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SOCIAL NETWORKS OF TURKISH WOMEN: DIMENSIONS OF RELATIONSHIPS

by

Patricia Anne Scott

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF NURSING SCIENCE

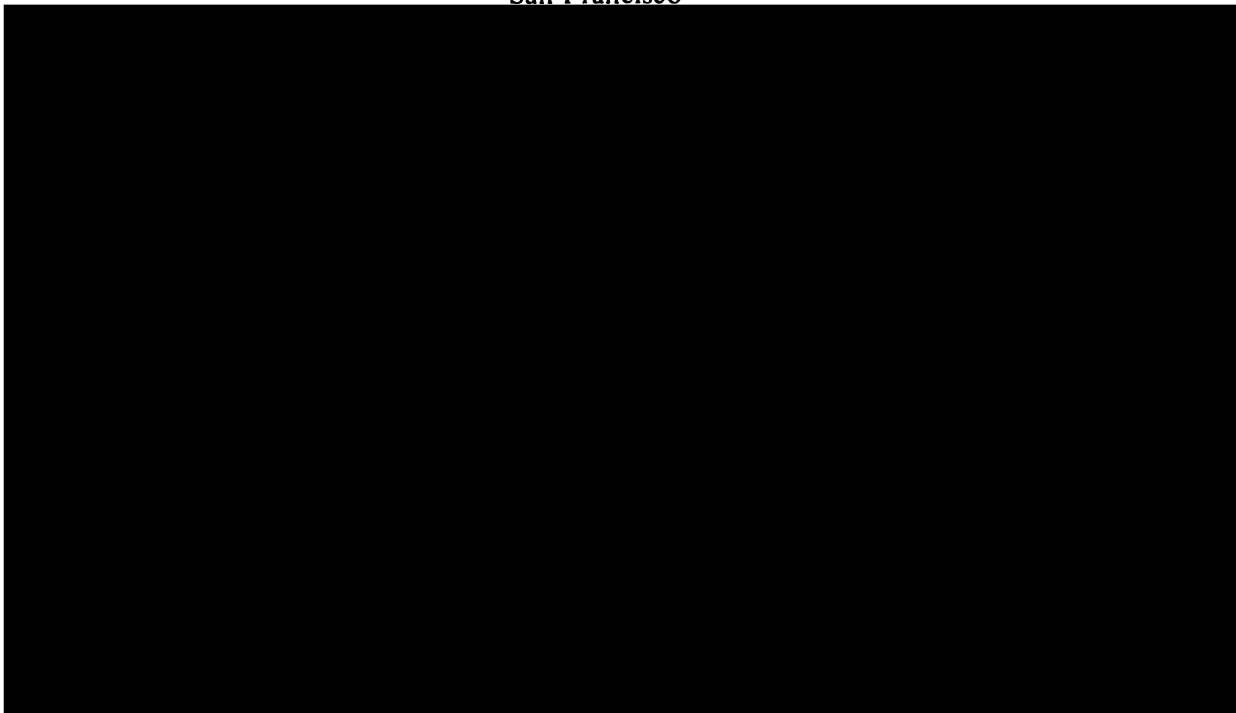
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CHAPTER 1

THE STUDY PROBLEM

The purpose of this exploratory field research is to examine the structural and interactional characteristics of the social networks of young Turkish nurses. An interview guide has been constructed to elicit information about the daily lives of the young women participants (see Appendix A). Interest is focused on the relationships between the young women and the individuals whom they consider important in their personal networks.

The basic questions for exploration which guide the research are: How is change managed and by whom? What kinds of changes have the participants experienced in their lives? The selection of young women nurses is predicated on the assumption that at least two major changes are in process: as young adults, participants are engaged in developmental changes; as they enter the work force, they move from the private to the public domain. In addition, it is known that "widespread social change is almost an everyday matter for people in Turkey" (Kâğıtçıbaşı, 1982, p. 4).

An investigation into the circumstances of the everyday lives of young Turkish nurses and of the kinds of transactions that occur in their social networks is expected to add new knowledge concerning non-Western women's roles to the current limited information available on this subject. Limited though it will be,

the analysis of data will widen the comparative base for discussion of factors involved in the shaping of women's changing roles in developing countries.

Derivation of the Problem

This study stems from an underlying commitment to nursing and a long-standing personal interest in Asia and the Middle East. These two factors led to more recently acquired interests in the impact of development policies on women and women's health and ways in which women in developing countries, particularly in the so-called Islamic world, can increase their contributions to the formation and implementation of health care policies. Throughout the world, nursing is predominantly a women's occupation; as women, both as providers and recipients of health care, nurses have a dual interest in the planning and implementation of health care policies. The development of nursing as a profession, and of nurses as individuals, is inextricably interlinked with the development of women.

Since 1975, designated "International Women's Year" by the United Nations, scholars and policy-makers have been giving increasing attention to women's changing roles (O'Barr, 1976). Particularly in the countries of the Third World, women's images of themselves, other's images of them, and both their public and private contributions in a variety of arenas are changing in fundamental ways. The customs of two-thirds of the world's women

are changing more in our lifetimes than in the past two thousand years (Dodge, 1960). A major impetus toward recognition of women's contributions and their full participation in all phases of decision-making has been the requirement of international funding agencies that development plans—which are a prerequisite for funding—must provide adequate consideration of women's issues both in impact on women and in participation of women in policy making.

But what happens when women in developing countries move into public roles? Both the International Council of Nursing and the World Health Organization include in their goals the increasing participation of women in the formation and implementation of health care policies. This requires a fundamental change for many women in developing countries, moving from the private to the public domain. Moving to the public sphere influences women's roles in ways not yet understood. While role concepts have been developed almost exclusively in Western societies, even in the West there is limited research related to a shift in domains.

"Public" and "private" are conceptual categories that have been around at least as long as the ancient Greeks (Elshtain, 1981). Since then, the public sphere has been considered men's territory where decisions are made and history is formed; the private sphere is woman's world, where domestic activities

transpire (Stacy & Price, 1981). A man's status, however poorly defined the term, is measured by success in the public domain (Smith, 1974), while a woman's overall success depends in large part on her success as a mother (Dwyer, 1978). While there is a large and growing body of knowledge regarding the movement of women into the public sphere, there is a beginning concern about the erosion of women's roles as men move into the private sphere. As men are welcomed into the Western kitchen, women no longer have a private territory to command (Stacy & Price, 1981).

Traditionally, the family has provided social and welfare services. As government and social institutions (dominated by men) exercise more control over these functions the private world of women is narrowed further still (Aswad, 1976). This aspect of "public" versus "private" domain requires much more exploration. Jacqueline (1976) points out that women in developing countries lose control of resources they now possess as wives and mothers by adopting Western strategies of child care and paid employment. Poor women who enter the public domain of paid employment continue with their domestic duties and necessary household and child-care services without the benefit of the labor-saving devices their more affluent sisters possess, while men continue with little if any variance to their routine (Birdsall & McGreevey, 1983).

If nurses and nursing are to contribute significantly to the health of a country by active involvement in policy formation,

then strategies for shifting from the private to the public sphere (and possibly back again) need to be developed. Change strategies have been studied a great deal in the last few decades, but little emphasis has been placed on the roles of women in effecting change in developing countries. The one clear factor which emerges is that different situations require different strategies (Benne, Benne, Chin & Corey, 1978). Still unanswered is the situational question: What do we know about women's roles in health care in developing countries, and their contributions, if any, to overall policy up to this time?

The Significance of the Problem

Studies on development programs indicate that if the total life situation is not considered, the overall effect of development on women's lives is often detrimental. On the socio-economic scale, when mechanization is introduced, differences between men and women become greater; in rural communities, women are often not permitted access to technical and training assistance. Further, what has traditionally been considered "women's work" becomes less valued as the price tag on "men's work" goes up with modernization and development (Rihani, 1978).

One of the chief deficiencies in attempts to examine the manifold dimensions of women's roles and related status in developing countries, particularly in the Islamic world, is a near total lack of adequate fundamental information (Buvinic, 1976).

Both policy development and implementation will continue to be hampered in varying degrees as long as this inadequate knowledge base persists. Good will and intellectual commitment are not sufficient to effect the full participation of women in the public domain.

The necessity of involving women in the planning stage of development programs has evolved from a survey of past mistakes (Childers, 1976). Error, to be sure, has not been confined to the omission of feminine input, but in developing countries especially, this exclusion "has whittled down women's pre-existing functions and status in relation to men" (Mead, 1976, p. vii). There is mounting evidence, both in the United States and in developing countries, of marked disparity between the views of society's planners and the disadvantaged population they are meant to serve (Benveniste, 1977; Buvinic, 1976; Gilbert & Eaton, 1963; Grosser, 1963; Kramer, 1969; Myrdal, 1968; Rihani, 1978).

Navarro (1976) asserts that under capitalism it is the upper- and upper-middle-class male elite who exert the most influence on health and health policy. The degree to which this is true in socialistically or autocratically governed countries is not addressed, but Masson (1981) declares that the form of government is immaterial; internationally, the group which controls health policy in each country closely resembles the policy-making elite Navarro identified. Unfortunately, the "trickle down" method of

planning by the elite simply does not work (Buvinic, Lycette & McGreevey, 1983).

Aside from the issue of who is involved in planning, much of the difficulty inherent in current development can be traced to erroneous basic assumptions (Rihani, 1978). As traced by Rihani, representative doubtful, questionable, or incorrect assumptions include the following:

Assumption: Men are the principle laborers in any society.

Fact: The limitation of accounting methods prevents accurate measurement of women's labor and its contribution to a country's economy. An extensive study by Boserup (1970) of Asian, African, and Latin American women indicates that changes in technology widen the gap between levels of knowledge and training for men and women, increasing men's prestige at the expense of women. In Turkey, it is women who now spend backbreaking hours bent over the crops in the fields while men drive the tractors and flat-bed trucks.

Assumption: Men are the traditional heads of households.

Fact: A universally accepted operational definition of what it means to be "head of household" has yet to be developed. Bennett, Oppong, and Jelin (cited in Rihani, 1978) all offer supporting evidence which indicates increasing rural-urban migration often gives women increasing control over all aspects of running the household. In addition, the traditional role of the

mothers-in-law in controlling resources and the lives of not only their daughters and daughters-in-law, but also those of the men in the family is often overlooked. Who controls which resources and what value is placed on these resources are not known.

Assumption: Men are the primary breadwinners and their wages constitute family incomes.

Fact: To illustrate, Aswad (1967) studied women who gained control over land when no male survived to do so in a village near the Syrian border in Turkey. Ownership and control provided significant political as well as economic power with a concomitant respect from both men and women. Another instance might include the introduction of cottage industries in Turkey. Women are contracted to do rug-weaving, sewing, and embroidery. Young girls and children are also enlisted in these endeavors; men then control the sale of the products and the income derived from them (Leghorn & Parker, 1981).

Assumption: Men and women have equal access to educational opportunities.

Fact: Statistics from UNESCO and World Education documents demonstrate that the percentage of females actually in the classroom is always lower than that of males and that the dropout figures for females are always higher whenever there is no special effort to integrate women in formal educational programs. Those females likely to continue their education beyond the

elementary level are more often than not from families with higher incomes.

Assumption: Men and women eat proportionate shares of the food available to the family.

Fact: Boulding (1975) suggests women may not receive adequate nutritional and caloric intake because of the cultural patterns which cause men to be served not only the best part of the food, but served first. Children may be even worse off. In developing countries, women in their child-bearing years and children under the age of five comprise forty percent of the population; malnutrition is a problem of critical proportions (Gish, 1974).

Research needs are nearly overwhelming.

Research blinded by certain erroneous assumptions might harm women more than help them. Programs based on biased evidence generally are pre-established failures, and evidence based on such conceptions perpetuates what is far worse than ignorance about women: "scientific" myths about both women and men.

(Buvinic, 1976, p. 1)

In addition to the general problems of not including the target population in the planning process and false assumptions about women in developing countries in general, there are more specific research flaws related to the Middle East. Much of the portrayal of Islamic women in past and contemporary literature

does not reflect an accurate picture as it is the representation of women as seen through the eyes of men (Fernea & Bezirgan, 1977). Before the Oil Crisis of 1973, the average Westerner had very little accurate information about any aspect of the Middle East. Said (1981) believes the information which was available via the halls of academe was only marginally culturally oriented. The studies of academics were supported by governments or private enterprise for purposes of policy or profit and were of an exploitive nature. Even today, Said claims, newspaper reporters, lacking both the language of the countries involved and cultural awareness, look at the Middle East from grossly uninformed perspectives.

For the right, Islam represents barbarism; for the left, medieval theocracy; for the center, a kind of distasteful exoticism. In all camps, however, there is agreement that even though little enough is known about the Islamic world, there is not much to be approved of there (Said, 1981, p. 16).

Women's issues have been recognized as legitimate research concerns since the 1970s. In the research published on Middle Eastern women before the last decade or so, Keddie (1976) lists six major causes of error.

1. Historical errors result from inadequate attention to women's roles and statuses. One finds a similar picture when

examining the contributions of Black women in U.S. history and, to a lesser extent, the contributions of White women as well (Joseph & Lewis, 1981).

2. Class differences are frequently more pronounced in the Middle East where there is a much wider gap between rich and poor, the educated and the uneducated, urban and rural women. The class of the women studied is often not mentioned, and when it is, there is a tendency to drift into generalities across class levels. This is also true of research conducted on women in the West (Bunch & Myers, 1974).

3. The effect of obscuring possible causes for the differentiated treatment of men and women is a result of the desire to judge a society on its own norms and avoid ethnocentricity.

4. As in many regions of the world, statistics from the public sector in the Middle East are often unreliable, unavailable for parts of the population, or otherwise incomplete. Statistical analyses are bound to be inaccurate.

5. Significant aspects of sexual behavior remain unexplained in the Middle East because of the general avoidance of the topic in research.

6. There has been an inadequate theoretical base underlying the majority of women's studies in the Middle East until very recently.

Mernissi (1975) writing in Beyond the Veil, felt it necessary to add a preface "for the Western reader." She comments that traditionally the lot of Muslim women has been discussed by comparison, either implicitly or explicitly, with Western women. This has led to false assumptions by both East and West: any attempt to liberate women is seen as succumbing or surrendering to Western values; and the women's liberation movement has been viewed almost exclusively in certain circles as a religious problem. Mernissi concludes: "Any change in male-female relations is a threat ... and a direct attack on the traditional coherence between Muslim ideology and Muslim reality" (p. 41).

A number of social and cultural aspects of present-day Islamic society are incorrectly considered by Westerners to be religious in nature. The custom of veiling women is an example. The veil was not instituted by Islam, but is a carry-over from Christian Byzantium. It was adopted as a sign of status in the upper classes of the Ottoman Empire and was then spread throughout the Islamic world. Even today, the practice of veiling women varies from country to country, from class to class, and from region to region in Muslim countries. Many of the strictly religious laws concerning women, divorce, and inheritance are also differently interpreted in different branches of Islam and in different Islamic countries. The religion of Islam is not static but dynamic. The Prophet Mohammed (may he rest in peace) insisted

on a number of reforms which were considered radical in his day; certain rights which he granted to women are sometimes abridged in Islamic countries, just as they are in non-Islamic countries. Social aspects of the culture need to be carefully distinguished from religious aspects. (References can be found in Beck & Keddie, 1980; El-Saadawi, 1980; Fernea & Bezirgan, 1977; Patai, 1976; and Rahman, 1979).

Islam, Christianity, and Judaism hold similar principles in so far as the submission of women is concerned. Particular societies determine what form submission will take in expression (El-Saadawi, 1980, p. 231). All religions have their share of extreme fundamentalists; main-stream believers would be unlikely to choose them as their representatives, but it is the extremists who catch at the pens of reporters.

Throughout Islamic history, there have been exceptional women in the public domain who were recognized for their wisdom, their saintliness, and their political influence. Women in public roles, though rare, are not unheard of, especially in religion and social service areas (Abu-Saad, 1979; Afetinan, 1962; Fernea & Bezirgan, 1977).

Tradition becomes less important as women become more educated, wealthy and urban. Traditional roles in the Middle East are much more in evidence among the poor, illiterate, and rural women in society. Increasing evidence suggests, however, that the

transplanted, rural, illiterate peasant woman is more isolated than her rural or urban sister of the same class (Leghorn & Parker, 1981).

It is not only men who believe that the traditional role of woman is said to achieve its highest expression as wife and mother—a large majority of women in the Islamic countries still adhere to the idea (Nasr, 1981, p. 213). Women are seen by themselves as in need of protection and completely subject to the will of husband or father, or to brother in the absence of these (Beck & Keddie, 1980; Fernea & Bezirgan, 1977).

Patai (1976) describes the Islamic world as a series of three concentric circles. The largest outer circle comprises all Islamic countries, with an estimated population of about 900 million; the second, inner circle which includes Turkey, he calls the Middle East; the third, inmost circle is the Arab world. Whether Arab, Middle Eastern, or member of the larger Islamic world, Muslims share many aspects of their cultural heritage and Islam is the overwhelming cultural factor (Mansfield, 1972). The specific cultures, however, are very different, and one cannot generalize from one to the other except in the broadest terms (Rahman, 1979).

In Summary

The acceptance of women's issues as development policy issues is an established fact (Buvinic, Lycette, & McGreevey, 1983). The

translation of women's issues into development plans is hampered by the meager research available and the distorted picture presented in the past (and often accepted in the present) by the ill-informed and the uninvolved. Among other recommendations, Buvinic (1983) suggests that one essential for achieving the participation of women in developing and implementing policies which affect them is to promote the organization of women into groups with the ability to effect change. An investigation of the social networks of Turkish women is expected to illuminate whether or how this might be accomplished in a country such as Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter is divided into three main areas. A much abbreviated history of the Anatolian peninsula, the largest portion of the modern Republic of Turkey, is pertinent background material. The review of the literature on women in Turkey contains references as far back as the eighth century, but emphasizes research from the last decade by Turkish writers. The third section is a review of the social network literature with an overview of the concepts of an exchange perspective of transactions, a component characteristic of networks.

Historical and Cultural Background:

The Republic of Turkey

The written history of the Anatolian peninsula, 97% of the land mass and the Asian portion of modern day Turkey, begins with the Hatti who lived in the central Anatolian plateau about 4000 years ago. The Hatti collected taxes on goods the Assyrians brought in from Mesopotamia [Iraq] by camel caravan, and adopted their system of cuneiform writing and book-keeping. Wedge-shaped markings were impressed on wet clay tablets, and thousands of these still survive in museums around the world. The Assyrians remained in Anatolia, as far as is known, until about 1700 B.C. when they moved out completely, replaced by the Hittites.

Though it is not certain, it is assumed the Hittites came

from Syria because of their Indo-European language. For 200 years the Hittites had been gradually moving into central Anatolia, taking over and enlarging their territory. By the year 1600 the Hittites were firmly entrenched in their empire, which included north, central and south Anatolia, northern Syria, and the old Babylonian territory of Mesopotamia. The western coast of Anatolia cradled the civilization of Troy, but its culture was very different. The Hittite reign lasted roughly a thousand years.

Around the year 1000 B.C. the Urartians, traced to the Hurians from the Caspian Sea to the north [in the U.S.S.R.], occupied the mountains in Eastern Anatolia. Though their language was not Indo-European, their cuneiform writing was similar to that of the Assyrians. The Urartians expanded their territory by unifying nomadic tribes in defense of their increasing borders; their major talent was in breeding horses for battle. At the height of Urartian power, they controlled Northern Syria, Mesopotamia, and eastern Anatolia; their capitol was Van, in the area then called Armenia. Their power declined after the ninth century B.C.

Alexander the Great came from the East, and in the space of a dozen years, conquered everything in his path from Macedonia to the Indus River, now in Pakistan. The Anatolians, who had absorbed some of the culture of the Assyrians, the Hittites and

the Urartians, were now under Hellenistic rule. Greek became the language of culture, business and government; Greeks were the ruling class, but the people of Anatolia maintained their old ways and their old languages.

In 190 B.C. the Roman legions came marching from further east, to Manisa [Magnesia then], not far from present day Izmir. The Battle of Magnesia was fought between Hannibal, the Seleucid Antiochus III, and the Roman legions. The Romans won, and pushed on across Anatolia, moving into territories occupied by Celts, Carthaginians, Greeks, Syrians, Parthians, and Egyptians. By the time of Pompey, Rome controlled Anatolia as far east as the Euphrates River. The Pax Romana (31 B.C. to 180 A.D.) was the height of the Roman Empire. Anatolia was at its most prosperous.

Because it presents a somewhat different view than that to which Western readers are accustomed, the following is quoted in full from a Turkish writer.

It was also a period of Roman persecution of the followers of "the new way", the Christian religion. Starting with Octavius, the Roman emperors had set themselves up as gods, going as far as having altars built for the purpose of emperor worship. What the early Christians did to arouse the wrath of the Roman authorities was to reject any show of respect, let alone worship, for the emperor. They criticized the pagan religions that were practiced throughout the empire

and let people believe at first that Christianity was something mysterious with their secret meetings. The one person who did the most to spread the new religion through Anatolia was the convert Paul, later known as Saint Paul. He traveled from one end of the land to the other proclaiming the teachings of Jesus Christ to the Anatolians. He founded a number of churches, the most important of which were in Pergamum [Bergama], Thyatira [Akhisar], Smyrna [Izmir], Sardis [Sart], Philadelphia [Alaşehir], Laodicea [Denizli], and Ephesus [Efes]. These are known in the Bible as the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. Saint Paul was the most effective with the poor and downtrodden to whom Christianity promised a better life in the hereafter.

