. family recently constructed 2 small houses on their own land located near the land which were sold to C. family from K. village. The statements made on this matter are quite different. According to the mukhtar, his cousin is planning to move there, but according to the C. family this is made on purpose not to allow them to cultivate C. family's land and to build house on it. Still D. family is cultivating some part of C. family's land and C. family does not show any reaction as they do not want any fighting.)

In the second part of the interview his brother joined us, too. Beginning from here abbreviations H. refers to headman of Ö. village and F (F.D.) refers to his brother.

- G- There is neither tribes nor significant tribal relations at present, but there are sheikhs. What is your ideas about sheikhs?
- H- We respect Sheikh. I am fearful of their miracles, their unknown intentions.
- G- Which sheikh around this area do you get in touch with?
- H- One who is living in Suruç. He has a disciple in Dutluca village. We get in touch with both of them.
- G- For which kind of things do you need the help of Sheikh?
- H- They do some kinds of miracles. The father of the Sheikh staying in Suruç was also Sheikh, he rendered life to a bird which was dead. Some people saw this event. I mean they have some inscrutable power, we believe in this.
- F- If we face with any kind of blood feud or if fightings arise because of honour of the family, Sheikh comes to the village and he acts as a mediator between two conflicting people or families.
- G- I was told that when Sheikh comes to the village to give peace to the people they perform the namaz together with him. As you do not have a mosque in the village, where do you pray in such cases?
- H- "I" have a village room. This is a tradition in the East, in every village there should be a village room. This is our tradition. We invite all our guests in this room which is owned by our family. We do not

allow the foreigners to stay together with our families.

G- Yes, I am aware of it. When you talk about foreigners you mean the men, don't you? But you let me step into a different place, too and women do not stay with me in the same room. Why?

H- Because women do not know Turkish. They understand but are unable to express themselves. That's why they do not want to speak to you. They are afraid of saying something wrong. There is no another reason for doing so.

G- How many people are there in the village who do not speak Turkish?

H- All the men know Turkish but about 70 % of women do not. They understand but cannot speak. The primary school established in the village in 1984 and the girls are also going to school at present. I mean the new generation learns Turkish.

G- Lets turn back to speak about Sheikh. I understood that sheikh helps you to live quiet, giving peace to the hostile families. Now, I want to know what you do for the Sheikh to meet his services to you.

H- Nothing. We offer a sheep for all our guests, not only for the Sheikh. We service to him. That is all.

F- Sheikh does not help us to take any profit. He makes this just for God.

G- But, I do not ask what the Sheikh ask from you. Do you not make anything or offer something to him just

to compensate for his help, by your heart. Because of your respect and love to him?

H- No, we did not make anything up to now. But we know that some villagers around bring some gifts to Sheikh, upon their discretion. Nothing else is requested by the Sheikh.

G- You have also family councils which help you to make some decisions. How do you organize these family councils and which person or persons are effective in your family?

H- M.D., my uncle, and myself are in a position to take some decisions. But these decisions are in general related to businesses. We have an eldest member of our family, my uncle, but he does not want to interfere in our investments and business matters.

F- However, when we face with any trouble with a family or with a village related to our family we ask always our uncle's advices. For example, if we have a fighting or blood feud or if there is a girl who is to get married. He is the eldest one among us and we follow his advices. This is not a council, but if any kind of problem arise between us and others we came together and discuss the situation and find out what we should do at best.

G- Now, I want to inquire about K. hamlet. When did your uncle move there?

H- About twenty years ago because of disputes among the family. Before our sharecroppers were staying there.

At the time we got tractors we did not need them any longer and we started to cultivate our land ourselves. However, at present, as we are engaged in another kind of businesses outside agriculture again we have to recourse sharecroppers.

G- Why did you cease dealing with agriculture?

F- Because you cannot obtain a good income from agriculture. You will wait for getting money from agriculture during 12 months. I mean, you get money once a year. But now, we earn money regularly every month. We got used to it, and another way rises difficulties for us now. In addition to that, we earn much more money than what we obtained from the land.