The persecution of the Christians reached a climax in the year 65 A.D. when Emperor Nero, having been accused of setting the raging fire that spread through Rome, placed the blame on Christians. Thousands of them were thrown into the arena and killed by the wild animals placed there for the purpose. Despite the official persecution, the religion triumphed and spread quickly, especially in Anatolia. It was here, in a small cave in Antioch in southeastern Anatolia, that Saint Peter first used the word Christian. In 313 A.D., the Emperor Constantine declared Christianity a legal religion and, in doing so, encouraged its spread. By the fourth century A.D., it had been

proclaimed the official religion of the Roman Empire (Töksöz, p. 29, 30).

On May 11, 330 A.D., six hundred-odd years after Alexander the Great cut the Gordian knot near Ankara, Constantine the Great moved the Roman capitol to Byzantium, which he called New Rome, and inaugurated the Byzantine Empire. Byzantium is said to be named after Byzas, a Greek navigator who founded the city about the year 600 B.C., on the instruction of an Oracle at Delphi. The city was later called Constantinople, after Constantine the Great. Though the Byzantine empire lasted over a thousand years, the Seljuk Turks began conquering territory in Anatolia early in the eleventh century.

The Seljuk Turks, taking their name from a Prince of an area near the Aral Sea [in the U.S.S.R.] were originally from the steppes of Central Asia. The tribe was a warrior tribe, and was strong enough by the tenth century, to move down into Persia [Iran] where they encountered Islam, embraced it with fervor, and moved toward Anatolia, attracting converts along the way who likewise took up the sword for Islam. In 1071 the Seljuk Turks won their first important battle against Byzantium, and by the end of the eleventh century occupied most of Anatolia. In 1097 the Byzantines took advantage of the first crusade to win back some of their lost territory; the Seljuks threw off the invaders of the second and third crusades. The crusaders, persuaded by the

Venetians to attack their chief rival in spite of the Pope's admonitions to the contrary, sacked Constantinople during the fourth crusade in 1204. They kept the city burning for eight days, destroying one-third of the houses, looting the inhabitants of their gold, silver, and jewels, and melted down church ornaments and rifled graves for plunder. The Christian crusaders occupied the city of Constantinople until 1261, when it was recovered by the Byzantines. The Byzantine Empire, however, never fully recovered.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, the Mongols swept into Anatolia, and effectively ended the Seljuk period and began the Ottoman period.

The Ottoman Turks continued the assaults of the Seljuks, driving the Byzantines to the shores of the Bosphorus and tried for two hundred years to capture Constantinople. Mehmet the Conqueror, on the night of April 21-22, 1453, had his forces drag his fleet of about seventy small ships overland from the Bosphorus to the Golden Horn. His men then ferried themselves across to the land walls of Constantinople, and after a long seige, on May 29, 1453, Constantinople fell to the Ottomans. The Byzantine Empire gave way to the Ottoman Empire, after lasting exactly eleven hundred twenty-three years and eighteen days. The city was renamed once again, and became Istanbul. The Ottoman Empire became synonymous with the Islamic Empire; since the time of the

Seljuks the Sultan was also the Caliph, or religious leader. At its height, the Ottoman Empire reached from Vienna in the West, covered the Balkan states and Anatolia, and stretched out to India in the East. The Ottomans controlled North Africa and all of the Arabian peninsula. The pinnacle of Ottoman rule was the reign of Süleyman, the Magnificent, also known as The Lawgiver. During his reign (1520 - 1566) codified laws, education, and Ottoman art and architecture were at their peak. It was the time of the architect Sinan, thought to be the greatest in Ottoman history. The Ottoman Empire began its decline following the death of Süleyman.

In World War I, Turkey was an ally of Germany; Mustafa Kemal Atatürk defeated the Australian and British forces at Gallipoli, emerging as a national hero. During the Turkish War of Independence, 1919 - 1923, Atatürk successfully fought against the partition of the country, which had been granted to the Allied Powers by the treaty of Sevres in 1920. On the 29th of October, 1923, Turkey was proclaimed a Republic, with Atatürk its first president.

Atatürk forced the Ottoman Sultan to abdicate, dissolved the Caliphate, restricted the powers of religious leaders, instituted a secular government, abolished the fez, ended polygamy, proclaimed freedom of worship, gave women equal rights, and insisted the alphabet be latinized from the Arabic script then in use for Ottoman Turkish. "Only Islam has had greater impact on

Turkey than Kemal Atatürk" (Nyrop, 1980).

Turkish Women

The early Turkish tribes of central Asia held a high regard for women. Households had separate male and female gods; women and men were both required to participate in the government of the land; to be valid, orders had to be issued by both the king and queen (Kaplan, 1951).

In the eighth century, the Orhun inscriptions mention the political activities of the Oğuz princesses; many women were known to petition the princesses to offer intercessory prayers to enable them to give birth to daughters. Young women fought duels, it is said, with the young men who wished to marry them—and refused the suitor unless he was able to defeat them with sword and shield (Cunbur, 1967).

As European peoples were influenced by the cultures of Greece and Rome, the Turkish peoples were heavily influenced by the early Persians. Zerdusht, the national religion of Persia before Islam, held women to be symbols of filth and evil; the wicked gods were represented as female. Women were deprived of all rights, and it was this state of affairs which Mohammed (may he rest in peace) sought to be correct. He said: "Woman is the equal of Man and the other half of the society" (Doğramacı, 1982).

Through the time of the Seljuks, Turkish women preserved their old customs. But from 1299 until 1918 Turkish women were

subjects of the Ottoman Empire, a Muslim empire, which introduced the influences of both Persia and Byzantium, and women's rights and station deteriorated from the high level enjoyed prior to the introduction of Islam. By the fifteenth century, the Persian and Byzantine custom of segregating the sexes was introduced into the palace by the Sultan; the Harem (women's section) and the Selamlık (men's section) came into being. The palace officials and wealthy men of the city were not slow to follow, and harem life and polygamy spread among the upper classes, eventually becoming the custom (Uluçay, 1971).

The only men allowed into the harem, or women's section of the houses, were the husband and close relatives whom the women could not marry by Islamic law, such as uncles and brothers. Neither men nor women had any say in whom they would marry, though perhaps the men had more influence; marriage partners were arranged by the parents of both. Divorce was easy for men under Islamic law during the Ottoman times; a man merely said "I divorce thee," and it was done.

A man could even take an oath in respect of something that did not concern his wife saying that his marriage would be deemed to have come to an end if things did not develop in a certain way, and if things did not develop in that way his marriage would in fact end. Although this kind of divorce was very exceptional, it shows the extent of the men's

privilege in these matters. It should be added that divorce was not favored by Mohammed and was even in conflict with Turkish customs so that the extensive rights granted to men were not abused in Anatolia. Nevertheless, women had no protection against divorce. (Doğramacı, 1982, p. 9).

Though the real turning point in the emancipation of women in Turkey came with the national struggle for independence (Abadan, 1967), there were serious efforts to increase the educational opportunities for girls as early as 1864, during the time of the reform period. The army opened a technical primary school strictly for orphan girls that year; another was opened in 1869. Toward the end of 1904 the admission standards were changed so that girls from middle class families were applying and being accepted (Doğramacı, 1982).

The first teacher's training school for women was opened in Istanbul in 1870; by 1876 the new constitution contained provisions for equal educational opportunities for both boys and girls through the primary school years. Women were first admitted to university classes in 1914 with separate facilities. In 1920 women were admitted to Istanbul University for the first time, with separate classrooms; they boycotted the classes and later in the same year began attending classes with male colleagues (Doğramacı, 1982).

Nursing education in Turkey began just after the War of

Independence, in 1924. Two schools were opened in Istanbul that year, within a few months of each other: the Admiral Bristol Hospital School of Nursing and the Red Crescent School of Nursing. Both are four-year lise programs, still operating, and both have excellent reputations throughout Turkey. In 1984 there were 89 of the four-year lise programs, and five baccalaureate programs for nursing in Turkey. Hacettepe University, in Ankara, offers a masters degree in nursing. The 1970 Census lists nearly 33 thousand nurses and midwives.

During the War of Independence women formed their own units and served at the front. The most famous of them was Halide Edip, a "writer, novelist, and warrior" (Nadi, 1960). She gave an inflammatory speech in Istanbul in 1919, credited with being responsible for inciting thousands of her countrymen and women to join the fight for independence—so much so that she was one of six persons sentenced to death by the Sultan's court. She escaped, and after a spectacular career as visiting professor in universities as diverse as Columbia University (1930-1932) and the Islamic University in Delhi (1935), was appointed lecturer in the department of English Literature at Istanbul University. In 1950 she was elected a member of the Parliament; she held the seat until 1954, when she retired. Probably more than any other woman, she showed the women in Turkey what they could do (Doğramacı, 1982).

In the early 20th century a number of women's journals and

magazines were founded, which also helped to prepare the way for Atatürk's massive reforms. Mehasin, 1908; Kadın Bahçesi and Kadın Dünyası, both 1912; Kadın Duygusu, Kadın Alemi ve Kadınlık, 1913; and Kadın Hayatı, 1918, were vehicles for male and female writers who pushed strongly for equal opportunities for women.

By 1926 the Civil Code (modeled on the Swiss Family Code) replaced the old Holy Law. Polygamy (though never very widely practiced in Turkey [Levine, 1982]) was prohibited; divorce was moved to the law courts; women were given equal rights to men in suing for divorce; marriage was made a civil ceremony; women could become guardians of their children; women were given equal property tenure and inheritance laws; and women were given equal pay for equal work. Both men and women had to appear in person for a marriage to take place, which prevented young girls being married without their consent. By 1934, the laws were amended to read that all citizens over 21 could vote and all over 30 could be elected to office.

Woodsmall (1960) in a comprehensive review of the status of women in Turkey from 1930 - 1950, credited the progress to Atatürk's central aim of realizing the potential of women. It is instructive to note in this regard that in the countries where "women's movements" have been the strongest—Turkey, Egypt, Algeria, and before the Ayatollah, Iran—during their periods of greatest gains, powerful men in leadership positions in the governments concerned were supporting them (Beck & Keddie, 1980; Fernea & Bezirgan, 1977; Nadia, 1981).

Abadan (1967) suggests that tradition was an important social control "in immobile isolated villages where change was slow and experience was the only teacher" (p. 83). She says that likewise, the rule of tradition which stated women were inferior by nature "applied only as long as she was given no opportunities to try alternatives to her assigned sexual and work roles" (p. 83). Young people are more likely to take advantage of increased opportunities, and are no longer replicas of their parents.

This section would not be complete without the mention of Gökalp. He was a strong supporter of women's rights, writing in the late Ottoman period. He is credited with the distinction of being the philosopher and the man of ideas, and with reviving Turkish national pride. It was this which Atatürk exploited and manipulated so successfully in creating the modern Turkish State. It was from Gökalp that Atatürk derived the idea of keeping what was essential in Islam and discarding what would hamper the progress of the modern society he envisioned (Shaw & Shaw, 1977). Ensuring that women are equal under the law, however, has led to two different interpretations. Traditionalists declare Turkish women have deserted their Islamic heritage; modernists assert Turkish women are a model for other women in the Middle East (Afetinan, 1972). The Turkish people themselves have a third interpretation—they are returning to an older heritage than Islam. "Among ancient peoples, no ethnic group granted to women as many rights or showed them as much respect as did the Turks" (Gökalp, 1968, p. 113).

Turkish Women Today

Education

Literacy rates for both women and men have been steadily rising in Turkey since 1927. In 1927, 17.4% of males over the age of six were literate; 4.6% of females over the age of six. By 1975 (the last census available) the figures for men are 75.1%; for women 48.1%. Özbay (1982) points out, however, that the gap between the literacy rate of men and women is widening; men are becoming literate at a faster rate than women.

Kandiyoti (1982) found the poor women in the gecekondu (shantytowns) showed a marked generational difference. About half the mothers were illiterate, but all the daughters attended primary school and many went on to secondary school. Kandiyoti stated however, that the formal education had no relevance to the life styles in their environments: "It is the popular mass media, such as television and simple reading materials like photocomics and women's magazines that have an influence on women" (Kandiyoti, 1982, p. 106). The public schools, she states, promote an "alien bourgeois culture".

Timur (1978) points out that the educational differential between men and women in Turkey is the highest in the world. Latin America and Far Eastern countries, assumed to be about the same level of development, show a much lower differential. Öncü (1982) pointed out an anomaly in Turkey, against this background: there is a very high rate of participation of educated middle- and upper-middle class women in

the professions in Turkey. One in five of the lawyers in Turkey is a woman; one in six physicians. She suggests it is because recruiting elite women into the professions is less threatening to the established social structure than would be the entry of men from a peasant background. An interesting side-light related to the same topic was the finding of Çavda1, Tümay, and Yurtseven (1976) that, in round numbers, of the 55,000 university students the previous year, only 17,000 were women. Only 2.6% of all women university entrance examination applicants were from a village background, though village women made up 51% of the population.

Kandiyoti (1978) in a study of mother-daughter pairs in Istanbul found 30% of the daughters of the upper-class women had university degrees, compared to 1.2% in the mothers' group. More women than men who are university applicants have fathers who are white-collar workers or professionals, as well (Çavda1, Tümay & Yurtseven, 1976).

Erkut's (1982) study indicated that the Turks are dualistic in terms of valuing education for women; they encourage and support it for some, but educational opportunities for all women are not available. Though primary school is compulsory for all, it is not enforced equally for boys and girls. For the school year 1974-75, urban girls made up 46% of the enrollment; in rural schools only 43%. Erkut assumed the population was nearly equal. Once primary school is completed, there are less opportunities for girls to go on to secondary school: not every village has a secondary school; those towns which do have schools

have less dormitory space available for girl students, even though attendance is based on merit. In higher education, the situation is still more acute: in 1974-75, schools of higher education in Turkey had room for only 16% of the applicants. Limited facilities favor the selection of urban over rural and higher over lower income applicants. In 1975 27.7% of females in Turkey had completed primary school, 3.2% completed secondary school, 2.6% were graduated from high school, and 0.4% from higher education. The same categories for men have the following percentages: 42%, 6.5%, 4.9%, and 1.6%. A further finding of this study was that although fewer women went on to higher education, those who did were more successful than their male counterparts.

Erkut's conclusion is that the success of the few is made possible by the failures of the many—elite women can enter professions because it is no burden on the men in the family and they have adequate household and child-care help. The sheer numbers of uneducated women employed as domestics and child-care workers, she states, is unlikely to give domestic female workers any edge in changing their status in the near future. One way in which the status quo might change, she suggests, is if inflation or economic depression becomes more severe, professional women will no longer be able to afford domestic help. Both classes of women will suffer if that is the case. Poor women might be able to raise their economic level if massive industrial development should occur, but the demand would be for uneducated, or at best

semi-skilled women; not an event likely to raise educational levels or opportunities. On the contrary, it would decrease opportunity for the elite women to practice their professions; they would suffer role-overload at home; she believes the men would be unlikely to help out more at home, but would instead opt to oppose women's outside employment.

Mardin (1978) asserts the entire educational system in Turkey is in crisis. The public demand for educational opportunity has far outstripped the state's ability to supply the need. As a consequence, educational standards have fallen due to underpaid, underqualified (even unqualified) instruction, over-crowded classrooms, and stress on memorization rather than experimental learning.

In summary, the educational opportunities for women in Turkey favor the urban elite. Though urban elite men have relatively more access to higher education than women, elite women have more access than nonelite men. Education is a scarce commodity, and access to it for rural poor women is difficult.

Women at Home: The Private Domain

Though the private domain of women in Turkey has not been studied as such, there is considerable data available from other types of studies to give a general description of family structure and family life. Because of the focus of interest, development projects and studies designed to aid development projects, have

focused on women's opportunities and activities outside the home, in the public domain. Kuyas (1982) suggests the socio-cultural conditions prevailing in the domestic sphere are of more importance to the women in Turkey than employment; that employment per se has little if any effect on values and attitudes. The public domain is discussed in the next section.

Three main types, or categories, of families are identified in Turkey; the nuclear family of conjugal couple and children if any; the transient extended family, in which the son is the head of the household; and the patriarchal extended family, in which the father is the head of household (Kâğıtçıbaşı, 1975; Timur, 1972). Nuclear families account for about 80% of the households; patriarchal extended families about 13%; the transient extended families make up the remainder. Single person households are not reported in Turkey; people do not live alone. In rural areas, extended families are associated with large landholdings, nuclear families with small holdings. Duben (1982) suggests it is because only the wealthy can support an extended family that they stay together; a small farm makes it economically impossible to support any but a nuclear family.

There is also the question of what constitutes an "extended" family. Do they have to live under one roof? Kongar (1972), in a study of families in Izmir, found 64% of the families had relatives at least in an adjacent neighborhood and all were deeply

involved in each other's lives. About a third of the families in all classes in that study visited relatives every day. Dirks (1969) found 64% of the women in his study visited their parents once or twice a week, and 68% of the men did. Fully one fourth of the women in Dirks' study visited their parents daily. Duben suggests it is more useful to think of the extended family household as any household which is multigenerational and shares common consumption, economic activities and a common budget (Duben, 1982, p. 94).

Duben suggests it is a widespread myth in Turkey that people in the countryside live in large, extended, patriarchal families, and as they migrate to the cities separate into modern nuclear families. Olson (1982) agrees with Duben; there is not now, and probably never has been a preponderance of extended families in Turkey, certainly not in the last 140 years. It is true that there is a larger percentage of extended families in rural areas (about 25%), compared with 4% in metropolitan areas, but there is no indication the percentages are changing.

Both Kuyaş (1982) and Kâğıtçıbaşı (1982) looked at the patriarchal aspect of families in terms of male dominance; their interest was on sex roles rather than place of residence. Kagitcibasi looked at the value of children, differences in male and female values, and family dynamics.

The five most important values for women, significant beyond

the .001 level, were found to be:

To be close to spouse	62.5%
To have a happy home	57.3%
Financial security	28.7%
Carry on family name	15.7%
To be remembered after death	15.7%

For men the important values were:

To have a happy home	43.1%
Financial security	32.5%
Carry on family name	28.8%
To be remembered after death	22.0%
To be accepted by others	21.8%

(from Kâğıtçıbaşı, 1982, p. 157).

"To be close to spouse" was listed number six by men (19.2%). Kâğıtçıbaşı's interpretation is that this indicates women value their relationships with spouses more than men do. From the data given, this would seem to be correct, but one wonders how much these responses reflect met and/or unmet needs. An important consideration too, is that these values were selected by respondents from a predetermined list. It also seems important that there is a much wider spread in the range of men and women reporting preselected values as most important. "Having a happy home" was of major importance to women and men; exactly what this means needs further investigation.

Kâğıtçıbaşı studied all three types of families, as mentioned earlier, but findings are not reported for the separate types. Her conclusions in general are that both men and women report males make more decisions at home, and there are low levels of communication and sharing between spouses. Values about decision making were not assessed.

Kuyaş (1982) studied not only who made the decisions (as perceived by the wife) but her normative preferences. The study included only lower and middle class women in Istanbul, 60 employed women and 60 housewives in each class. In this study, middle class women who perceived egalitarian relationships expressed a preference for sharing in their marital interactions. Their values on femininity were divided between traditional home-oriented measures of achievement and more progressive aspirations such as employment and social and public responsibilities. Lower class women consistently perceived themselves as under male control, expressed a preference for male decision-making, and their measures of achievement were stated in instrumental, caring-for-others terms. Kuyaş believed the most striking finding of the study was in the instances where lower class women experienced a difference in values and behaviour, their values were consistently more conservative—they preferred more male control.

Fişek (1982), Kâğıtçıbaşı (1981), Kandiyoti (1977), and Köknel (1970) all suggest that the physical and social segregation

of men and women, and women's heavy domestic responsibilities of household work and child care severely limit the possibility of role sharing. If mutual time-sharing does not occur, it is difficult to see how mutual decision-making can take place. The men spend their time in public places, making decisions where they are.

Fişek (1982) indicates it is economic power which determines status in the family. In her analysis, in traditional families the paternal grandparents have the most control and status; as economic power increases with the son, control passes to him, but the parents continue to have strong influence, especially on the bride. Sex seems to have more of an effect on status than age; though a son increases his mother's status when he is born, as he becomes older and economically productive his status exceeds hers. In the event that the maternal in-laws have more influence in the family, it is because they have more to offer in the way of financial support. In old age, it is the son who supports his parents, not the son-in-law.

Kâğıtçıbaşı (1982) demonstrated a difference in the preference of boys over girls by parents, based on economic class. While men and women of both classes preferred boy children over girl children, there were significant differences in the reasons. Poor families wanted sons more for economic security; those in the upper classes wanted them more for psychological reasons. The

same held true for those who wanted girl children, however (more women than men): the women in the lower classes wanted girls to help out with the housework and care of other children, while women in the upper classes wanted daughters more for their psychological rewards.

Fişek (1982), Kağıtçıbaşı (1981), Köknel (1970), and Öztürk (1969) all indicate that children in Turkish families are brought up in an atmosphere of strong love and strong control. Very young children are indulged, but autonomous action is not encouraged; activity, talkativeness, curiosity, and initiative are discouraged, while meekness, respect, compliance and quietness are encouraged and rewarded. Obedience to authority is prized above all else, and cuts across all classes and both sexes. The difference arises when the boys become men and authorities. There is some evidence, however, that the pattern toward egalitarianism does develop as families become more educated, wealthy and urbanized (Timur, 1972; Kongar & Kuyas, 1982).

Perhaps Levine (1982) summarized it best:

As Turkey changes, consciousness develops among women about their roles and about the inequalities inherent in them. With this comes increased assertiveness and a demand that men change along with women in their behavior and attitudes. For men who can adapt, social change poses no source of marital stress, but for those who insist on traditional roles for

their wives, a societal striving for women's equality becomes a personal struggle for freedom in the home (Levine, 1982, p. 339).

Olson (1982) disputes the view that Turkey is "evolving" from an extended patriarchal family style to a "western" egalitarian conjugal role relationship for two reasons. She doesn't believe there was ever a very large proportion of extended patriarchal families, therefore that is not an appropriate model to evolve from. Second, she believes Turkey has had, and has, duo-focal families, the relationships in the family focus neither on patriarch nor matriarch, but each has his and her separate sphere of influence. Olson uses the term focus in a network sense; adult males and females each have a network of relationships of which each is the focus for that family; these networks of relationships extend beyond the boundaries of family, kinship, and neighborhood.

Olson argues there is an unexplored difference between sexual separateness and sexual dominance. Fallers and Fallers (1976) indicate that women in Turkey escape male dominance by the amount of autonomy they possess in the domestic sphere. This is congruent with the idea of Jacquette (1976), that women give up controls when men invade their worlds.

Olson-Prather (1976) suggests there is a myth of male dominance to which both men and women subscribe in public. Men may actually believe more in the myth than women do, however.

When actual behavior is studied, she states, men tend to underestimate the degree of autonomy of women, and the magnitude and the intensity of the women's relationships with other women. Husbands are especially prone to ignorance of the private domain in relation to the wife's freedom to visit and shop; key issues in the private domain.

Olson cites spatial separation as a key factor in the social interaction of Turkish men and women; even in their leisure hours women and men of all classes spend their time in typically uni-sex groups, except when they are with their families. The social behavior in families demonstrates more "togetherness" than the stereotype would suggest; the entire family eats meals together, visits together, and fathers and grandfathers as often as mothers and female relatives take small children, even daughters, with them when they visit their male friends or go to the coffee houses. Even within the family, however, the most intimate relationships tend to be with members of the same sex (p. 45).

In Olson's (1982) view, a Turkish marriage is better described as "a juxtaposition of two networks" than the dyadic relationship of two individuals.

Olson (1982) suggests that it remains to be seen whether joint conjugal role relationships will develop in Turkey under the conditions in which they appear to develop in more industrialized societies: "a high degree of geographical and social mobility,

social isolation, [and] involvement in small-scale agriculture" (p. 65); so far, those conditions do not obtain in Turkey.

Women at Work: The Public Domain

It is important to define conceptually the different types of work women do in terms of economics and domain. Generally speaking, the work women do falls into three categories: unpaid family labor, such as cleaning, cooking, housekeeping and child care; income producing employment, such as working in a family business or in agricultural production; and employment for which the women are paid. A fourth category not often considered is volunteer work. It is unpaid, and may or may not be income producing; the chief distinction is that it is not income producing for either the woman or her family, but some outside organization or institution. Only the unpaid family labor falls entirely within the private domain.

No studies of volunteer work are reported in Turkey; this review of the literature is confined to unpaid family labor and employment for wages, as related to women.

In 1970, 83% of the female labor force in Turkey worked as unpaid family labor, the majority in agricultural production (Ergil, 1977). Özbay (1982) describes the Turkish situation as undergoing what she terms "the feminization of agriculture" (p. 147). This is due to two factors: men have to seek cash producing income in towns and cities; and with the mechanization

of agriculture, men drive the tractors and operate the farm machinery while women are left with the manual, menial tasks such as hazel nut gathering and tea picking. This work is income producing for the family, but the women do not do the marketing or deal with purchasers. Any contacts with others in the public domain are conducted by men. Özbay believes the trend in Turkey is toward more mechanization, with smaller farms merging with larger ones, so the situation for women is likely to get worse instead of better. In an earlier study (1979) Özbay found that in rural areas, employment decreases with education; 92% of the working women in villages had less than a primary school education, while only 5% of those with a secondary education worked outside the home. Seasonal workers, such as those who go from farm to farm during the harvest season, work for pay but they do not receive the income—the disburser puts the money into the hands of the men in the family.

In urban areas, women's employment shows just the opposite; the more education a woman has, the more likely she is to work. Throughout Turkey, however, the participation of women in the labor force is relatively slight, about 11% in 1980 (Kazgan, 1982). The uneducated women in cities are employed in low-paid, low-prestige, and usually unorganized jobs (Kandiyoti, 1982). Kandiyoti also suggests that female minors who work without proper papers often escape being in the statistics, so the true figure is

unknown. It is mainly single women in the urban areas who enter the work force, work for a few years, then marry and leave, since only 2% of the men report having wives who work outside the home.

As poor women become educated in Turkey, through secondary school, their employment opportunities are limited; they have relatively few skills, and low paying jobs such as those for sales clerks, hairdressers, and manicurists have few openings (Şenyapılı, 1982). These young women with minimal education are unwilling to enter domestic service, because a little education provides them with higher aspirations. This in turn, as pointed out by Erkut, limits the opportunities their more educated countrywomen can avail themselves of, since there is no child care or other household help readily available (Kandiyoti, 1982).

Kuyaş (1982) indicates that women who work outside the home tend to be concentrated in a narrow range of "female" occupations; Levine (1982) suggests that what appears to be a non-discriminatory policy (equal pay for equal work) in fact does discriminate; men will not do the low-paying work.

There is "some reason to think that the role played by employment ... has been overestimated in view of the social barriers facing women's emancipation in Turkey (Kuyaş, 1982, p. 187). Women of the lower and middle classes work because they have to, because the family is unable to survive without two incomes. The findings from Kuyaş' study demonstrate that women's

income cannot be counted as a resource; lower class women had no control over family expenditures before employment, and none after—and wanted none in either instance. It is only in the case of very high income, where both husband and wife are highly paid that the higher buying power made possible by a woman's employment is really free for anyone to spend. When both incomes are required for basic subsistence, there is no disposable income for any member of the family.

In Çitçi's (1982) study of women in the public sector, she found that middle-class women employees view themselves first as wives and mothers; they work from economic necessity, and believe paid employment hinders them in the performance of their primary tasks. Kuyaş (1982) found a slightly different pattern; though all the middle class women who worked in her study, did so from economic necessity, some found the work fulfilling in its own right. Kuyaş was looking at the issue of control in families; she found that employment did not make a difference. Those women who felt they shared control with their husbands before they went to work, continued to do so afterwards. Those who felt their husbands made all the decisions before their employment continued in that pattern—and liked it that way.

Elite, upper-class, educated women present a far different picture; if they work (about 23% of them do) it is a career and not just a job (Erkut, 1982; Kandiyoti, 1982; Olson, 1982).

Turkey, according to the statistics available in 1975 (Blitz) has one of the highest rates of women in the professions in the world. Kandiyoti (1982) suggests that women whose definition of self depends on their own perceived worth have clearer ego boundaries and more psychological freedom than other women. Olson (1976) found that in professional circles men and women show absolute equality; there is virtually no discrimination on the basis of sex. This extends to the perceptions of men and women of both classes relative to the behavioral norms of professional women. In the villages, professional women will be taken to the "guest room" along with the men, though visitors of lower class will be segregated, and even though professional women are present with the men of a lower class, lower class women will not join them.

Olson (1982) points out that spatial segregation does operate for men and women in low status, low paying occupations. In factories, men and women work in segregated areas, though they may do the same work and receive the same pay.

It is apparent from this review of the current literature on women and employment in Turkey that there is a vast difference according to social class and education; as Erkut (1982) pointed out, the two are highly interrelated, and the easier lives of the better educated women with better jobs are made possible by the exploitative nature of the domestic service the uneducated women provide. There is very little data on the women in the middle of

the scale; studies have tended to concentrate on the elite and the poor. Current writers recognize this gap, and suggest more research be conducted on the middle class. Another factor to consider is the size of the middle class: in 1973, 50% of the households earned only 16% of the income, while only 27.4% of the households received 65% of the income. The middle class is small numerically (Turkey Almanac, 1978).

Exchange Concepts and the Analysis of Social Networks

Boissevain (1974) has identified the most complete set of labels for social network concepts to date; his idea of the interactional characteristics of networks is based on exchange concepts, which will be presented first in order to avoid duplication. Relevant additions to the exchange orientation which have appeared since Boissevain's classic work are also reviewed.

In general, social exchange theory holds that
... humans avoid costly behavior and seek rewarding statuses, relationships, interaction, and feeling states to the end that their profits are maximized. Of course, in seeking rewards they voluntarily accept some costs, some rewards are foregone, but the person, group, or organization will choose the best outcome available, based on his/her/its perception of rewards and costs (Nye, 1979, p. 2).

Intellectually, social exchange theory owes a large debt to

early economic utilitarians, particularly Mill and Bentham, whose idea of "the greatest good for the greatest number" has profoundly influenced theorists in a wide cross-section of disciplines from politics to religion. Classical economic thought assumed people, as rational units in a free market, having available the necessary information, would be able to consider the available alternatives and from this consideration rationally choose the course which would maximize material benefits (Turner, 1978).

Social exchange theorists, while accepting the market-exchange concept as the basis of their own framework, recognized the limitations of these ideas. Anthropologists such as Mauss (with his conceptualization of the triune nature of gift-giving: giving, receiving, repaying), Sahlins (negative exchange categories), and Levi-Strauss (exchanges act to keep groups intact), had a tremendous impact in furthering the concepts of exchange theory (Befu, 1977). The market-exchange concepts had to take into account the fact that people only rarely attempt to maximize profits, they are not always rational, there is no such thing as a free marketplace (for ideas, goods or relationship exchanges), and no individual has, or can have, all the available information on alternatives. The economic principles were refined to suggest:

1. Humans attempt to make some profit in their transactions with each other.

2. People engage in calculations of costs and benefits in social transactions.

3. Awareness of alternatives forms the basis of the cost-benefit calculations.

4. Within certain constraints, imposed by situations and societies, people compete to maximize their profits.

5. All social transactions are a form of exchange.

6. Individuals exchange sentiments and services as well as goods.

(Adapted from Turner, 1978, p. 203).

Behavioral psychologists, chiefly Skinner (Ekeh, 1975) added operant conditioning principles to the exchange framework. All human behavior is seen as being directed toward that which is satisfying (pleasure=profit=reward), with a corresponding avoidance of, or reduction in, dissatisfaction (pain=cost=punishment). This is perceived to be true for groups as well as for individuals. Behaviors which are seen as benefit-producing tend to be repeated. Unsuccessful behaviors to which an adequate reward is not forthcoming are abandoned, as costing too much. These "exchange behaviors" are observed within individuals themselves (in choosing one alternative over another), between individuals, between an individual and a group, and between groups of varying sizes.

Homans (1961) and Blau (1964) are primarily responsible for

the major underpinnings of the framework as currently being developed by theorists in a number of disciplines.

Turner (1978) summarizes Homan's image of social organization as beginning with the individual who has resources (of whatever type) to invest. As resources are invested, a larger group emerges; people invest and earn profits from still larger groups. Organization emerges, creating secondary reinforcers and developing explicit norms. A more stratified society then operates, with those individuals having more profit obtaining a power balance over others. As even more complex structures are elaborated, the primary needs of some individuals fail to be met, they experience a net loss, so these individuals are susceptible to starting back in stage one of the described process. The major criticism of Homan's work is that he never quite defines his terms, except in relationship to each other, nor does he elaborate on the nature of the social structures developed from the exchange relations (Turner, 1978).

Blau (1964) carried the framework further by asking what kinds of reinforcers (rewards) are there? How are power and control implicated in the development of social patterns? In what ways are values and norms, cultural components, involved in regulating more complex exchanges? Is Homan's imagery of increasingly complex stratified society only a conflict between society's ability to provide rewards and the individuals's primary

needs? Blau drew on Parson's grand theory and looked at the place of ideas and cultural symbols in social organization and at the conduct of individuals in groups as they pursued rewards. Blau limits the idea of exchange to situations in which individuals expect rewards; this merely extends the tautology of Homans.

More recently Emerson (1976) has proposed to eliminate some of the tautological problems by observing each exchange as a unit. He focused attention on the relationship rather than the individuals. Emerson's scheme proposes the perceived opportunity for exchange by at least one individual; the initiation of behavior; then the transaction between individuals which is mutually rewarding. Emerson states the exchange relationship is subject to the basic processes of the use of power; his imagery is basically one of networks, and his view of power is that the person who contributes the most resources possesses the most power.

Nye (1978) prefers to use the term choice in addition to exchange, and would have it called "choice and exchange" theory, since individuals must choose among any number of alternatives in interactions.

Leventhal (1980) has elaborated from Homan's initial concept of distributive justice in social organizations what he calls equity rules. The rule of justified self-interest makes it fair, in appropriate circumstances, for a person to take as much for

himself as possible. The rule of adhering to commitments means that people should receive what has been promised to them. The rule is violated when promises are broken. The legality rule dictates fairness is violated when the distribution of reward or punishment is inconsistent with existing laws and regulations. The ownership rule dictates it is fair for people to possess rewards and resources already belonging to them. The rule is violated when those resources or rewards are taken away. The status rule dictates it is fair when persons of high social rank receive higher outcomes than those of lower social rank. It is not known whether or not these rules are culture specific. Leventhal states the rules seem empirically valid, but need testing. It is not known if the justice rule needs to be weighted, or by how much, nor are there any studies showing the actual correlation between perceived social status and perceived contributions. When individuals are preoccupied with goals of greater importance to them, concern with fairness and equity is likely to be reduced (Leventhal, 1980, p. 53). In terms of group control, if the person in charge of decision making violates the rules of fairness, the good faith of the individual is questioned.

Along the same lines, Hollander (1980) points out that a leader of a group cannot disregard the welfare of the followers; lack of group success in the fair allocation of resources removes the major benefit provided by a leader, and creates the sense of

unfair exchange; the followers gave their trust, and the leader didn't deliver.

In contrast with Nye (1978) who suggested that with the current emphasis on transactional analysis, exchange theory favors social alienation, Gergen (1980) asserts that in reality self-interest is best served by an interest in the collectivity; when social exchange theory is thoughtfully considered, one "may begin to sense the necessity for a community of all" (Gergen, 1980, p. 279).

Fromkin and Snyder (1980) develop the concept of conformity; pressure to conformity of group norms is present in any group; group life requires consensus and interdependent action, but in any group the need for approval and affiliation compete with the need for uniqueness. Gergen (1980) and Blau (1964) suggest conformity and cohesion prevail when the rewards for compliance with group norms are more valued than the immediate costs of foregoing self-perceived uniqueness. These concepts also need to be examined in a cross-cultural context.

Foa and Foa (1980) suggest there is an optimum size of groups for different exchanges; it is known that resources are best exchanged in conditions that resemble those under which they were first learned. One might exchange respect and affiliation for compliance in a small group for example; in a larger group compliance might need sanctions in exchange.

According to Plon (1980), one of the major limitations of exchange theory is that it ignores the fundamental conflicts between economic classes and the inequities of distribution of power and reward. Perceptions are subjective judgements in these areas; rewards and costs are always relative to the people involved and their particular needs. It is essentially a barter system; the individuals making the transfer determine the value of the exchange to them.

Looking at the transactions which occur in the social networks of Turkish nurses is expected to add cross-cultural perspectives to these concepts.

Analysis of Social Networks

Social network analysis as a field research tool was pioneered by British social anthropologists in the 1950s. Barnes (1954) was the first to use the term analytically; he borrowed the sensitizing metaphor from Radcliffe-Brown (1940, p. 3), who described his idea of the work of social anthropologists as studying "the wide network of social relations" that obtain between individuals. Barnes' image of network, in studying social class, friendship, and kinship in a Norwegian fishing village, was of lines of social relations which intersect at points, or people. In his image, the points could be groups as well as individuals.

Gluckman (1955) contributed the idea of multiplexity or uniplexity in ties. A multiplex tie is one of many strands; for

example two individuals know each other in several relationships, such as friendship, co-workers, neighborhood, and social clubs. A uniplex tie might be that between employer and employee, for instance.

Bott (1957) enlarged the seminal notion of network to include the concept of density, which she called connectedness. She attributed the articulation of the family with society at large to the social networks of the individual family members. In her study of conjugal relationships, Bott found that geographical mobility makes a close-knit network more loose-knit, less connected or dense. The middle class couples in the Bott study were in relatively loose-knit or loosely connected networks.

Epstein (1961) added to the idea of connectedness the idea that "the network may not be connected in its totality, but highly connected in its parts" (p. 110). The individuals with whom one interacts most regularly and continuously he termed the "effective" network; the other individuals with whom one comes in contact he termed members of the "extended" network.

Epstein observed that the individuals in an effective network were likely to be of similar status, whereas in an extended network, there is greater allowance for variations in social status. The previous section on the social exchange perspective suggests the notion of using networks and the concept of exchanges to develop this concept further. Barnes observed in

his Norwegian fishing village that the network was composed of pairs of persons in social interaction, both of whom were approximately equal in status. Epstein suggested effective and extended networks provided a way of observing how social change occurs from rural to urban Africa.

Epstein (1969) suggests that in the effective network gossip serves to reaffirm established norms as a mechanism of social control; breach of norms is accompanied by the loss of prestige in the eyes of neighbors and friends. A further function of gossip is to establish new norms and standards of behavior; in the effective network of those with high prestige on the status continuum, new standards of behavior will be adopted, and via gossip percolate down throughout society by means of the extended networks of individuals.

Srinivas and Beteille (1964) named the concept of durability; even when viewed from the standpoint of a single individual, social networks change over time; new relationships are formed, and old ties discarded. The concept of durability would provide new insight into processes which occur in networks throughout the life cycle.

Mayer (1966) was responsible for the term "action-set" in networks. He studied the recruitment of individuals to political parties in India through networks. He defined action-set as a temporary set of people recruited through various channels to

serve some short-term goal. To the theoretical ideas of structure and function, Mayer added the idea of constructing a network; though not termed so by him, the individuals recruited for action-sets were recruited by exchange mechanisms.

The concept of "social redundancy" was added by Frankenberg (1966), to enlarge upon the idea of multiplexity; individuals with many stranded relationships with each other have other channels for contact should one fail. This idea has implications for social control, since people are not able to withdraw from one another so easily when linked by many strands.

Kapferer (1969) specifically used the concepts of exchanges as a vehicle for content in personal networks; multiplexity in his view is a multiplexity of exchange relationships.

Wheeldon (1969) and Mitchell (1969) both refer to the content of interactions as normative only; in their view ties or links were those of friendship, kinship, occupation, neighborhood, social club, religious organization, and so on. This seems needlessly restricting.

Mitchell, however, was the first to identify a set of terms which he defined for the characteristics of networks. By 1969 field researchers using social network analysis had contributed a number of terms which he arranged and labeled as follows.

"Morphological criteria" refer to structure of the network. Since theoretically, by a continuous linking chain, networks

extend indefinitely, in order to focus attention somewhere, a point of "anchorage" gives the researcher a starting point. A network has to be traced from some initial starting point, in Mitchell's view. "Zones" surround the point of anchorage; Mitchell used the term primary zone to refer to those individuals known directly to the point of anchorage; the secondary zone includes contacts possible with one intermediary person; zones extend as far as the analyst wishes to take the research. "Reachability" is zone related; it refers to how many people can be reached in relatively few steps; it differs from "density" in that density refers to how many people know each other; reachability becomes important when one wishes to construct an action-set, for instance. Reachability is also important in the transmission and diffusion of information; greater reachability indicates greater possibility for diffusion, and also is a function of how long transmission will take. Mitchell states Bott's idea of connectedness includes both reachability and density; separating the concepts provides greater analytic clarity. "Range" refers to the background of individuals with whom the anchoring individual is in contact. A person with a network of ten people from an identical socio-economic class working in the same occupation, for example, would have a network of very narrow range. Mitchell suggests there is doubtless a limited number of individuals a person has in a primary zone, but

empirical evidence at that time was lacking. [It still is.]

Mitchell defined the "interactional criteria" of networks as those characteristics concerned with the interactional process in networks; what actually happens between individuals. "Content", according to Mitchell, is the most important of interactional criteria. Mitchell confines the content to normative content; kinship, friendship, common religious belief, economic obligation, or occupational affiliation. Content is not directly observable. Mitchell ties content to Gluckman's idea of multiplex or uniplex ties—few relationships have only one content, but the perception of strands in a relationship depend on the analytic purpose of the researcher. "Directedness" refers, in Mitchell's view, to the directionality of the relationship; for instance, a person can choose someone for a friend who may not reciprocate, thus the relationship would be unidirectional. In most cases, according to Mitchell, directionality is not very important, but it might be in action-sets. "Intensity" is the degree to which individuals in social networks feel the freedom to exercise their rights in relationship to another person, or the degree to which they feel bound to honor obligations to another, in Mitchell's view. Direct contact is not necessary for intensity to be present; one can have an intense relationship with a relative or friend one hasn't seen in years, for example. Measures of intensity have not yet been devised; field workers make their own assessments. "Frequency" is

the last criteria identified by Mitchell, and is self-explanatory. In his view, frequency in network analysis is not very important; intensity is more significant.