G- What about I. hamlet? It seems that you do not have any significant relations with the residents of I. hamlet?

H- No, we do not. It is just the hamlet of Ö. village. We do not have any kind of relations with them.

3. AN INTERVIEW WITH THE SHARECROPPER OF MD IN K. HAMLET
(Abbreviation S refers to sharecropper)

G- How many years ago did you start to sharecrop with M.D.?

S- 2 years ago.

G- Where are you from?

S- I'm from Adiyaman, I mean from a village of Adiyaman.

- G- Do you own any land in your village of origin? And if so, how many decares?
- S- Yes, I have some. About 500 decares.
- G- How many decares of land you rent from MD in this village?
- S- About 1.000 decares.
- Do you sharecrop with someone else in this village or in another?
- S- No, I do not. Only with M.D.
- G- Which kind of agreement do you make with M.D.?
- S- You cannot work as sharecropper with everyone. It is necessary to like, to trust each other. Land is of his own. He gives the seed. We meet all expenditures together and we equally share all the harvest.
- G- Do you pay any money to the land owner as deposit?
- S- No, I do not.
- G- But I think, normally, you should..
- S- Yes, most of the people do. We are confident to each other. That's why we do not need to have such kind of agreement.
- G- In principle, what is this money paid for? I mean, is it something like a guarantee?
- S- No, it is not. Since 1983, farming has been going down. the land owners request this payment because of personal money shortcomings. They take this money from the sharecropper at the time of making their agreement and then they pay back after the harvest.

G- How many decares of land do you cultivate in one year, I mean on sharecropping basis, along with your own lands?

S- 1500 decares.

G- Do you employ (hire) anyone to cultivate all these lands?

S- No, we have mechanized our farm.

G- But I heard that it was not possible to collect chickpea and lentil with combines.

S- Yes. You are right. They must be collected by hand.

G- Who does these works?

S- People from Adiyaman come to harvest these crops. We call as kile, one kile is about 16 decares. We pay 1 million TL for 1 kile. They collect by hand. Sometimes women in the village also works together with them.

These people comes from Adiyaman with their families and with their tents and they stay during the harvesting time in the villages where they are employed.

G- Are they living in tents always? I mean, are they nomads? Do they have any place to live in?

S- They are living in Adiyaman, generally in flats. They are unemployed people having very hard life conditions.

G- I think you cultivate tobacco, too, in Adiyaman.

S- Yes, we do.

G- On how many decares of your land do you cultivate tobacco?

S- It depends on the size of the family. You know, the labour power of the whole family is needed to cultivate tobacco, and you should keep in mind that tobacco is much more difficult to cultivate than other crops. I do about 60 to 100 decares.

- How do you market tobacco?

S- We sell to Tekel (Monopol, state buying office). Last year the government gave 14.500 TL per kilo, but this year only 3.500 - 4.500 TL. Prices went down drastically this year. Last year, at this very period, we did not have any kilo of tobacco in store. We sold all, but this year the harvest is decaying in our houses. You see, this is the situation of the farmers nowadays.

G- How many tons of wheat and other crops are you obtaining from the land in one year?

S- This year things seem going well up to now. The actual output will be known at the harvesting time. Last year I cultivated water melon on the lands of M.D. on sharecropping basis, but I did not make any profit. I produced 50 or 60 tons of melon and I had to throw away most of the harvest. Before, we were exporting to Iraq, but last year we could not because of the golf crisis. That's why we had to sell water melon 160 - 170 TL per kilo, though we had to spend 150 TL per kilo as expenditure. There is no any

support to the farmers anymore in our country. The government cut down all supports, too.

G- Do you take credit from the bank?

S- Yes, with an interest.

G- How do you take credit, under which conditions and how do you use it?

S- The amount of credit the banks allocate depends on the size of the land you own. We buy fertilizer, seeds or tractor with this money. It depends on the farmer's economical situation.

G- What is the rate of interest of the bank credits nowadays?