Building on the work of previous social anthropologists and sociologists, Boissevain (1974) in his classic Friends of Friends introduces his analysis of a network of over 1700 persons with a chapter on the interaction and structure of networks. In his view the exchange nature of the transactions which occur in networks is the most important aspect of personal networks. Boissevain rearranges and refines Mitchell's definition of terms. He discusses the interactional criteria first, then the structural components, and adds a number of hypotheses.

Boissevain describes a network as the complex of relations in which every individual is embedded. The lines represent social relations; the points people. Essentially, Boissevain's model is ego-centric; the network has the individual at the center; for each individual, the network is different. The links are seen as communication channels. In fact, they are potential channels—research needs to establish that communications do flow along the lines, and what kinds of communications occur. Boissevain asserts the messages are transactions, "an interaction between two actors that is governed by the principle that the value gained from the interaction must be equal to or greater than the cost" (p. 25). A transaction, in his view, is essentially unilateral; when a

reciprocal flow transpires, it is termed an exchange. Over time, asymmetry can develop. If X's contributions to the exchange are more socially valued than Y's, then Y is in the debt of X. This then gives X power; since Y is under obligation to X, X can have his way over Y's resistance. "Thus exchange relations and the relative differences in power are thus properties which emerge from sets of transactions" (p. 26).

Viewing networks as a series of dots and interconnected lines or ties has little empirical value unless one can assign varying values to the transactions which occur along those lines. One must deal with the content as well as with the form. This view presents a marked contrast to Mitchell's (1969) and Wheeldon's (1969) view of content as merely normative; analytically speaking it offers far more opportunities for investigation.

Boissevain identifies the interactional criteria for social networks as: multiplexity, transactional content, directional flow, and frequency and duration.

Boissevain states there is "a tendency for single-stranded relations to become many-stranded if they persist over time" (p. 30), and that multiplex relationships tend to be stronger than uniplex relationships because the multiplicity of roles reinforce each other. A multiplex relationship implies greater accessibility which would indicate the possibility of greater social pressure toward conformity to mutual norms. It is also

assumed that multiplex relationships are more intimate than uniplex relationships. This coincides with Frankenberg's (1966) idea of social redundancy.

Boissevain indicates the transactional content of relationships is a crude measure of the quality of the relationship; this factor requires a great deal more exploration. Kapferer (1969) identified five items exchanged in the networks of the men in the workplace he studied; Boissevain identified an additional four, though the exchanges are categories of exchanges, not specific elements.

Directional flow indicates the quality of a link, and is the major status indicator between the two actors in a transaction.

Boissevain agrees with Mitchell that duration is of more importance than frequency in interactions, thus he classes them together as a single characteristic. Duration and frequency are an index of the amount of investment the actors have in the relationship. Boissevain does not discuss intensity as a separate criteria, as Mitchell does; intensity is a combination of multiplexity of ties, duration and frequency, and is, of course indicated in the transactional content. Specific measures of intensity need to be identified.

Boissevain distinguished between small, partial, bounded and large, unbounded networks by stating that the structural components of size, density, degree of connection, centrality and

clustering are more relevant to small partial networks than to large unbounded ones; the very nature of large unbounded networks makes the measurement of size, density and degree of connectedness impossible. It was left to Pilisuk and Froland (1978) to identify the significance of network boundaries. Once the significance of boundary is recognized, the other characteristics are much easier to place in context.

Boissevain believes all possible links must be considered in analysis of social networks if sophisticated sociological models are to be produced, but analytical problems become more complex as the size increases—another indication for the importance of specifying boundary criteria. Especially in considering action sets, latent links need to be considered—why do certain individuals mobilize contacts with certain individuals and not with others? One cannot even ask the question unless the total partial network, by whatever criteria have been decided upon, has been considered.

Density of a network indicates, as Mitchell said, how many of the individuals who could be in contact with each other actually are. It does not refer to exchanges which take place, but is the index of the theoretical possibility of a transaction occurring. It means the two individuals have at least one link with each other. Boissevain states it is "a dangerous assumption inherent in the network approach" (p. 37) that the measurement of density

is a statement of actual transactions. Boissevain points out, however, that people in the networks make the same assumption: people are often careful of what they say in the presence of certain individuals, assuming the conversation will be transmitted to a third person, known to be in contact. In the same manner, this assumption influences behavior. An example might be how children behave in the presence of their parents' friends compared to their behavior in peer groups.

Boissevain calls the number of relations each person has with others in the network the degree of connection; the term Mitchell used was reachability. As refined by Boissevain, it offers a weighting to the density measurement. Density alone represents a theoretical possibility; degree of connection (connection for short) represents what actually occurs.

Though each person is at the center of the network "owned" by that person, (anchored, in Mitchell's terms) the objective position in the entire partial network might be quite different. Centrality is the sum of the shortest distances from every member to every other member in the network divided by the sum of the shortest distances from Ego to every other member (p. 41). Centrality is a measure of the accessibility of an individual and an indication of the amount of transactions which must pass through him or her to reach someone else. The more central a person is in a social network, the more information and

communication is controlled at that point, therefore the more influence that person has.

Clusters are small groups in social networks in which the members of that smaller network have more connections with each other than with other members of the entire partial network. An individual who belongs to several clusters, because of the assumptions of connection, may behave differently in each one. Boissevain postulates where there is high degree of interlinkage among clusters, there will be a greater degree of consistent behavior.

Boissevain believes subjective criteria also need to be added to the more quantitative indices of structure and content of social networks, although this adds considerable complexity to the social network model and makes it more difficult to use (p. 46). Informants need to be asked about the emotional importance to them of various ties; this adds a weighting to the objective criteria. It makes a vast difference in studying social relations to understand the emotional importance of a tie. A relationship characterized by multiplex ties, long duration, and great frequency of contact can nevertheless be devoid of emotional intimacy or importance. Common-sense logic indicates it is also possible for adults to maintain close, intimate relationships with people they rarely see. This aspect of relationships needs much more investigation.

Boissevain defines a first order zone as Mitchell does; anyone with whom the focal individual has ties. To form a model of a person's first order, or primary zone, Boissevain suggests the following:

- I. Personal cell—usually composed of closest relatives and possibly a few intimate friends; there is a great deal of emotional investment with these individuals.
- II. Intimate zone A—very close friends and relatives with whom Ego maintains active, intimate relationships, but not as involved as those in the personal cell.
- III. Intimate zone B—friends and relatives with whom Ego maintains more passive relations, but they are still emotionally important.
- IV. Effective zone—these people are important to Ego in the pragmatic sense; warm relationships are maintained for economic and political purposes and the logistics of daily life.
- V. Nominal zone—these individuals are known to Ego, but mean little either emotionally or pragmatically.
- VI. Extended zone—these individuals include just about anyone Ego has ever met.

(From Boissevain, 1974, p. 47, 48).

Certainly, specifying these zones adds a dimension to analysis not otherwise available, but they present a high degree of technical difficulty the further the zones extend. Steadily

decreasing emotional involvement as the zones are distant from the focal person suggests different strategies for recruiting individuals for action-sets from these various zones.

Biological, physical and social factors also impinge on the social networks of individuals, some in interrelated ways. Sex, physical attributes, personality and age are all largely beyond the control of an individual and are influenced by local culture; but still have an influence on one's personal network. The country and climate also affect the structure and interaction of persons in networks; the differences and similarities remain to be studied. Social influences on networks include kinship, occupation, an individual's relative status, education, and rate of residential and social mobility. Bott's (1971) study confirms the relevance of the issues of age, sex, and the social factors of kinship, occupation, status, education and residential and social mobility; issues of climate and country were not singled out, but certainly the men's and women's social clubs are a uniquely British institution.

Probably the least studied factor which Boissevain lists as influencing the structure of networks is ideology (p. 78). Harries-Jones' (1969) study of 'old-boy' ties in Central Africa found the differences in the ideologies of two groups (mission-school education and local tribesmen) dictated quite different social patterns and networks. In Boissevain's own work in the

Netherlands, he has found important differences in the basic values and orientations between Protestants and Catholics. The question arises then, considering the different ideologies of researchers in various parts of the world, how much influence can be attributed to assumptions underlying ideologies? Certainly this issue needs to be specifically addressed so that readers of the research reports can make their own judgments.

Granovetter (1973) contributed another important factor to consider in the analysis of social networks: the strength of ties. Though Boissevain and Mitchell both discuss the strength of ties, it is Granovetter who suggests more precise definition, though he agrees still further precision is necessary and awaits further research. In Granovetter's view, the "strength" of a tie is most probably a linear combination of the amount of time invested in the relationship, the emotional intensity of the relationship, the intimacy (described as mutual confiding) in the relationship, and the "reciprocal services which characterize the tie" (p. 1361). Granovetter describes this as an intuitive definition, and states at this point ties can only be characterized as "strong", "weak", or "absent". A weakness of Granovetter's definition is its foundation on symmetrical exchanges; identifying differences in the strength of ties having asymmetrical transactions would greatly add to the precision and usefulness; researchers to date have not further defined the strength of ties.

The significance of distinguishing between weak and strong ties, according to Granovetter, is the importance of a weak tie as a "bridge". Most studies on personal networks have used one of two perspectives; those concerned mainly with individuals focus on primary zones (defined differently by various researchers), and studies concerned with manipulating networks (action-sets) focus on extended zones, also defined differently by different researchers. Though there is no general agreement, and perhaps no necessity for consensus, thinking of a weak tie as a bridge also offers a bridging concept to the two perspectives; Granovetter bases his ideas on Epstein's "effective" and "extended" networks, discussed earlier. In Granovetter's view, not all weak ties are bridges, but bridges are weak ties unless neither party to a strong tie has any other strong ties. To illustrate the bridging function of weak ties, consider the implicit assumption of Homan's (1950), that the more often individuals interact with each other, the stronger their friendship is likely to be. Individuals with strong ties normally spend a lot of time together; the more time they spend with each other, obviously, the less time there is to spend elsewhere, so that socially distant ideas, information, and influences are not likely to reach an individual through someone with whom he is in constant contact unless the information, idea or influence comes to the first person through a weak tie, someone with whom less time is spent. Granovetter cites occupational and

institutional networks as being frequent sources of weak ties; Granovetter asserts that in diffusion action-sets, more people can be reached, and faster, through weak ties.

Granovetter, in the absence of research data, speculates that for action-sets to be constructed in communities, clusters of networks need a number of weak, bridging ties. Enthusiasm for a community project is unlikely to spread from cluster to cluster in communities in the absence of weak ties, and would have to be generated anew in each cluster; though he does not mention the fact, the question then arises, in the absence of weak ties how does anyone get into the cluster to generate enthusiasm? A consequence of numbers of clusters in which the individuals are strongly bound to each other is community fragmentation. A cohesive community, with the ability to act in concert, depends on a variety of weak ties.

Weak ties thus provide a link between micro- and macroanalysis of sociological problems.

Such linkage generates paradoxes: weak ties, often denounced as generative of alienation (Wirth, 1938) are here seen as indispensable to individuals' opportunities and their integration into communities; strong ties, breeding local cohesion, lead to overall fragmentation. Paradoxes are a welcome antidote to theories which explain everything all too neatly (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1378).

Kaplan, Cassel, and Gore (1977) describe the morphological characteristics of network as anchorage, density, reachability, and range, similar to Boissevain and Mitchell. They describe the interactional criteria in a more detailed manner than previous authors, however. Content of transactions is described as supportive, and includes at least 10 categories: supportive rituals; supportive values and beliefs; supportive shared norms (normative consensus); interpersonal exchanges through which networks supply supportive needs; the fit between roles and dependency needs; the intimacy-nurturant mechanisms of support; the way support is given to self; social support as the discharge of negative effects, strategies for emotional discharges; and social support from a demographic view, with regard to status, or position in the network and community (p. 54, 55). Other interactional criteria in Kaplan et al.'s view are: directedness, durability, intensity and frequency. Their notion of interactional content is derived from their interest in social support and health, and is not all inclusive. Their conceptualizations represent a step in the maturation of research in the analysis of social networks; both structural and morphological criteria are used to define the networks.

Walker, MacBride, and Vachon (1977) integrated the concepts of Boissevain, Mitchell and Granovetter in suggesting models of networks which would be differentially supportive in various

stages for various women in the crisis of bereavement. Network criteria were refined to include: size, strength of ties, density, homogeneity, and dispersion. Homogeneity is refined from "reachability", and is defined as the extent to which individuals share social, attitudinal and behavioral characteristics. Dispersion is a function of geographical distance as well as ease of transportation, and is defined as the ease with which network members can make face-to-face contact.

In Walker et al., a network of small size, strong ties, high density, low dispersion, and high homogeneity assists to maintain and support the identity of simple, unchanging personalities. A more complex individual's identity is best maintained by a larger network, greater numbers of weak ties, lower density, lower homogeneity, and greater geographic dispersal of network members; such an individual is seen as much more open to change than the "simple" personality. "Simple" and "complex" are not defined in relation to personality types.

A dense network is seen as more likely to perceive the need for emotional support of one of its members than a loose network. Actual emotional support is contingent upon similarity of experiences, which a heterogenous network is more likely to be able to provide than is a homogenous one. Low dispersion is also conducive to emotional support.

Material support is thought to be more available in dense

networks of large size with strong ties. Especially in disasters, close-knit communities are more effective in providing material aid and services than are governmental or voluntary agencies recruited on the basis of prestige or favoritism. Dense, strongly-tied networks provide the optimum organizational structure for the provision of services (Walker et al., 1977).

New information available to individuals in crisis is known to be disseminated via bridging ties in a network (p. 36). Weak ties are less likely than strong ties to increase the density of a network because a weak tie is insulated from the intimacy, intensity and greater amount of time spent with strong ties by its very nature. Networks with strong ties among members are likely to recycle the same information and attitudes; a few weak ties to other networks allow new information and attitudes to enter a dense network.

Like new information, new social contacts are more likely to be made through weak ties than strong ties, where individuals with strong ties are already known to each other. However, new social relationships are sought for the purpose of forming strong ties, and a dense network with strong ties is more likely to provide a reliable basis for "new relationships of a trustworthy and lasting character" (Walker et al., 1977, p. 37).

As a proposed model, none of the assumptions or hypotheses were tested. It would seem in practice that multiplexity should

be included in the strength of ties and reported separately since it supplies an added dimension missing from Granovetter's definition of amount of time, density, intimacy and reciprocal services.

Walker et al. suggest that class differences also influence the structure of networks of various women; lower class women tend to have more dense networks with stronger ties, thus emotional support may be more available to them in the early stages of bereavement. However, in the later stages, when they need to establish new identities, the requisite weak ties for bridging may be lacking. The opposite is true for middle- and upper-class women. Walker et al. leave unexamined the issue of whether or not the women wish to make new identities for themselves. While a new widow must adapt to some extent to changing from part of a couple to being a single person, nothing is known about the extent to which "singleness" influences identity. Their findings also assume a degree of importance attached to personal identity, which may not hold true across cultures. Their model lends support to the notion of social network analysis as a useful tool in broadening the knowledge base concerning role transitions.

McCallister and Fischer (1978) describe a method of eliciting "core" networks from participants. Core network is defined as those individuals believed by the respondent to be important sources of valued exchanges. By asking two different sets of

questions they devised a questionnaire for survey research which elicits quickly those individuals most likely to be involved in specific important exchanges. It seems, however, that a necessary first step is to elicit the basic categories from participants. They believe their method is appropriate both for studying dyadic relationships in networks and in the analysis of communities by network characteristics. Their findings suggest the structure of an individual's social network is a prime determinant of accessibility to other people. Small, dense, networks entrap individuals and limit social contacts.

Pearlin and Schooler (1978) suggest more emphasis on the individual determinants of social networks; coping styles of various individuals influence to a large degree their ability to make use of resources theoretically available to them in their networks. Tolsdorf (1976) in a study of patients in a veteran's administration hospital, found psychiatric patients discounted their networks as sources of support and viewed them with distrust, while the attitude of the medically ill was to mobilize resources from their personal networks. Holohan and Wilcox (1978) found "social competence" a significant factor when dormitory students were placed in uncongenial, unsatisfactory environments; the socially competent forged new ties and formed satisfying relationships elsewhere; the incompetent were not able to enlarge their networks for sources of support. We are not told whether or

not the socially competent were already connected to a greater number of weak ties, nor given any data regarding the pre-dormitory social networks of the participants.

Analysis of social networks is in its infancy; the state of the art is such that every new piece of research adds precision, clarification, new concepts, and indicates further gaps. Mueller (1980) asserts that primary networks of focal individuals are the basic building blocks of social structure; the formation, maintenance, and severance of ties with individuals in primary networks are universal and fundamental social processes.

Pilisuk and Froland (1978) assert that although there remains "a certain imprecision in its features and definitions", the analysis of social networks does demonstrate increasing convergence in the definition of concepts, and offers great promise in a number of areas. "The dimensions of networks do not stand by themselves: they imply and interrelate with a broad range of other factors of import" in all areas of social life (p. 277). Pilisuk and Froland argue that choosing a means for delimiting the network is a necessary first step in analysis; they believe network is not a useful analytic term until the criteria for specifying the rational links between individuals have been identified.

This essentially chronological review of the development of concepts and terminology for the characteristics of social

networks is integrated in the following outline of the characteristics of networks which will be addressed in this study.

I. Structural Dimensions

- A. Size
- B. Density
- C. Degree of Connection
- D. Centrality
- E. Clustering

II. Interactional Dimensions

- A. Nature of the Ties
 - 1. Multiplexity
 - 2. Homogeneity
 - 3. Dispersion
 - 4. Durability
 - 5. Strength
 - a. amount of time spent together
 - b. emotional intensity
 - c. intimacy (mutual exchange of confidences)
 - d. degree of reciprocity of transactions
- B. Nature of Transactions
 - 1. Content
 - 2. Frequency
 - 3. Duration
 - 4. Symmetry

To date, no single study has considered all of these aspects in delimiting or analyzing social networks. Including multiplexity, homogeneity, and dispersion under the nature of the ties addresses the physical, biological and social influences identified by Boissevain. Assessing the strength of ties by the degree of reciprocity leaves open the possibility that asymmetrical ties may still be strong. It remains to be seen whether or not they are. The investment of time is seen as an allocation of a scarce resource, so durability is seen as a dimension distinct from duration and frequency of single transactions; in my view, ties need to be examined as carefully as interactions.

Social Support Research

The review of the literature on the development of the social network framework for research repeatedly refers to social support as a prime function of social networks. Though social support might be viewed as only one of the resources available to individuals in networks, the case for all resources as a type of social support is strong. As mentioned earlier, Kaplan et al.(1977) identify 10 categories of social support provided by networks. Brim (1974) identifies five functions served by social networks: concern, assistance, value similarity, desired interactions, and trust. Caplan (1974) cites emotional support, task-oriented assistance, communication of evaluation and

expectations regarding role performance, and a sense of belonging. Tolsdorf (1976) suggests the chief functions of social networks are to provide support, advice, and feedback. Walker et al.(1977) offer emotional support, material aid and services, maintenance of a social identity, diverse information and access to new social contacts as the functions of social networks, and divide availability of these resources according to strong-tie or weak-tie sources.

In light of the heavy emphasis on social support, and the proliferation of studies in fields as diverse as politics and abortion using the framework of social networks, only a few representative studies in social support are reviewed for this research project. The studies (two) which use the network approach for Turkish women have been included in that section. While there is some evidence that the social network orientation is less culture-bound than some other approaches (perhaps due to its development by social anthropologists), it remains to be seen if the assumptions are indeed valid across cultures.

Salloway and Dillon (1973) tested the hypothesis that social networks are an adaptive system which enable individuals to adjust to complex environments. They studied the differences in health care seeking behavior in individuals with heavy kinship networks and those whose networks were mostly friends. There was no support for the idea that the more role support which is available

to an individual through the network, the more utilization of health care services will be delayed. There was also no support for the idea that an individual with large numbers of kin in the social network will delay health care seeking more than a person with smaller kinship networks. The hypothesis that the larger the number of friendship contacts an individual has, the less he will delay utilizing health care services was supported. Their findings do suggest, however, that there is a distinct difference between friend-dominated and kin-dominated networks; the friendship dominated networks lack the authority of family-dominated networks in enforcing normative behavior.

Dimond (1979) in a study of patients adapting to hemodialysis found adaptation more easily achieved by those with strong support systems. Dimond suggests that more studies within the framework of social networks would be useful as a first step in "developing predictive models to guide nursing intervention in long-term care" (p. 107).

Karamarovsky (1962) building on Bott's (1957) study of conjugal relationships, suggests segregated marriages put heavy demands on the external (the part of the network excluding the spouse) network. One wonders, however, if the marriages are not segregated in part, at least, because of the heavy investment of the partners in networks external to the marriage. Barnes (1969) suggests that a very dense network, typical of "tribal conditions"

leaves no room "for the addition of those idiosyncratic relationships of friendship with strangers or even patron/client that help to fill the relatively sparse urban network" (p. 75). Later research of course, suggests that urban individuals as well can have "typically" dense networks; density appears to be a function of social class (Compare with Olson, 1982; Kuyas, 1982). Does this vary with cultures also?

Miller and Ingham (1976) were interested in whether or not social support serves to minimize the effects of the "ordinary stresses of everyday life" (p. 51). Their study found a close confidant was of more effect than diffuse support from a large network; having a close confidant was associated with lower levels of depression, anxiety, and fatigue, while having fewer acquaintances was associated with higher symptom levels. Research needs to be directed toward teasing out more precisely the effects of resources in relation to the source of the exchanges.

Sokolovsky, Cohen, Berger, and Geiger (1978) found some support for the idea that ex-mental patients with small, poorly connected social networks represent an "at risk" group, but the social skills of the patients in maintaining a social network were not assessed. Beckman and Syme (1979) assessed the impact of marriage, close friend and relative contacts, church membership and informal and formal group associations, on mortality from all causes in a large sample of the general population. Their

conclusion was that in less obviously pathogenic or infectious disease etiology of illness, social supports significantly affect health status of individuals; presumably denser networks enable individuals to cope better with the crisis of illness; one wonders at classing those particular four sources together, with no attempt to account for relative weighting. And it raises the question—does marriage or church membership have more of an influence on health status? Questions can only be answered after they have been asked. Evans and Northwood (1979) indicate that general questions may yield useful information about networks, but that very careful assessments need to be made of the relationship between social need and network characteristics before designing programs which intervene in the structure of social networks. They indicate there is too little evidence at this time about the naturally changing uses and structures of supportive networks over the life cycle to warrant much intervention with structure.

Lin, Ensei, Simeone and Kuo (1979) define social support as "support accessible to an individual through social ties to other individuals, groups, and the larger community" (p. 109). Though they acknowledge the substantial interest in the research literature in social support, they suggest the entire network needs to be considered; social integration and socio-economic factors are known to impact on social networks, therefore on social support. They point out there is no theoretical

explanation as to why social support should play a negative role in the etiology of illness. Relatedness does not warrant interfering or manipulating the social networks of individuals.

Norbeck, Lindsey and Carrieri (1982) tested the properties of the Norbeck Social Support Questionnaire. They indicate unanswered questions include: "Are particular types of social support crucial for adequate functioning in specific situations? Are certain sources of support more important than others?" (p. 4). Norbeck's Social Support Questionnaire is based on Kahn's (1979) definition of social support, and his concept of "convoy", the means by which social support is conveyed. The functional components of the questionnaire which are measured include the three items: affect, affirmation, and aid. Convoy is measured through only three network properties: size, duration of the relationship, and frequency of contact. As should be clear from the preceding discussion of the interrelatedness of all network factors, the very fact that durability of the relationships accounted for a higher percentage of the variance than any of the functional support variables was stated to be a finding which supported the inclusion of the network property subscales in the instrument (p. 9). Certainly another interpretation might be that other network properties might be more significant than functional components; or perhaps less. As long as the multiple other properties of networks are not considered, one must question the

validity of the instrument. The instrument was developed in a highly educated, female population (graduate nursing students) undergoing significant stressful events (graduate education, separation from significant others; changes in residence) which also raises important questions in light of class differences and geographical and social influences referred to earlier. It would seem to be more appropriate to concentrate efforts on the total network situation (after precisely defining the network boundaries) before attempting to measure social support. Common-sense logic would suggest that the support available to graduate nursing students would be unlike that available to an unwed mother on welfare or to the wife of a self-employed professional; there are too many other variables to be considered to be able to measure social support on the basis of three network properties.

The questions raised by Norbeck's Social Support Questionnaire are similar to those raised by the insistence of international development agencies, the United Nations, and the International Council of Nursing on increasing women's participation in policy making. There are still too many unknowns in the actual life situations to move into designing interventions. There is, of course, a great deal of justification for attempting to change intolerable situations, but let us not pretend to ourselves that either programs or nursing interventions based on limited information are predictive. The dismal litany of

past failures reflects the necessity of adequate groundwork.

The problems of considering all the characteristics of networks are enormous; this exploratory field research study is an endeavor designed to support the feasibility of eliciting useful information by considering the known characteristics of social networks. The next chapter describes the methodology.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY METHODOLOGY

As documented in the previous chapter, very little is known about either the social networks or the role-relationships among the individuals embedded in the networks of Turkish women; even less is known about Turkish nurses. Field research using the grounded theory approach is an appropriate methodology for studying a topic about which so little is known; the approach will be described in more detail in the analysis section. Social network analysis is an appropriate tool for use in field research, as has been illustrated in the many instances cited in the review of the literature. A further consideration in the selection of the analysis of social networks as the tool of choice is the belief that it provides a non-threatening framework which is socially and culturally acceptable for the Western researcher to use in eliciting information from young Turkish women. Role relationships and transactions between role occupants may be seen as sensitive topics; focusing on social networks was expected to be seen as harmless and non-intrusive by all concerned.

After formulating general objectives, an interview guide was constructed to ensure the consistent, systematic collection of data in a semi-structured, informal manner. The interviews were conducted in Turkish and in Turkey. The researcher had some prior knowledge of Turkish after working in that country for two years;

additional formal language courses were taken before leaving for the field. The translation of the interview guide was assisted and confirmed by a native speaker of Turkish also fluent in English (See Appendix A).

According to Schatzman and Strauss (1973), field research is less a method than it is a process; the field researcher creates the method as the work progresses. The general strategy is comparative analysis (Glazer & Strauss, 1967) as one generates conceptual categories and their properties from the data. As Chow (1982) describes the process, it is neither linear nor step-wise, but a constant and irregular several-directional zig-zag. A refashioning of the design goes on throughout.

This "refashioning of the design" is very much a part of the data for this research project. Both the proposed and actual designs will be presented; they differ in a number of details.

The Study as Designed

Operational Definition of Network

Boissevain (1974) describes six analytical levels of personal networks, varying from the "personal cell" of one's closest relatives and possibly a few of one's most intimate friends, to an "extended zone" which includes just about anyone the person has ever met (p. 47). Pilisuk and Froland (1978) suggest that theoretically a social network doesn't exist until the delineating criteria have been specified. A network as a unit of analysis is

bounded by its criteria.

Since the purpose of this research was to elicit as many resources of as many types as possible which were available to the young women in the sample which enable them to manage the events of their daily lives, "important relationship" was chosen as the delimiting criterion. Since "important" can mean different things to different people, and the interviews were conducted in Turkish, the following words were used to define "important": (Cağdas, Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlüğü, 1983).

değerli: valuable, talented, worthy, estimable

etkili : influential

nüfuzlü: influential (person) in one's life

önemli : important

tesir : effect, influence (on one's life, thoughts)

The choice of these particular terms was decided upon during the eight trial interviews which were conducted with Turkish immigrant women before deciding upon the final form of the interview guide. Once in the field, a discussion of these words was held prior to asking the participants to diagram their networks; questions were asked and answered until the researcher believed the understanding of the terms was mutual. Emphasis was placed on a variety of influences, negative as well as positive. Examples such as "It might be someone you work with, or a neighbor or a friend" were given, along with the reminder, "The person doesn't have to be

someone you like." These were the parameters that were to determine the boundaries of the personal networks elicited.

Research Permit

In order to conduct research of any description in Turkey, a foreigner must obtain a research permit through the Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C. The process takes from six to eight months. The permit for the proposed study was issued six months after the application was made.

Informed Consent

Hinderink and Kiray (1970) document that the Turks are extremely reluctant to sign their names to any official-looking document. In a largely illiterate society, the written word has great impact; any document with names attached is seen as a potential threat. Though literacy rates have climbed remarkably since Turkey became a Republic, the over-all literacy rate for women in 1975 was 48% (Özbay, 1982). Meleis (1980) indicates that in cross-cultural research, Western models of informed consent are likely to inhibit (if not prohibit) participation. For these reasons, waiver of the use of written consent was requested and received from the Committee on Human Research, University of California, San Francisco (Ref. No. 93011-01). Verbal consent would be requested from volunteers, a simple explanation of the purpose and uses of the interviews and diagrams would be given, and all questions of the participants would be answered to their

satisfaction.

The Sample - And the Setting

A total of 40 interviews were to be conducted in nursing schools in three cities in Turkey: Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. Twenty volunteers would be recruited from among first year students; 20 from among fourth year students. All students would be from the "basic" nursing program: a very heavy curriculum which includes basic high school subjects as well as the usual complement of nursing courses. Students enter after completing five years of primary school and three of middle school. Since a major interest was in how the young women manage inevitable role changes, this type of selection seemed to promise the richest mix of data. To obtain a wider variety in the sample, half were to be recruited from publicly supported schools, half from private nursing schools supported by charitable foundations. Previous observation suggested there might be differences in family backgrounds in the two groups.

Prior contacts with nursing leaders within the country were expected to facilitate entree. Throughout the planning period, contacts were maintained or re-established. In each of the three cities introductions were to be sought to the Directors of the programs where interviews would be conducted. Five volunteers would be recruited from each of two private and two public schools in Istanbul, evenly divided between first and fourth year

students. In Izmir, six students would be recruited from a public nursing school, three volunteers from the first year, three from the fourth year class. Four volunteers would be recruited from a private school; two from each of the first and fourth years. The numbers would be reversed in Ankara, to maintain an even mix of first and fourth year student volunteers. (See figure 1)

No more than six interviews would be conducted at any one school. It was believed that this would be less disruptive to the participating schools as well as more informative for the researcher. All of the nursing schools are boarding schools; there was some concern regarding the possibility of volunteers discussing the interviews among themselves and deciding what the researcher "wanted" to hear. This is a factor to be considered in any field research when all or many of the participants know each other well; one wishes to minimize it whenever feasible.

Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir are the three largest cities in Turkey, but because of their varying locations could be expected to draw students from widely differing parts of the country.

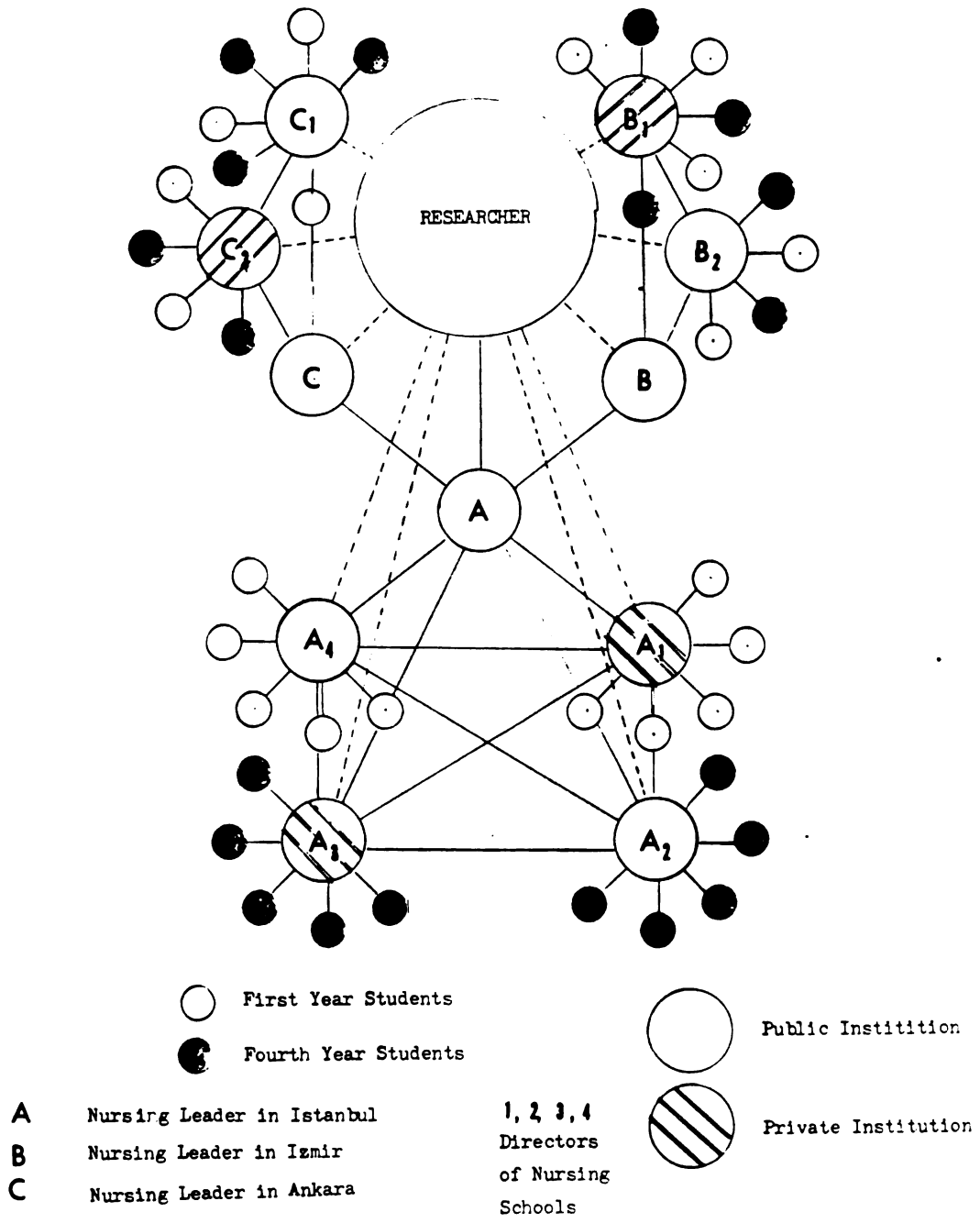


Figure 1: Proposed Action-Set for Sample Recruitment

Data Collection Method

Oral interviews were selected as appropriate since prior observation indicated nursing students in Turkey would be reluctant to commit themselves to written responses. Additionally, oral interviews would be less time-consuming for the participants, and much easier for the researcher to translate. Questions and answers needing clarification could be handled at once in oral interviews. Turks are known for their kindness and hospitality to strangers, and could be expected to adapt their vocabularies to the researcher's understanding, a further advantage to oral interviews.

Oral, semi-structured interviews are considered most appropriate in exploratory research situations; they are consistent with the researcher's interest in previously unexplored areas of inquiry (Polit & Hungler, 1978).

Data Collection Procedure

Before the interview began, verbal consent was to be obtained as described, and permission requested to tape-record the interview. Participants would be assured of the option to withdraw at any time, ask to have the tape-recorder turned off at any time, and instructed there were no right or wrong answers. They would be assured they did not have to answer any question if they did not wish to. Although not stated to the participants, the researcher would terminate any interview or move on to the

next area if the participant was perceived to be uncomfortable.

Participants were not expected to be any more comfortable diagramming their networks in writing than they would be in filling in written questionnaires or putting their signatures to consent forms. Accordingly a flannel board was designed, 36" x 36", and 50 circles 1 1/2" in diameter made of various colored felt were cut out. The participants could place colored circles on the felt board to represent persons in the network. In the original proposal, before the trial interviews were conducted, segments of colored yarns were intended to link the circles to represent the various role relations and transactions which occurred between the persons represented. This procedure was abandoned during the third trial interview. The bits of colored yarn cluttered up the board, the relationships were too multi-stranded, too connected and with too many transactions; it was impossible to keep track of them or what they meant.

At the end of the interview, a polaroid snapshot would be taken of the network diagrammed, identified only by the identification number of the participant. The photograph would be placed in an envelope with a number of other network photographs (the first few set up by the researcher, so no one would feel her network could be traced to her). A photograph of the participant would be taken, and given to her as a memento of the interview. Previous experience in the culture suggested this: whenever a

Turk was asked for permission to be photographed, the response was usually an enthusiastic "yes", but with the proviso, "send me a copy." Instant photographs would be much easier logistically.

The interviews were semi-structured with many open-ended questions. Each participant would be instructed to place the first circle to represent herself anywhere on the board she wished. She would then be asked to tell as much about herself and her own roles as she could. Examples would be given to be sure she understood what was required. Next, she was to select a person "important" to her, and place another circle on the board to represent that person. Understanding that each person has several roles, the participant would then describe the "important" person in as many roles and as many transactions as possible, starting with "Tell me about this person, who is she/he?" Since Turkish pronouns have no gender, the distinction "male or female" would have to be made, unless a relationship such as "father" was specified. The same word, kardes, is used for brother or sister, so one would also have to ask "female or male?" It seemed likely that the most effective, if not the most efficient, means of obtaining the desired data would be to let the discussion flow with the selection, location and explanation of the colored circles. With the interview guide well in mind, any data missed could be asked for later on in the interview, in an appropriate context. (See Appendix A for the Interview Guide and Quick

Reference Topic List). Only the "quick reference topic list" would be carried to the interview; the interviews were semi-structured in the sense that certain general topics were to be discussed in depth, but not in any particular order. This process would continue until all persons the participant was willing or able to place in her network were diagrammed.

It was expected that at this point in the interview there would be numerous examples of transactions and relationships; a transition into how decisions are made about one's life, who does what tasks in the family, how time is spent, and with whom, should present relatively few difficulties. In many instances perhaps only further exploration would be needed.

The Budget: Financial and Temporal

Time allotted in the field was three to six months; no funding was available other than a small grant for supplies; personal resources were strained to the limit so budgetary considerations were paramount. Costs could only be estimated; since in field research only rarely does the investigator exhaust the data, the answer to "How do you know when to stop?" would be answered in this case by "After six months, or when the money runs out, whichever comes first."

The Study as Conducted: Reality Intrudes

The Personalization of "The Researcher"

Four distinct stages of mutual "role-making" are identified

by Olesen and Whittaker (1967) as processes in the researcher-actor interaction. Though specifically addressed to the definition of roles by researchers and participants in long-term participant observation studies, one can readily recognize the stages, if not their full development, in shorter interactions. Field research is described as a social activity. The principle focus of Schatzman and Strauss (1973) in their textbook on field research "is on the field researcher himself" (p. vi). The interacting of the researcher with both the participants and the data is a theme of Reason and Rowan (1981).

Writers on human research methodology and design discuss objectivity, if at all, mostly in quantitative contexts. Davis (1980) attributes this to the fact that "although research is a social act, it is seldom acknowledged as such" (p. 215), and goes on to suggest objectivity is a judgment "which the researcher must make. But it is also a judgment which the reader of the research can make as he evaluates the research" (p. 220).

Spender (1980) asserts "Language is our means of classifying and ordering the world" (p. 2). We make our world real by the way we structure and use language.

The researcher is a real person in a real world, interacting with other real persons in real worlds; it seems a logical inference that the language the researcher employs to report the field research process can either illuminate or conceal the

personhood of the researcher; facilitate or impede the judgment which the reader must make concerning the research. If the researcher is genuinely and passionately (not sentimentally) involved in the research process, there comes a point when the researcher comes to the full and sometimes painful realization that "The Researcher" is "I". Referring to one's self in the third person begins to sound not only uncomfortable, but inaccurate, as though distancing self from the research.

Among the "how to" guides consulted for this study, Lofland (1971) addresses personal style in interviewing; Schatzman and Strauss (1973) discuss presentation of self and study; but it is left to the personal self to discover what constitutes "unthreatening, self-controlled, supportive, polite, and cordial interaction" (Lofland, p. 90) when the "field" is thousands of miles from "home" and located within a different culture. Westerners are not alone in constructing stereotypes; I once overheard Western women described as "loose women who dress immodestly, eat pork, smoke, drink, and if they think of their god at all, it is to give him orders."

A few decisions made as a person in a social interaction will illustrate further the personalization process. I, as the researcher, consistently wore high heels and business dress when appearing in public. This meant walking up and down the cobblestoned hills of Istanbul and around potholes or through the mud.

Long sleeves and a coat of some type were always worn. A briefcase lent an aura of the "business woman"; as a friend put it, "nobody hassles a lady with a briefcase." On the few occasions when the "loose woman" stereotype of foreigners precipitated uncomfortable incidents, a quiet comment in Turkish instantly elicited apologies—from bystanders as well as from the "offender." Other potentially embarrassing situations with persistent males in public places were circumvented by the invention of a husband, though this strategy was never used in social situations. I kept my eyes down, or looked into space on public transportation; when traveling within the country, I attached myself to an older woman, usually offering to carry something for her. Advance planning was important, so I wasn't burdened with too many items to carry myself. Social rituals were strictly observed; the casual informality of "home" was put on hold.

This section, which describes the study as conducted rather than as planned, also begins to incorporate the conscious awareness of myself as a part of the process; this is where awareness really began. "The Researcher" planned the study—"I" carried it out.