S- 46 %, 50 % or 60 %. My father took a credit of about 200.000 TL in 1982 from the cooperative. Now, for reimbursing this credit my father would have to pay 4.500.000 TL as I learned.

G- Do you own a tractor?

S- Yes, I do.

G- Is it your own property?

S- No. I share it with MD.

G- Do you have combine, too?

S- No, I do not. There is nobody who owns combine in this area. People come along with their combines from Nevşehir, Çorum or Haymana - Ankara. We rent the combine from them for a fixed price per hour.

G- According to you, in which way is the land distributed in this area, or in your village?

S- 30 - 40 % of the people are landless. Some of them make sharecropping, some go to collect cotton to Adana - Ceyhan or somewhere else. Because of the construction of the Atatürk Dam our economic situation improved a little bit. We were all suffering from hunger before. There was no any alternative to live in this region but to go to Adana to collect cotton. We were approximately all going to do the same work. This does not mean that we are satisfied. We were not drinking tea before, we did not have television or oven in our houses. Now we have all, but we are all indebted to the banks and about all of our lands are under mortgage.

G- I want to ask a question about agha in this region. Do you have any idea about it? Do they still exist?

S- No. This system does not exist anymore. Before, the agricultural politics was similar to the present one. In the mean time, farming had been going down. People was no longer able to pay the taxes for their 50 or 100 - 500 decares of lands. Those who could manage to pay have actually also paid the taxes of other people, and, as a compensation, took over their lands. Agha means power, as you know. Later on, these people bought villages.. Still there are some aghas who own 4-5, even 20 villages. The system persists, but not as it was before. They are no longer aghas, but they are still wealthy. During aghas golden time, all the villagers were working for their landlords

without receiving any wedges. In addition, the aghas were behaving like tyrans. This situation does not exist anymore. I mean, the age of agha had disappeared but the "age of money" started. Now, who owns money is agha. People call MD agha.

G- What do you think about the future environmental impact of the designed irrigation project?

S- I cannot prefigure what will happen. It will depend on our personal situation at that time. MD has debts of about 100.000.000 TL to the bank. I have some, too. We do not know what will happen in the future, as well as if we will be able to make some investments or not.

G- How do you market your products, to whom and where?

S- We sell lentil to the merchants in the village or in Adiyaman or Urfa. We sell wheat and barley to TMO (State Buying Organization), but they never pay cash. We therefore have to borrow money every year and, at the time TMO's payment our money drastically loses value due to the high inflation rate prevailing in our country. Furthermore, this money does not even cover our expenditures on the land. On the other hand, the cost of 1 lt fuel has risen up to 3.000 TL, 1 lt of mazout to 2.500 TL. If you add to this the cost for fertilizer, seed and other purchasings, the money earned from farming does not even cover the expenditures. This is our very problem. Whenever you question the government's representatives about the

farmers' situation, they reply that we own every facilities (I mean television, oven in our houses, etc.) which we did not have before. We do not contest this, but these goods have actually been purchased on credit basis. We are not able to get our money from the government on time, but, on the other hand, we pay interest for the money we borrowed from the banks.

G- I think there is no water supply in this village, I mean in K. hamlet.

S- No. There is no water supply. They bring water from Firat river with small tankers.

G- You mean we drank river water five minutes ago, don't you?

S- Yes, from Firat river. It is the same in my village of origin. How many times we made application to obtain a water supply, but nobody were interested into it. Özal says "we overcome an age". They should come and see what we have. They should survey the local life conditions before stating we should narrow our belts.

G- Do you make another business like merchantery in the cities?

S- No. Not a serious business. We sell sheep sometimes, that's all. However I have made a project recently. I have a piece of land just near the Atatürk Dam. I would like to construct a restaurant there if I am

able to manage. For this I need at least 15.000.000 TL.

4. AN INTERVIEW WITH A STOCKBREEDER IN K. HAMLET

He is about 40-45 years old. He came to this village six years ago from a village of Adiyaman. He has about 100 sheeps and he deals with stock breeding. (Abbreviation S refers to stock breeder)

S- I am a shepherd and I have only 60 - 70 sheep, that's all.