The Research Permit: False Assumptions and Other Problems

For a variety of cultural, social, political and perhaps personal reasons, access to nursing students at the basic nursing

level was denied. But that was not the first disquieting discovery. I learned early, and heard it repeatedly enforced, that in field research, "one never assumes". One of the problems with assumptions, however, is that you don't always know an assumption has been made until the consequences become evident. The false assumption in this case was in believing the official research permit from the Turkish government was all the permission I needed for access. Space, known to be available, was assumed to be at my disposal for interviews in the schools, once appointments for interviews were set up. Such, alas, was not the case; on-site interviews would "make it appear the institution was sponsoring the research project"; special permission through appropriate channels was required. Time constraints prohibited that route, so an alternate location was sought. Since the majority of nursing students are boarders, interviewing in their homes was not possible. I lived too far away to make it feasible, either in terms of time or money, for the students to come to me. "Nice girls don't go alone to hotels," so that idea was discarded. Finally a friend of a friend loaned the use of her apartment, fairly close to where the first interviews were scheduled. This was the middle of the third week in the country—and no one came to be interviewed. After the second "no show," a telephone call to the contact person elicited, "Well, I didn't know how to tell you but [for a number of reasons] you can't interview any students at

this level." That was the first dead end. Major refashioning of the design began at once. Baccalaureate students would be acceptable (there are 5 university schools of nursing, compared to 89 basic schools), so it didn't seem a major hurdle, but it was. When the equivalent of a Dean of a university program was approached, she expressed surprise to see me in the country. My research application had been sent to her for review; she had discussed it with the other university deans, and due to the information (inaccurate) which they had been given about the study, they had recommended no research permit be granted. Although everyone was extremely polite, even cordial, there was no access. Since the research permit was actually in my passport, theoretically it might have been possible to force an access: but in the first place, the notion lacked appeal; in the second place it would have taken more time than was available. Six weeks were gone now; everything cost at least twice as much as expected, if not more, and it was becoming apparent three months in the country would be the time limit, based on available finances.

A mutual friend called and made an appointment for me to see a notable and internationally known researcher in women's issues. Why not refashion the sample entirely, and just study women? Basically, the professor approved of a foreigner studying Turkish women—under certain conditions, none of which could be met at this time. She too was very cordial, spent a great deal of time,

and personally xeroxed a number of references for me. However, her comment, after listening to the now revised version of my proposal was: "You are looking at it through American eyes; I am looking at it through Turkish eyes. What you want to do (i.e., on such a small scale) is a little, pink, sugar coated nothing!" I admire the woman and her work tremendously; needless to say, I was devastated.

At the urging of the same friend, again with the appointment made for me, I met two sociologists. They were most encouraging; "why not go after graduate nurses? Ask the medical directors to have the staff nurses talk to you." Refashioning continued, appointments were made, and reception to the idea enthusiastic—provided the proper permit was obtained through the proper channels for the specific institution.

Plan B had originally been to study Turkish immigrant women in the United States if either the research permit or personal funding didn't materialize. At this point Plan B seemed in order. The officials of the airline which issued my ticket, however, found themselves unable to cooperate; the special excursion rate meant I had to stay the full three months, or pay full fare. Back to the drawing board for more refashioning. A little "distancing" seemed in order; "The researcher" was denied access; it seemed less painful to think of it that way.

The Sample: As Recruited

By this time I was asking everyone I met if they knew any nurses; by this route, an "action-set" in network terms, 17 graduate nurses were recruited who agreed to be interviewed (See Figure 2). Compare the Reality Action-Set with the Proposed Action-Set in Figure 1.

The focal individual in this network was a very personalized "me"; circles A through J represent friends made during my two years as a resident in Istanbul. Circle K, formed by dashes rather than a solid line, is an acquaintance, known personally through professional ties, but available as a contact person because he was a friend of a friend. The dotted lines connecting some of the points (see Circles D, E, F, G, H, and J) mean an intermediary was required to reach the participant, usually because the next person in the straight chain was of a different sex and unrelated. As an illustration, see the chain extending from Circle D. Friend D is female; point 14 a male colleague of hers; point 14 knows point 16, a female cousin of participant 7344. In order for me to meet the participant, male point 16 asked me to telephone his wife, point 15, who introduced me to the female cousin who then contacted the participant. The ways these points and links patterned themselves were part of the data, included in the discussion of the findings in the following chapters.

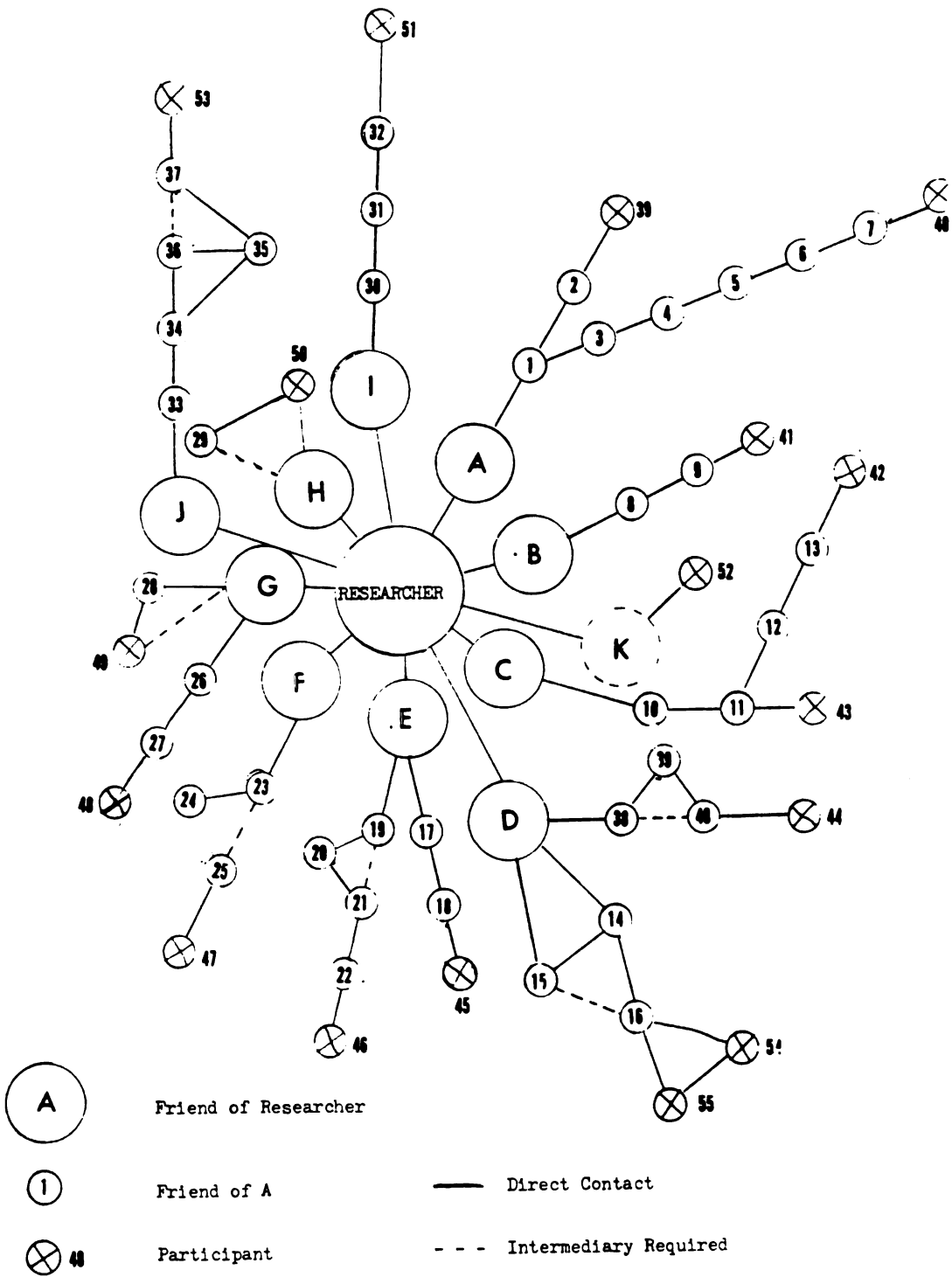


Figure 2: Reality Action-Set for Sample Recruitment

It is important to point out that these were only the highlights of the major refashionings which this study underwent; no doubt this is an extreme example. It does suggest a number of important implications which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Informed Consent, Data Collection Method and Data Collection Procedure: Almost According to Plan

Fortunately, there were no changes necessary either in the informed consent process or the data collection method. The procedure of placing the colored circles on the felt board aroused a great deal of interest and was found to be effective with only a minor change; the flannel board was much too large; it was bulky to carry, and participants tended to group the circles in one small corner or in the center of the board. By the fourth interview, the size was 16" x 22"; folded, it fit nicely in a briefcase. The "quick reference topic list" (Appendix A) proved an adequate guide for the interviews.

Operational Definition of Network - Redefined

It was clear very early in the interviews that the participants, or focal individuals who "owned" the networks, understood precisely what was meant by "someone important to you, special in some way, who has had an important influence on your life." Circles to represent these persons were placed and described with a wealth of detail. Occasionally when speaking of something else, a participant would add another circle,

representing someone they had forgotten earlier. Several times when someone was mentioned, such as a brother, who was not represented by a circle, the researcher asked, "Did you mean to put down a circle for him?" and the participant would answer, "Well, no, not really. I love him, of course, but he isn't special to me in the ways we have talked about." One young woman who omitted her husband from the board explained it this way: "There are a lot of people in my life that are important in one way, it's like we use each other; he's important to have children, but not to my life. Like a friend you like very much, but if you don't see her, there is somebody else and she doesn't leave an empty space." The networks diagrammed were clearly bounded by the criteria described by the researcher.

However, when asked to describe their daily lives, transactions, role relationships and so forth, focal individuals did not necessarily limit themselves to persons within the diagrammed networks. Therefore the definition of network needed to be refashioned in order to include the data being discovered. After a great deal of going back and forth over the data, the term Core Cell was selected to delimit the "network" as originally conceived by the researcher. All individuals mentioned in contexts outside the core cell were recorded simply as an "x," rather than by number. They are part of the focal person's primary zone and are mentioned frequently enough to merit

consideration in analysis of the data; the problem was to find a conceptually sound term. None of the terms found in the literature for partial networks seemed suitable; the participants set their own criteria—they knew these people and spent time with them, but set no boundary. Finally the term Fringe Zone was decided upon. Fringe implies an openness and looseness. Connected to the focal person at one end, by at least one strand or tie, it says nothing about the kind of fringe it is—braided, knotted, hanging loosely, ragged; nor does it imply wholeness or completion in any way. There is no indication in the data regarding the extent of the fringe zone; it is limited or bounded only by the fact that this person came up often enough in the data to be recognized as having a tie. Many of these ties were multi-stranded, but this will be indicated in the findings. Two examples are given (See Figure 3) of density matrix diagrams of core cells and their surrounding fringe zones; the fringe zone extends from the core cell in a dotted line indicating the lack of a formal border.

This "new" entity now has two components, therefore needs a new name. Elicited Network is the term selected to include both the core cell and the fringe zone; it meets the criteria for a social network, since the delimiting factors have been specified. See Appendix B-3 for diagrams of all Elicited Networks.

The Interview Settings

Since the interviews in the initial proposal were expected to take place in the schools of nursing, the setting was not described, but "taken for granted." After the refashioning, the settings are relevant.

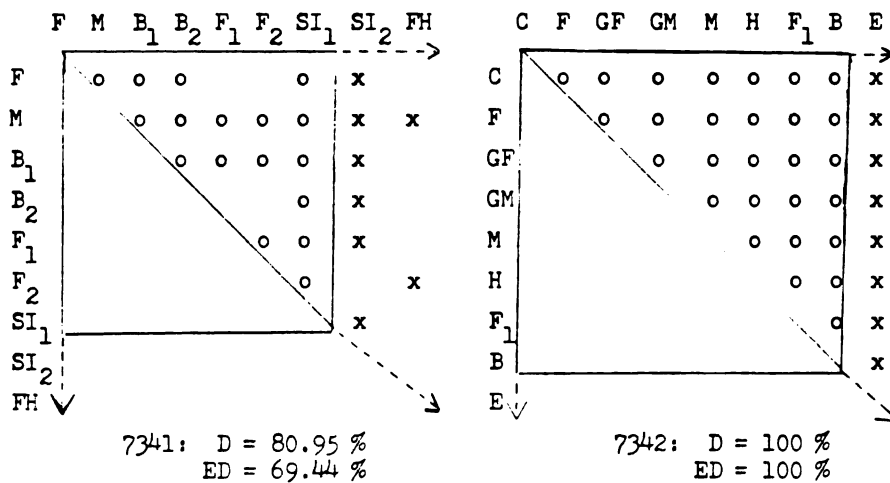


Figure 3: Density Matrix Diagrams of Two Elicited Networks: Core Cells & Fringe Zones

However circuitous the route, when I did eventually meet the young women I was to interview I was introduced as arkadas, "friend." The literal translation lacks the full cultural flavor and therefore meaning of the word. Being introduced as "friend" produced a mutually recognized social relationship; reciprocal obligations were incurred. All but one of the introductions resulted in invitations to conduct the interviews in the homes of the young women. Two were dinner invitations; one nurse took me

to her mother's home for lunch. Naturally all invitations were accepted.

The living arrangements and decorating styles of the nurses' homes varied as much as did the individuals; those living at home with their parents enjoyed relatively more comfort and space than did those living with their siblings or young husbands.

A brief description of two settings one at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale and one at the upper end of the scale of those interviewed will give an indication of the range. I was never taken to any part of any home other than the living room and adjoining kitchen.

The first setting is the apartment of a young married couple. Her husband teaches in a public elementary school "and you know teachers don't make very much." They have a 15-month old daughter. A woman comes in daily to care for the child during the week. The apartment was a wedding gift from her parents; they have furnished it themselves. Their apartment is on the second floor of a four-story building without an elevator; there is no yard; the street is full of pot holes and the neighborhood is not well kept up. One enters to a small foyer, with a "bookcase" facing the door. Instead of books, the shelves contain shoes and slippers. Those entering remove their shoes in the entrance-way and the host or hostess selects a pair of slippers of more-or-less appropriate size for the guest. At first they politely insisted

it wasn't necessary to remove my shoes, but I as politely did so anyway. It had been raining all day, my shoes were very muddy and vacuum cleaners are a luxury I wouldn't expect them to own (after walking all day in high-heels, it was a vast relief to remove them in any case). Straight ahead was a small kitchen, with a narrow sink and 4 burner gas stove on one side, a counter with open shelves above and below it at the end, a small refrigerator and another counter along the other side. The open floor space was about the same width and length as the door. The floor was gray tile squares. "A" declined all assistance in the kitchen. I had met her at the clinic and we came together in a taxi; her husband and baby met us at the top of the stairs. I was ushered into the large room to the left of the entrance-way; a combination dining-room living room. Conveniently, the pale oak table and six chairs were grouped first, next to the kitchen. On the left wall stood a matching hutch, filled with an unmatched assortment of china, glassware and souvenir ashtrays, boxes, cups and figurines. Across the end of the rectangular room was a bay window the width of the room. Sheer olive (apparently a favorite color) curtains were hung behind heavy velvet draperies of a darker olive, heavily draped and fringed. The floor was parquet, six-inch squares of light-colored strips of wood laid in alternating directions. The living room part was furnished with three large overstuffed armless chairs and a matching sofa, all in faded maroon velvet,

heavily fringed. Two regular windows were evenly spaced along the far, outside wall, curtained and draped to match the bay window. That part of the room had a machine-made carpet with worn cotton fringe, originally in a bright red and blue geometric pattern. The walls were papered with a pale grey background, covered with large pink and yellow flowers, with a lot of green leaves twining around. Between the two windows was a bookcase with a few novels, some magazines, and a number of textbooks. On top was a four- or five-gallon aquarium with colorful tropical fresh-water fish, "they are his fish," I was told. It gave us something to talk about while the husband and I played with the baby (she is the only 15-month old I've ever met who could whistle) and "A" prepared the meal--salad, macaroni with ground lamb, soup to start, the ever-present bread, and veal cutlets in some kind of white sauce. A woman friend came in and stayed to dinner, as far as I could tell, without prior arrangement. We exchanged small talk while the husband disappeared to make his "special" fresh fruit juice--apples, oranges, grapefruit, pears and carrots--in a food processor. After dinner, while "A" fed the baby, the husband sang and played his saz, a stringed instrument resembling a lute, an important instrument in traditional Turkish music. The neck is very long, the base rather bowl-shaped, with the opening on the bottom instead of under the strings, as in a guitar, and has more strings. About 10:30 we began the formal interview. The friend

and the husband played backgammon for a while, then the husband said he had to get up early, bade us all good-night and went to bed. The girl-friend wandered in and out, occasionally saying something, or laughing at something funny one of us said. She lived near my hotel; we shared a taxi back about 1 a.m. It was a memorable evening. We had shaken hands when we met; we parted in friendly Turkish fashion—a kiss on both cheeks with a big hug.

The apartment to which I was invited to lunch was situated in another city in the same part of town as the residences of foreign diplomats and businessmen. We took the elevator (gold-painted, decorative grill) to the fifth floor. Again we entered a small hallway or reception area with a highly polished hard-wood floor. No slippers were in evidence, but the mother who met us and the maid who opened the door were both wearing "house shoes"; my nurse "friend" opened a door to what looked like a western style bathroom, and disappeared. After the ritual greetings and responses, I asked, "May I clean my shoes"? It must have been the right thing to say; the maid promptly appeared with the right size slippers, and removed my shoes to be cleaned.

The living-dining area was about three times the size of the one previously described. Large windows, with sheer white curtains and a bronze pelmet covered the far wall; they overlooked a small park, beautifully landscaped, with some flowers blooming, even in early winter. The floor was covered in a dark gold, very

thick, wall-to-wall carpeting. The furniture was of a french-provincial type; the wood was a lovely fruitwood; chairs were upholstered in dark bronzy-green and gold striped satin, matching the bronze and gold brocade of the sectional furniture around three sides of the "salon" area. Four glass-topped solid brass-legged small tables were arranged in coffee-table fashion; when coffee was served after lunch, the tables were separated to form individual chair-side tables. Lunch was served by the maid (salad, rolls, schnitzel with a tomato sauce, green beans and rice). The physician daughter came in during lunch and joined us; another plate was set without a comment being made except "How nice to see you" and the usual introductions. A choice of beer or wine was offered with the meal; everyone but the mother chose wine; she had beer. After coffee and more small talk, the more structured part of the interview began. Mother, sister and maid were in and out of the room throughout the 1 to 1 1/2 hours of the interview, seemingly going about their business, except for an occasional comment, neither including nor excluding the two of us. We were all just there. We tended to the ritual civilities, asked after mothers, fathers, children ("don't you miss yours terribly? What happened to your husband? How can you stand being here alone in a foreign land?"), and I satisfied everyone's curiosity about the flannel board and felt circles. It is difficult to describe the combination of "togetherness" and "separateness" as concurrent

phenomena; one suspects Western thinking lacks the conceptual framework.

Except for interviews conducted with two sisters, no two settings were alike, but these two are typical of the range of conditions. The sisters were interviewed separately; during the first interview a cousin's wife came to visit, and the interview was woven around their comings and goings. During the second sister's interview the weekly cleaning woman was present, washing the windows and working around us.

The final interview, and the only one not conducted at home, was in a restaurant. The contact person and his wife invited their nurse friend and me to dinner. Many of the background questions were answered in casual dinner conversation. During the more structured part of the interview the husband and wife remained more or less present throughout, apparently to no one's discomfort. They talked quietly to each other, listened to the music, danced from time to time, and occasionally made comments to us, and we to them. The only technical difference was instead of flannel board and felt circles, we used glasses, cutlery, and the salt and pepper shakers.

Analysis of Data

Social networks have two distinct, interrelated dimensions: structural and interactional. Analysis of the data collected during this study therefore required two separate methods, also

interrelated, and much of it conducted concurrently. The processes will be described separately for the sake of clarity.

Analysis is only a part of the process of field research. As Lofland (1976) outlines the action, the analyst

1. Begins with an abstract sense of what a generic situation is and what generic strategies are.
2. Immerses himself [sic] in the concrete items of the actual social life under study.
3. Develops and constructs a generically framed analysis of situations and strategies from the organic intertwining of items 1 and 2. (p. 66)

It might be helpful for the novice researcher-analyst to compare analysis to the assembling of a complex jigsaw puzzle. Imagine a giant picture divided into panels, each forming a complete picture of its own. When placed in proper sequence, an entire and much larger picture emerges; each panel has details which are missing from the whole when the panels are examined separately. Imagine further the panels separated, placed on top of one another, then all cut up together into various shapes, thus forming a number of individual puzzles. Providing additional challenge and intrigue, suppose one or two panels were omitted in the puzzle-making; the panels which were cut into jigsaw puzzles have been separated, jumbled together, and placed in a single container.

The analyst has general expectations concerning which panels are included in the puzzle; the research question/s were directed toward eliciting certain facets of social life. The task is to sort out which puzzle pieces ("concrete items of the actual social life") belong to which panel ("generic situation"), as well as how many panels can appropriately be assembled. As Schatzman and Strauss (1973) point out, the novice learns "not every bit of data need be included in the final scheme" (p. 124). Lofland (1971) further cautions that researchers rarely, if ever, get all the pieces of an overall design; in addition individuals face the "agony of omitting" some of the pieces they do have (p. 122, 123).

The most difficult aspect of the analysis was in determining how to separate, assemble and reassemble the data "puzzle pieces" obtained during the interviews into categories relevant to the particular facet of the panel under scrutiny. This separating, assembling and reassembling will be described in three phases: reducing the data to usable form, structural analysis of networks, and interactional analysis of the ties.

Converting Raw Data from Oral to Written Form

It was evident very early in analysis that working with raw data directly from the original interview tapes would be inordinately time consuming. By trial and error, a reasonably efficient method of converting taped Turkish data to written English was devised. Using two tape recorders, a segment of the

original interview was translated, then recorded in English on another tape, going back and forth until the entire interview was translated. To ensure accuracy, the English translations were confirmed (sometimes corrected) by a native speaker of Turkish, also fluent in English. Translations were then transcribed by a professional typist.

Simultaneously, it became apparent that not all the data needed to be translated. "Small talk," unless relevant, was deleted; pauses and corrections omitted. Information such as: the city where the interview was conducted; personal and family constellation data (such as age, sex, occupation and marital status of family members); and identified members of the network, scattered throughout the interviews, was transferred directly to a worksheet (see Appendix C).

Structural Analysis of the Networks

The outline of the characteristics of networks constructed during the Review of the Literature phase of this study provided the overall framework for analyzing the data. (See chapter 2). The structural dimensions of networks selected for this study were: size, density, degree of connection, centrality and clustering. As indicated in the preceding paragraph, part of the structural analysis began, and continued throughout, the translation phase.

Morphological or structural characteristics of networks are

relatively straightforward, since they portray the shape of the partial network being studied. The networks as diagrammed by the participants were useful in terms of counting the number of members. The configurations as diagrammed were of no analytical value because in network terms, the configuration of network depends on the links among the members; too sophisticated a concept and too complicated a task for participants to either understand or perform. The information was, however, elicited in the interviews, as were the other structural and interactional dimensions. Tables, graphs, charts and lists were used to identify discrete dimensions while sifting through and coding the interviews.

Size

Network members were listed on the worksheet (See Appendix C) in the order in which circles were placed to represent them; "Father, mother, female friend, cousin," and so on. A second column listed those persons talked about but not represented by circles on the flannel board.

Once these initial worksheets were completed for all focal individuals, it was possible to construct a table of identified network members for all participants (See Appendix B-2). At this point the operational definition of network had to be redefined as described earlier; size, the most basic of structural characteristics, could not be determined until the boundaries of

the network were specified.

When the elicited networks were operationally defined, a matrix was constructed for each focal person (See Appendix B - 3). Core cells were defined by solid lines; fringe zones extended in a dotted line from each axis but were unbounded, to indicate bounding criteria for that section of the network were missing. Immediate visual impact was achieved by diagramming the core cells in black, the fringe zones in red (See Figure 3). The size, or number of individuals as identified in elicited networks, was easily determined by counting.

Density

Density calculations required going back to the interviews again: How many of the individuals in each network knew each other? The matrix was completed by placing a check mark in the appropriate square. Densities were calculated separately for core cells and for total elicited networks, using the formula

$$D = \frac{100 \text{ (total actual links, excluding focal person)}}{1/2 N (N - 1, \text{ excluding focal person})}$$

(From Boissevain, 1974, p. 37)

Degree of Connection and Centrality

Because only focal individuals were interviewed, the degree of connection and centrality could not be calculated. The transcriptions of the interviews, however, contained references

and clues to both the degree of connection and "central type" activities of individuals embedded in the networks. This will be discussed in Chapter 5, in the implications of the findings. A system of underlining in various colored felt-tipped markers coded this data.

Clustering

According to Boissevain (p. 43), a cluster is simply a segment of a network with a group of persons in the "cluster" more highly connected and more closely linked to each other than to other segments in the network. Cluster would be an appropriate term for the Core Cells identified in this paper; I have elected not to use it because it implies a specific portion of a larger network under study, and only core cells and fringe zones were identified by focal individuals. An example of several clusters can be seen in Figure 1, Proposed Action Set for Sample Recruitment. Because clustering was discarded during analysis, as not appropriate in operational terms, it will not appear in the findings, but will be discussed in the section on implications.

Demographic Profiles

Demographic characteristics described the focal individuals in the sample. Network characteristics describe the shape and the links between the points (individuals) in the networks. After completing the coding, listing, charting and diagramming for structural analysis, other colors were used to code for socio-

economic, education and occupational indicators, which were then added to the demographic profiles begun earlier. Findings emerge from analysis: it was disconcerting to discover 17 sets of demographic profiles which had no place in the framework as outlined; an example of Lofland's (1976) "organic intertwining" (p. 66). The data produced an unanticipated dimension for the "Characteristics of Networks." The outline of network characteristics had been derived from the literature; at this time it seemed necessary to re-define the characteristics of networks. Further search revealed Mitchell (1969) begins the morphological description of networks with the term "Anchorage", meaning the focal individual whose network is under study (p. 12). Refashioning of the design continues, even in the stage of analysis. For this study, structural characteristics now include: Anchorage, size, density, degree of connection and centrality. Mitchell's (1969) terms were added to the review of the literature.

Interactional Analysis of the Networks

The Nature of Ties and Transactions

Interactional dimensions were dissected from the data in two approaches. The nature of the ties (multiplexity, homogeneity, dispersion, durability, and strength) were coded first. A different set of colors was used to underline indicators of multiplexity and durability of ties in the transcribed data. The

ties were listed as they appeared then arranged in order of frequency. A combination of colors and symbols was used to code for homogeneity and dispersion; the data were abstracted from the transcripts but coded directly on a copy of the chart already constructed for identified network members. The strength of ties was assessed as "strong" or "weak".

The nature of transactions occurring in the networks (frequency, duration and symmetry) were color-coded, listed and arranged in order of frequency of occurrence. Specific content was coded as described under the grounded theory approach.

The Grounded Theory Approach

The second avenue toward discovering interactional dimensions from the data was the grounded theory approach. This process, as pioneered by Glazer and Strauss (1967) is a creative, inductive method by which the ideas "generated directly from research data produce an open evolving theory that accounts for patterns of behavior" (Chow, 1983, p. 148). Emphasis is on the processural nature of the approach; researchers who opt for this process adopt their own variations of certain basic strategies (Charmaz, 1983).

A commitment to the grounded theory approach is tantamount to an endorsement of these fundamental assumptions:

1. Inquiry is structured by the discovery and analysis of social processes.
2. Analysis and data collection are simultaneous phases of

the process.

3. The process of analysis elicits the discovery of the unknown and generates theory, rather than verifies the unknown or merely suspected.

4. Conceptual categories are amplified and created by theoretical sampling.

5. Progressively more abstract analytic levels may be reached by the systematic application of grounded theory analytic processes.

(From Charmaz, 1983, p. 125).

Examples have been described which illustrate the ongoing continuous refashioning of the study as data collection faltered or progressed; the inquiry itself was structured by "discovery and analysis."

The dimensions of relationships were uncovered in the "comparative analysis" phase (Glazer & Strauss, 1967), as conceptual categories and their properties were generated from the data by coding, memoing and theoretical sampling.

Just as data collection and analysis proceed concurrently, the coding, memoing, and theoretical sampling are integrated rather than discrete phases of the analysis. While these processes will be described and illustrated separately, it is important to bear in mind the "at the same time" and the "in the meanwhile" nature of the intellectual and mechanical activities

the process entailed.

Coding.

Coding is of two types: a substantive code emerges from the raw data and is descriptive; a theoretical code is conceptual and may apply to more abstract categories not limited to specific situations (from Charmaz, 1983; Chow, 1982). Theoretical codes emerge from the data as memos are written, sorted, and integrated.

The initial phase of substantive coding is unfocused or open—what is going on in the world of the participants?

"Grounded theorists carefully scrutinize participants' statements and actions for patterns, inconsistencies, contradictions, and intended and unintended consequences" (Charmaz, 1983; p. 112).

The objective of open coding is to shape the data in as many different ways as possible, as a prelude to theoretical sampling (Glazer, 1978).

By the end of the third interview I had begun the initial coding for what I called "the natural fall-out" of topics; another term might be "coding for the obvious." There were more than a dozen descriptive terms on the initial list, one of which was "intensity of relationships." The participants were asked to diagram the important people in their lives; the intensity of the relationships was striking.

The excerpts which follow were eventually coded in a number of other ways (and had already been color-coded for structural

components), but they illustrate the initial, open coding for intensity.

O.K. We are starting with the first person. My sister loves red, so I'll pick this one [choosing a red circle]. This is my sister and she is the most important person to me. She's the most influential person in my life, and I really love her. I love my parents, but more than I love my parents, I love my sister. I could talk to her about everything, and we do everything together ... She's my whole life.

(from 7339)

This is my father. He has always been very close to me. I can tell him anything. We do things together, we go for a walk, we, just me and my father, swim together, we eat together. I can't think of any other person important like my father ... Now I will talk about my friend. She is going to school in [another city]. She hates it. But she is very close to me, she is my [older] sister. We go shopping, and we go for lunch or dinner or visit our friends. And once we went to Germany ... She comes to my house and stays with us and I go to her, and when we have holidays we always go together, either with her family or with my family ... I call her every day, twice a day sometimes. (Probe: Do you mean from here to [other city?]) Yes. I don't have a sister really, but if I had a sister, she would be like her. And I couldn't love anybody more than I love her.

(from 7340)

Then this next person who is close to me is my mother. Again, the most important thing with my mother is love. I mean, we are a very close family, whenever I go to do something, I wonder what they will think about it, I worry if I will make them happy or not. My mother is a housewife, but I love her ... In Turkey, the families are all very close; the aunts, the uncles, the brothers and the sisters, everybody gets involved ... There's a lot of love between everybody in our family. That's the main thing, always. And you know, I would do many things, almost any thing, for my family.

(from 7341)

Another topic for open coding can be illustrated with the same excerpts; it was "blurring of individual boundaries." From the first excerpt: "She's my whole life"; from the second: "She is my [older] sister"; she was actually talking about a friend, but used the specific word for older sister. Another participant described the relationship between herself and a friend: "We are in each other's skin." Another stated: "[my friend] is like a daughter to my mother."

Other initial codes included: factors in perceived options; ways of nurturing; obligations of friendship; development of friendships; cost/benefit decision making; and men's work/women's work.

The second phase of substantive coding, focused coding, is selective and more conceptual. "Focused coding forces the researcher to develop categories rather than simply to label topics" (Charmaz, 1983; p. 116). Once categories are selected for focusing, open coding ceases.

Lofland (1976) reminds us that in "practical terms, choices have to be made about the manner in which to expend finite resources" (p. 75); he terms this phase "disciplined abstraction." I had to select the open-coded categories which could be woven together in a processual analysis (Charmaz, 1983; p. 117). Which of these categories and their properties could be refined into conceptual codes and then related to each other? This involved going back and sifting through the data again—and again, and again. As Schatzman and Strauss (1973) describe it, "the researcher must shift his grounds to accommodate both some changed and new class categories" (p. 113). Charmaz (1983) in her work, found she used two techniques: uncoded or differently coded data were sometimes included in the selective coding: subcategories were sometimes introduced, explicating and exhausting the more general categories (p. 117).

Only two major or core categories were selected for focused coding: dimensions of relationships and dimensions of decision-making. These were further subdivided later; the process is accelerated by memoing and theoretical sampling, and will be

illustrated under memoing.

Theoretical Sampling.

Once focused coding began, theoretical sampling was the process which confirmed the usefulness of the conceptual categories selected; decisions are based on the appropriateness of the categories to explain what is elicited from the raw data. Glazer and Strauss (1967) emphasize theoretical sampling is conceptual, and comparison groups are only chosen for their relevance to the category. Charmaz asserts: "It becomes necessary to use theoretical sampling when the analyst's present data do not exhaust the theoretical category the researcher is developing" (p. 125). Charmaz (1983) speaks of returning to the chronically ill (her area of interest) "when more data are needed to fill out, saturate, and exhaust the category" (p. 125); she further states: "The theoretical category gains more scope, however, if the researcher chooses other comparative groups" (p. 125).

Lofland (1971) suggests the written report of the research study rarely if ever tells "all" (p. 132), but recommends useful and emotionally neutral things learned should be communicated for future researchers. A point needs to be clarified here. Though analysis and data collection, coding, memoing and theoretical sampling do occur simultaneously, some of my own activities were more simultaneous than others. Interviewing actually began when I

had only six weeks left in Turkey; the six weeks included two major holidays when no interviews were possible either immediately before, during or after. As described, each interview was a full day's work—transportation to and from the place of the interview frequently required more than an hour; though the actual "formal" part of the interview lasted about two hours, elapsed time was closer to three hours; there were many intervening events (only a Westerner, apparently, would call them interruptions) and with the tea, pastries and ritualized mutual role-making at the initial meeting, four to six hours were not uncommon.

I listened to the tape as soon as I returned home, and jotted brief notes—"memos" to myself; occasionally an "open code" and later a conceptual category or two; but in actual practice, in the field, the proper detailed coding, focused coding and much of the theoretical sampling was shunted to the background; it is the hard way to do it, but time and money were running out.

Once the interviews were transcribed back in the United States, the written coding, memoing and sampling began. I used later interviews for theoretical sampling—by that time I was thoroughly familiar with the content in two languages, and much of this process was perforce mental, with only the briefest of notes (sticky notes, attached to tape cases) as memos. One "adopts one's own variation" in the field; total adherence to the "ideal" described by methodology writers (Charmaz, 1983; Chow, 1982;

Glazer, 1978; Glazer & Strauss, 1973; Lofland, 1971; & Schatzman & Strauss, 1973) would have immobilized me at that point.

Adaptability and flexibility are prime requisites for the field researcher.

Memoing.

Glazer (1978) describes memoing as the core stage in the analytic process. A memo can be long or short, a few words, a sentence, a question or a paragraph. It need not be grammatical, but should assist in some way in the development of theoretical ideas or codes, should be readily retrievable, and should be written often. The memos can be sorted and resorted as necessary until integrated in the final chapter or analysis outline. A series of memos will illustrate the final category "Dissolution of Relationships." They are numbered as presented here only for clarity.

1. "Peace at any price" haunts me—can't find data to support it. Powerful hunch after listening to these tapes.
2. (several weeks later) Found it! The absence of data re: conflict. How can so many people living in each other's pockets get along? Aha—harmony, essential or chaos—No evidence of chaos, harmony therefore? Check it out.
(See girl who wouldn't buy ring.)
3. Note derived from taped discussion (taped memos!) with

colleagues: How can relationship which is so all consuming and encompassing be so fragile? Such a tiny thing—no ring—and "now I hate her and she used to be my best friend." Follow up on more examples of break ups.

4. [Note after advisory meeting with one of mentors]:
interesting theoretical question—suppose relationship a continuum from point X—————point Y. At X—you ask to "borrow a dollar" and friend says no. That's not very O.K. At Y—friend asks you to be donor for kidney transplant—you say no, even though you're only one who matches. That's O.K.

Theoretical question: at what point along that line is it OK/not OK to say no to what kinds of expectations? Amount of offense appropriate (its OK to be mad) seems in inverse proportion to favor asked/expected/demanded? You can't very well be angry with someone who won't give you a kidney—big favor. Easy to be offended if intimate friend won't loan you a dollar.

5. Follow up on 3. Three ex-boyfriends—See #'s 46, 51, 55—category dissolution friendship (what happens when "peace" is violated)—into fringe zone with negative connotations.
6. More follow up on 3. [consistency of terminology not required]. Dissolution of friendship part of larger

category—Formation, nurturance (their word) Dissolution.
 Three subcategories—under umbrella of? Nurturance—word
 translates as nourish, nutrition and support—i.e., the
 term for a small article wedged under a larger object to
 make it level.

7. Core cells bounded by love; necessary for their well-being; by western standards go to extraordinary lengths to avoid wounding each other—cost of disharmony too high? Tie in with exchange nature of transactions. Harmony (peace) is worth any price—small size of network, intimate relations;
 Core cells—no one can support very large network, too much investment of scarce resources—time, energy, love; People put up with a lot—bend—or structure (core cell boundary) will break—not brittle at all—even soft wire breaks when you bend it enough times. Former member of core cell—fringe zone. Is there a "last straw" effect? Implications nothing in data; what did X do over time to merit exclusion? Only single precipitating event in interviews (if at all) mother X was divorced; series of "things she did we didn't like" mentioned.
 What happens to discarded network members over time?
 Needs to be checked out. Are they replaced?
 Further research: How far out in the "fringe zone" are

the X's? Were any not negatively mentioned ever in core cell? "Isolates" have neighbors starting to move in? Many in X, 1 in core cell as #7—only post adolescent friend.

Further note re: ex boyfriends: given the fact that hardly anyone in core cell knew them—one could predict they wouldn't last—ties in with formation; nurturance; not "properly introduced"—not one of preselected multiple choices—Chicken or egg—if they'd stayed in, network people would get to know them? Maybe—but other data for these—relationships formed early and endure.

8. [Note after meeting with sponsor]: "Wounds leave scars"

Memos are also written on memos: For instance:

See Dissolution—(long memo) re: love as boundary need to discuss nature of boundaries—separate from dissolution; What's inside? What's outside? What separates public from private? Yabancı [stranger, foreigner] never shown any but "public rooms"—relate to selamlık—harem.

"Inside" everything is shared—private, but no privacy
Outside—"rules" don't apply—El Saadawi's Muslim selling liquor he wouldn't touch himself.

This collection of memos, when sorted, refined and expanded, provided the outline for two sections of the findings—the last memo, one of the later ones written, formed the basis for the

introduction; number 7 rearranged and refined, is the nearly completed outline for "Dissolution of Relationships." Researchers will write memos in whatever style best suits their temperaments and needs; the novice, having only a theoretical but not experiential idea of "need" develops skill as the work progresses.

The cyclic process of coding, sampling, and memoing continues until a set of core categories emerges from the data, linked logically to each other and having clear implications for generated theory (Glazer, 1978).

Findings are presented in two sections in Chapter 4. The first section describes the morphological and transactional characteristics of elicited networks. In the second section, the dimensions of relationships of the focal individuals, as discovered in the grounded theory approach, are described.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

**Structural Characteristics of Elicited Networks: Theoretical
Possibilities of Transaction Potential****Anchorage of the Networks: Demographic Characteristics of the
Sample****Age, Marital, and Occupational Status**

Seventeen female nurses were interviewed. One was a graduate of a university baccalaureate program; the others received diplomas from various four-year basic nursing programs. Though hospital-based, these curricula include the normal high school requirements as well as the usual complement of nursing subjects. Students are accepted after completing five years of primary school and three years of middle school. Most graduates finish at the age of 18 or 19, though a few are as young as 17. Tuition is, by law, free in Turkey, although schools are permitted to charge certain fees, set by the government, for room, board, textbooks, and a variety of items. Students who either cannot or do not wish to pay the fees in cash are required to fulfill specified periods of obligatory service, determined by the individual institutions. For private schools, the obligatory service usually entails employment, at standard rates of pay, at the affiliating hospitals. State supported schools sometimes send new graduates to underserved areas of the country for their period of obligatory

service.

The young women who consented to the interviews were between 18 and 28 years of age; 9 were under 25; 8 between 26 and 28. Eight were married at the time; (though one of these did not mention the fact; a mutual friend told me she and her husband were separated); four had one child and an additional two were pregnant. Three of the four mothers were not employed. The one who was employed worked as an outpatient clinic nurse. One of the expectant mothers was working as a general staff nurse, but planned to resign within the month and had no plans to return to work after the birth of the baby; the other was unemployed and had not worked since her marriage, though she had been a private duty nurse since the completion of her obligatory one-year service following graduation. One of the remaining married nurses works as a receptionist for an international firm "because it pays better, the hours are better than nursing, and I enjoy it more." The other married nurse's husband is a mathematics teacher in an elite private school; she neither works nor plans to.

Three of the nine single nurses are new graduates, completing their year of obligatory service as staff nurses; two of them plan to change to business and go into business with their fathers as soon as their year is up. One of them is taking business courses at night. The third of these plans to marry a fourth-year medical student as soon as he has finished his internship.

One graduate is attending business school full time. She "only went to nursing school so I could be financially independent as soon as possible."

Two of the other single nurses are employed outside nursing; one is an office manager, with secretarial and clerical duties; the other works part-time as a translator, from German to Turkish, for a publishing company.

Two sisters are engaged in private-duty nursing. Their contracts are directly with patients or their families and their wages are "more than nine times what staff nurses make," but with "no benefits." Sometimes they work "three months in a row, 12-hour shifts" with only a day or two off during the entire time. Often they care for the same patient and find some relief by alternating periods of day- and night-shift work. Their objective is to earn a large sum of money as quickly as possible, invest jointly in real estate, and retire from nursing.

The last nurse has been a head nurse for three years and was recently promoted to supervisor. This nurse was the only one of those interviewed who spoke of nursing as a profession with interest and enthusiasm; an end in itself rather than an economic route toward some other goal.

Geographic Distribution

Twelve of the young women in the sample were interviewed in Istanbul; six of these were from Istanbul, though two specified

"from the Asian side," meaning from across the Bosphorus, which separates European from Asian Turkey. Of the remaining five, three were originally from Ankara and two from Izmir.

Two nurses were interviewed in Izmir; one from Istanbul and one from Ankara. The other three nurses were interviewed in Ankara. One was originally from another country, though she has been in Ankara for the past 19 years, she is still "from _____". One was from Istanbul; she met her husband there and moved with him to Ankara. The young nurse engaged to the medical student is from Ankara, but lives in Istanbul. After meeting her there, she discovered I was planning to go to Ankara, and arranged to be interviewed at her mother's.

Socio-Economic Indicators

All but two of these young women are clearly from the educated, privileged sector. The head nurse reported her father attended primary school only; her deceased mother was illiterate. Her father drives a taxi. Notwithstanding this, her older brother attended university in West Germany where he received an engineering degree; her older sister has a liberal arts degree and is married to an engineer who received his education in the United States. One of the married nurses reported feeling "looked down upon" by her husband's family; he has an earned doctorate and is a university professor. Her own father is a laborer who finished primary school, and she says her mother "can read, but not very

much."