G- When did you come to this village?

S- Six years ago.

G- Do you have any relatives in this village?

S- No, I do not. Once I brought sheep here to feed them, then I decided to stay.

G- Did D. family react against you? or why did they allow you to stay here as they are the owners of this village?

S- I do not cultivate their lands. I do not have any business relation with them. I do not disturb them.

G- But you stay in the house which is owned by this family. Do you pay any money as rent?

S- I give them every year about 30 or 40 kg of cheese .

G- How many children do you have?

S- Six.

G- Do your children work here?

S- No, they don't. We, all the family members, are dealing with stockbreeding all together. We do not do anything else.

G- Which kind of animal products do you sell?

S- Cheese, yogurt and wool, though mainly cheese.

G- How much money do you earn in one year?

S- If you mean income, I would say that there is no. The money I earn just meets our basic needs, that's all.

G- But you sell sheep, too.

S- Yes. But I make certain expenditures for the sheep, too. The money what we earn is just enough to cover these expenditures.

G- How many kilos of cheese can you prepare in one year?

S- It depends on the number of sheep you own.

G- How many sheep do you have now?

S- 60 - 70.

G- How many kilos of cheese are you able to prepare in a year with 60 - 70 sheep?

S- About 700 - 800 kg.

G- How do you sell your cheese, I mean where and to whom do you sell it?

S- I have some friends from Gaziantep working at Atatürk Dam. I send them the cheese with anyone going there and they are selling it for me in Gaziantep to a merchant.

G- Do your friends take any commission from you?

S- Some of them do, but most of them do not.

G- Why don't you do the same work in your village of origin?

S- Because of the climate it is not practicable. It is too cold there and it snows during 7-8 months.

G- How did you come here?

S- By walking. Along with the sheeps I reached here in two weeks.

G- Do you own any land in your village of origin?

S- Yes, I have about 3-4 decares of land. I left this land to my brothers. They cultivate it and they pay me 500.000 TL every year.

G- Do you cultivate any land in this village?

S- No, I don't.

5. AN INTERVIEW A VILLAGER IN I. VILLAGE

He is about 70 years old and he is the oldest man in the village.

G- When did you come to this village?

V- In 1960.

G- How many people did accompany you?

V- We were four brothers and our families. All together with our sister and her family we came here with five families, plus our father and mother.

G- Why did you come to this village?

V- We did not have enough land in our village of origin. We bought some, about 800 decares, and we moved here.

G- From whom did you buy?

V- The previous owners are now in Gaziantep. They sold all their lands and moved there.

G- Was there any landlord in the village you came from, such as the owner of the village?

V- No, there was not.

G- Did you have any reason to move here, such as blood feud or anything else?

V- No, we did not. We left that village because of landlessness.

(I learnt from someone from another neighboring village that they had a blood feud in their village of origin and because of this reason they moved to this village. On the other hand, according to the same information source, they had only 17 decares of land in I. hamlet. They use about 1000 decares of state land).

G- Do you have any sort of business or other kind of relations with the D. family, the owners of the Ö. village?

V- No. The agha of Ö. village is only our mukhtar, that's all. We do not have another kind of relation with them.

G- Do you sharecrop with them?

V- Sometimes we do, sometimes not. In the past we were doing. If they give land to us as sharecropper we cultivate it, but they don't lease land to us anymore.

G- Do you have any kind of disagreement with them which would explain the reason why they are reluctant to give land to you?

V- No, we don't. Would we be able to give them advanced money, (they call this advance as "power") then they would give land to us. I mean, if we could pay more than others they would give land to us, but as we cannot we are not cultivating their lands as sharecroppers.

(But according to the D. family they fought with each other two years ago because of a disagreement on land, that's why they do not want to sharecrop with them.)

G- How many households are there in the village now?

V- When we arrived here there were only 5 households, now there are 15 - 16 households.