In the other 14 families (the total is 16, because of the sisters), seven sets of parents were privately (and expensively) educated in elite foreign schools, located in Turkey, as were an additional two mothers. Eight of the fathers had university degrees, two from the United States. One father had a diploma from a public high school. Four fathers were deceased; further demographic information was not recorded if the relative was not mentioned in the network unless volunteered during the interview in some other context. Four of the mothers were university graduates; one had attended a public high school before going to university. One mother had a middle-school education; one mother went to primary school only; the two mothers with little or no education were mentioned earlier, and no information was available for the remaining two.

Eleven of the 24 siblings are university graduates, one is a physician. An additional six siblings are university students. Except for one retarded younger brother, the other siblings are all either high school graduates or attending high school.

Only two of the mothers of participants had ever been employed, one as a secretary and one as a private tutor. Both were university graduates, and neither was working at the time of the interviews. Two fathers were reported to manage inherited income and property; one was a high-ranking naval officer; two

were educators; one was a government engineer; seven owned their own businesses; one managed a branch office; one was a taxi driver, and one a laborer.

The husbands of the eight married nurses varied in occupation and education. No information is available for the "unmentioned" husband. One had only a public high school education, but was part-owner of a leather business; the couple owns their own apartment. Three of the husbands are in education, one an elementary school teacher, one a high school teacher, and one a university professor. All three are university graduates. A fifth husband works for his father-in-law, and is a university graduate in business administration. One of the husbands is an engineer with a master's degree, and one husband works "in communications."

Small family size was also characteristic of the sample. One nurse was an only child; nine were one of two (three had one sister, six had one brother); one had two brothers, and one had two sisters and a brother.

All but two of the parental families own their own homes or apartments. Six of the 17 did not own a car; 5 were from two-car families; one owned a boat as well. Two reported owning resort homes. Three families have a cleaning woman one day a week; two have full-time live-in maids, and two have full-time maids who live out. The university graduate with the daughter has a woman

come in from eight to four, five days a week to care for the child. Two have "adopted" "poor girls from good families who help out with the housework," and live with the families. The Turkish term is evlatlık, meaning a foster female child.

Six of the eight married couples own their own apartments. As one explained: "We don't have the 'bride price' anymore, but our parents give us an apartment"! The apartments belonged to the young women, not to their husbands, except for the wife of the university professor; their apartment was a gift from his parents.

All the young women in the sample had traveled widely, nine abroad. One young nurse mentioned going to Europe "every summer." All but one travel to exclusive seaside resorts for some or all of their vacations.

Religious Affiliation

Though this question was not asked during the interviews, all 17 participants volunteered the information; 14 are Muslim, 3 are Christians.

Size

The size of a personal network is perhaps the most important of its structural characteristics because other dimensions of structure are calculated as a proportion of the possible linkages among members.

Core cells diagrammed range from 3 to 10 (average 5.88) members. One person with a four-person core cell listed no other

primary contacts.

Density

Density is an index of potential communication or transaction between members in the network, independent of the person who "owns" the network; it indicates how many of those in the network can get in touch with each other directly, without an intermediary. Densities were calculated as described in the previous chapter (See Appendix B).

Sixteen of the 17 core cells had a density of 100%; the other was 81%. This high density indicates that every person in the 100% density core cells personally knows every other person. It is important to remember density is an index of potential, not actual transactions.

Because it is important as an index of potential transactions, the densities of the combination core cells and fringe zones were also calculated, except for the one person who described no fringe zone.

Combined densities of elicited networks ranged as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Densities of Elicited Networks (Combined Core Cells and Fringe Zones) in Rank Order

I.D. No.	Density	I.D. No.	Density	I.D. No.	Density
48	39	39	72	40	100
46	58	51	72	42	100
43	64	47	73	49	100
44	68	55	79		
41	69	53	86		
45	69	54	86		
50	69				

One needs to use caution in comparing densities of different sized networks for several reasons: in a smaller network, each person contributes more to the density; configuration and dispersion may be confounding factors; and particularly in this study, the "fringe zone" is a serendipitous finding, not systematically elicited.

Degree of Connection

The degree of connection can give weighting or correction to the density scores (Boissevain, 1974, p. 40); it is the average number of connections each person in the network has with each

other person in the network, and is elicited by interviewing (and/or observing) all members in the network. Since only the focal individual, or person anchoring the network, was interviewed in this study, the degree of connection cannot be calculated; a further caution in interpreting the density data.

Centrality

Centrality is a function of the lateral links in a network; it is an index of an individual's accessibility and the number of transactions which pass through him or her. As with the degree of connection, one needs a larger network than elicited in this study, as well as data from other network members. Though all aspects of structural and interactional dimensions of networks are related, centrality depends more heavily on interactional potential; centrality is higher when there is lower density (Boissevain, 1974, p. 42). Although unable to compute an index of centrality, as explained in Chapter 3, there are a number of allusions to "central type" activity of grandmothers, aunts, mothers and mothers-in-law in the interviews. These will be identified in the discussion of implications.

Summary of the structural characteristics of elicited networks.

In summary, the elicited networks are very small, incredibly dense personal networks with a distinct core cell. Additional network members in a fringe zone are identified in some contexts;

the implications of these structural characteristics will be discussed in the following chapter, since all dimensions of networks are closely interrelated.

Interactional Characteristics of Elicited Networks:

Indicators of the Importance of the Various Ties

Nature of the Ties

Multiplexity

The ties which link the members of the core cell to the individual interviewed are many-stranded or multiplex. Kinship is the most prominent; 64% of those identified as core cell members are relatives; 62% of all persons mentioned are kin. The relationships range through parents, children, siblings, grandparents, in-laws, cousins, aunts and one infant nephew. The next most frequently mentioned tie was that of friendship; parents and sisters (brothers less often) were also described as "a close friend," "my sister is my best friend," "my sister is the most important person to me," "my mother is a friend like someone my own age." Close friends were also described in kinship terms: "She's like my sister"; "I don't have a sister, but I couldn't love her more if she were my sister," "He's just like a brother to me," "I can't describe how much I love her." The impression of love between the young women interviewed and those they diagrammed in their core cells is pervasive and consistent. Several commented in similar fashion: "I say love because that is what I

mean; there are other people I like, but these I love."

The friends listed in the networks were most often described as being the daughter or son of a parent's classmate or business associate; all of the friends were either close neighbors or classmates when the friendship was formed. Only two young women formed friendships outside their neighborhoods; they were different in a number of other ways, which will be described later.

Opposite-sex friendships, though rare in the sample networks, were formed for the most part between the young women and the brothers of their female friends or the friends of the brothers of the focal individuals.

Summary of types of ties binding focal individuals to network members.

The ties that bind focal individuals to the members of their core cells and fringe zones are multiplex. The links most frequently mentioned are kinship (by specific relationship) and intimate friendship, often spoken of in kinship terms and frequently overlapping; relatives are also intimate friends. Neighborhood, occupational and educational role relationships also often overlap. According to Boissevain (1974, p. 29) the degree of overlapping among multiplex ties is one of the ways in which societies differ. This concept will be elaborated on further in a later section on the nature of interactions.

Homogeneity

Homogeneity is perhaps the most striking characteristic of the sample networks. Indicators for this dimension include: same sex, age, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status, occupation and education. These networks are remarkably homogeneous, both within and across networks. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by first pointing out the differences.

All the focal individuals were nurses; only one was a baccalaureate graduate. She described herself as "semi-committed" to the profession. Only one other nurse thought of herself as a professional nurse, the supervisor. Of the remaining six employed in nursing, three were completing their year of obligatory service and planned to leave nursing immediately thereafter; two planned to leave as soon as they had enough money to buy real estate, and the last planned to resign within a month, due to pregnancy, with no plans to return to nursing.

As described in the demographic profile, all but two of the families of origin come from an educated, financially secure class. The two with working-class origins have moved upward; one is the nurse supervisor, whose brother and sister both have university degrees; she owns her own car and spends time and money in cultural and travel activities. The other married into a "society" family; her husband earned a PhD. Two of the families appear to find themselves in reduced circumstances from a

generation ago, but traces of "old money" linger in antiques, artwork, the location of property, and descriptions of life "like it was before."

Religion is considered a sensitive topic for Westerners in Turkey; freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed by the constitution, but proselytizing is prohibited for any religion. One never knows when a question, seemingly innocent to the researcher, might be misinterpreted; for this reason no information regarding religious affiliation was solicited. No questions concerning ethnicity were asked. In spite of the researcher's sensitivity to the topic, all 17 persons interviewed volunteered their religious affiliation in the course of the interviews. Religion and ethnicity are difficult to separate; non-Muslim citizens, though their families may have been in Turkey for generations, identify themselves as "Greek," "Armenian," "Jewish" or any other of a multitude of identities, some of which might be classified as ethnic, some as religious. Only five of the sample networks elicited any differences in ethnicity or religion. One young woman is married to a Kurd; she herself was born outside the country and considers herself a "foreigner," though she has a Turkish passport. The three Christians mentioned Muslim, Indian, Catholic, Hindu and Bulgarian ties. One Muslim nurse listed two Jewish friends.

Age was the most heterogeneous dimension. Relatives were

multigenerational; friends were much more likely to be the same age and sex.

The "same sex" dimension of homogeneity is readily apparent in Tables 2 and 3. One hundred core cell members were diagrammed by the focal individuals. Nearly two thirds of them are women. Sixty-four percent of the total networks elicited are composed of women or female children.

Sixty-two percent of the women in the elicited networks are in the core cells, fairly evenly divided between friends and relatives. Thirty-eight percent are in the fringe zone; again about equally divided. However, when one examines the ratio between kin and unrelated males, only five of the 38 in the core cells are unrelated; three of these are boyfriends, expected to become husbands in the foreseeable future. In the fringe zone, three of the unrelated males are ex-boyfriends, spoken of with bitterness: "but he still had an important influence on my life." The fourth male, a friend's husband, is also spoken of with bitterness and anger: "He won't let her do anything," and is blamed for a loosening of the friendship tie in terms of the amount of time the two women are able to spend together. The fifth unrelated male is "Well, sort of a boyfriend. I love him, but our parents don't want us to go out yet."

Table 2

Females Elicited in Core Cells and Fringe Zones by Frequency

	Core Cell	Fringe Zone
Friends	28	8
Mother	12	2
Sister/s	10	0
Aunt	3	4
Daughter	2	0
Grandmother	2	5
Cousin-in-law	2	0
Sister-in-law	1	3
Neighbor	1	7
<u>Evlalık</u>	1	1
Mother-in-law	0	5
Maid	0	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	62	38
Relatives	32	19
Friends	29	15
<u>Evlalık</u>	1	
Maid	0	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	62	38

Table 3

Males Elicited in Core Cells and Fringe Zones by Frequency

	Core Cell	Fringe Zone
Father	11	2
Brother/s	10	5
Husband	6	1
Boyfriend	3	4
Son	2	0
Cousin	2	0
Friend	2	0
Grandfather	1	1
Brother-in-law	1	0
Father-in-law	0	3
Friend's husband	0	1
Infant nephew	0	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	38	18
Relatives	33	13
Unrelated	5	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	38	18

A further clue to the importance of the relationships between and among women is the distribution of core cell and fringe zone relatives. The two sisters interviewed were the only ones who did not list their mother in their core cells. Their parents are

divorced and both speak of the mother with a great deal of resentment. Two fathers were also not included within the core cells but no negative feelings were expressed about them. Those fathers were simply not important according to the criteria described; one was the laborer, the other the branch manager for whom his son-in-law worked.

The elicited networks contained a total of 10 sisters and 14 brothers. All 10 of the sisters were diagrammed in the core cells but only nine of the brothers; a further indication of the relative importance of female relationships to those in the sample. As one participant stated: "In Turkey, it is the relationships among women that are important."

Three of the six aunts mentioned were in the core cells; two of the seven grandmothers. Two grandfathers were mentioned, one in a core cell. Eleven of the remaining 18 more distantly related kin were women; three in the core cells. Only 10 men were included in the 59 non-kin network members. As previously described, 7 of these were current or previous boyfriends.

All the measures of network characteristics are imprecise to a certain extent; confounding factors are many and network research is in its infancy. These interactional dimensions can only provide clues to the importance and quality of transactions. Certainly one can say these are basically women's networks. The men, 36% of the total elicited network members, are nearly all

kin, and, as will be shown in the next section, live in the same household or neighborhood as focal individuals.

Dispersion

Dispersion refers to the geographic location of network members and the ease with which they can contact each other. Ideally it should be measured in time as well as distance if it is to be an indicator of potential interaction. "Only a mile away," if the distance has to be traversed by foot, is "farther" than five miles by car.

Seven nurses (of the eight who were married) lived with their husbands in nuclear households. Three of these have moved to their husband's cities; no one else in their elicited networks lives within the same city, except for one person who listed a neighbor as the seventh person in her core cell. The neighbor is a relative of a former classmate. Both of the other two married participants who are geographically isolated from their network members listed a neighbor in the fringe zone. A fourth married participant lives within three blocks of her parents and in-laws, but still feels her home ties are with the city from which she moved with her parents as a teen-ager. She also lists a neighbor in the fringe zone. Her core cell contains only her husband, her mother and the friend who lives in her former "home."

One additional person reports both grandparents in her core cell; they live out of the country. They visit Turkey every other

year; the odd year, she visits them. The four other focal individuals who do not live either in the same neighborhood or in the same household with all of their network members are the three recent graduates completing their obligatory service and the full-time business student. All three new graduates consider themselves still members of their parents' households, and though (except the two who live with brothers) living in different cities and isolated geographically from all members in their networks, none of them report any feeling of isolation. They are in daily contact with network members by telephone—sometimes two or three times a day.

Of the 46 male relatives in the elicited networks, 16 live in the same household as the focal individual. If one considers the participants' own statements; for example, "I live with my parents, but I'm staying here," that brings the total to 20. An additional 6 male relatives live in the same building; only those isolated by marriage or, in two instances, immigration, do not live in the same neighborhood. The neighborhoods in Turkish cities are named, so this was very simple to determine. The male relatives not living in the same household as the focal individuals were either married with their own nuclear households, in-laws, or in two instances, brothers who were away at university.

There was only one instance of a sister who lives a great

distance away, and is seldom visited; she married and moved away when the focal nurse was a child of eight; she is still listed in the core cell. All other female network members live in the same neighborhood, except for those of the "isolates" previously mentioned.

Elicited networks can be described as having very low dispersion; the vast majority of network members live within a few blocks of each other. Those isolated geographically from their core cells by marriage expressed feelings of loneliness and isolation, "I have nobody here except my husband" or more plainly: "I have no one, I am alone here." The one person who is isolated by choice is the one with a core cell density of 81%; "I wanted to get away, to get my independence. I think freedom to choose is very important."

Durability

The findings of the three interactional dimensions of the nature of ties described so far (multiplexity, homogeneity, and dispersion) have included the ties linking individuals to those in their core cells as well as to those in the fringe zone. At best, these dimensions are clues to the importance and quality of ties. No systematic information was solicited regarding fringe zone individuals; all of the data were volunteered for these persons. The assumption is they did not meet the criteria for "important," so were not included in the core cell. Since durability is a

prime indicator of importance of a relationship, only core cell members have been coded on this dimension; they were the only ones for whom data were consistently and systematically recorded.

Durability is a prime indicator of the importance and quality of a tie; time is a limited resource, so when a relationship extends over a long period of time it is assumed to be a measure of the amount of self the individuals are willing to invest in each other. One inherits certain ties of kinship, ethnicity, nationality, and sometimes religion; other kinds of ties are formed more or less by choice. The questionnaire guide included: "When and under what circumstances did you meet this person?" and "When did the relationship begin"? It was rarely necessary to ask the first question directly, especially for blood relatives. Examples include: "My father has always been the most important person in my life"; "My mother has been my best friend ever since I can remember"; or "I can't even remember how old I was, but every time I had a fight with my parents, usually my mother, I would pack my little bag and say I was going to my grandparents, because even more than my parents I have always loved them." Since 66% of the diagrammed (core cell) network members were relatives, this information usually came out during the free-flowing discussion. One participant said: "My sister has been the most important person in my life since we went to [name of place] for three months together—she's my best friend now."

Another said, "My brother and I didn't really become friends until we grew up."

Those who diagrammed friends also frequently volunteered the information: "This represents my closest girlfriend. We lived next door to each other all our lives," or "This one I met when we sat next to each other in primary school." The striking finding is that of the 14 participants who diagrammed female friends in their core cells, only one formed the friendship after middle school; most of the friendships were established before or during primary school days. The single exception listed a neighbor, now a "friend," but also a relative of a former classmate. She is one of the older participants (26), isolated from her neighborhood of origin; she lives with her husband in his hometown, and, since her marriage, her parents have immigrated to another country.

The three young women who diagrammed boyfriends in their core cells had also known them from early childhood; not surprising since they are brothers of their best friends or friends of their own brothers. These "boyfriend" relationships however are new developments: "we always did everything together with my sister and his sister, and then we realized we were more than friends"; "I used to hate him in primary school, but then one day my brother introduced us, and after that I started to like him"; "we always saw each other in a group, but then last year I started to see more of him."

Strength

The strength of ties is assessed by the amount of time individuals spend together, the emotional intensity of the relationship, the mutual exchange of confidences defined as intimacy, and the degree of reciprocity present in the transaction. The transactions themselves are analyzed under "the nature of transactions" in the section following the summary of the nature of the ties. While this lends credence to the interrelatedness of all aspects of social networks, it presents a procedural difficulty in orderly reporting. Analysis, however, proceeds on many planes simultaneously. At this point the indicators of strength which have so far been elicited from the data are described. I believe the addition of the degree of reciprocity enhances precision in the assessment of the strength of ties; symmetry is a characteristic of the nature of transactions and is either symmetrical or asymmetrical (also a question of degree), but a separate term used for tie and transaction characteristics seems likely to be less confusing. Further research should refine both the concepts and the terminology. In any case, the reader should bear in mind that the degree of reciprocity as an index of the strength of ties will be addressed later on in this chapter.

According to Granovetter (1973) ties can be assessed as strong, weak, or absent. Since all of the individuals in the

elicited networks are known to the focal individuals, there are no "absent" ties between participants and members of the elicited networks; ties are present, and can be characterized as strong or weak. A striking feature emerges when ties in the elicited networks are viewed from this perspective: individuals in the core cells share strong ties with focal individuals; persons in the fringe zones share weak ties with participants.

In describing the amount of time they spend with core cell individuals, participants repeatedly state: "we spend all our time together"; "we are together all the time"; "we were together day and night." The emotional intensity of the relationships is indicated by expressions such as: "I love her too much"; "they gave me too much love, really"; and "I give this child so much love I am almost afraid to have another, that I cannot give so much love to another child." The mutual exchange of confidences, or intimacy, is illustrated by comments such as: "We tell each other everything"; "there is nothing we can't talk about together"; and "we tell each other all our secrets." The difference between confiding and mutual confiding is apparent in the relationships of the young women with their fathers: "I tell him all about my problems and he listens and gives me advice" and "I can talk to him about anything except about my boyfriends."

The amount of time spent with fringe zone members, on the other hand, was also high in many instances. A great deal of time

is spent in family gatherings and visits; fringe zone members (except those specifically excluded from the core cells) are included. The amount of time spent with network members in the fringe zones was a significant factor in their inclusion in the fringe zones in the first place. Emotional intensity is also a feature of some of the ties with fringe zone members—but instead of very strong, intense positive feelings, participants describe intense negative feelings, if feelings are described at all in connection with fringe zone individuals. The majority of fringe zone individuals seem to provoke neither positive nor negative feelings; fringe zone members are "there" by virtue of other tie/s, unrelated to the emotions of participants. Intimacy, the mutual exchange of confidences, is entirely absent in the ties participants share with fringe zone members. Transactions, if described at all with members in the fringe zones, tended to be either casual encounters (neighbors, male kin, acquaintances) or irritating confrontations with in-laws or brothers, except for the relationships characterized by negative intensity. The young women whose fringe zones include fathers and husbands merely mentioned them in passing several times.

Even without the degree of reciprocity indicators, the three factors of amount of time spent together, intensity, and intimacy considered together, provide an initial assessment of the strength of ties.

Summary of the nature of the ties.

In summary, the core cell relationships are formed very early, prior to puberty, in the neighborhood of origin and endure in spite of geographic dispersion. The ties are multiplex, multigenerational for relatives, homogeneous in most other ways; the elicited networks are composed of relatives and female friends, with approximately two-thirds of all persons in the networks women.

The ties connecting focal individuals to core cell members are characterized by emotional intensity, intimacy, and time spent together; rough estimates of strength. The ties to network members in the fringe zones are devoid of intimacy, are neutral or negatively intense, and the time spent together is determined by factors other than personal choice.

The Nature of Transactions

Coding for the nature of the transactions, according to the outline of the network characteristics, was in actuality the beginning phase (including open-coding for content, frequency, duration, and symmetry) of the grounded theory approach. Dozens of memos indicate the nearly imperceptible merging of the more quantitative aspects of delimiting the network characteristics (of structure and function) with the qualitative analysis of the data obtained in the interviews.

According to Boissevain (1974), structural criteria provide a

theoretical model of potential communication networks; the actual transactions are the messages that flow along the links from person to person. The links he defines as role relations; the points are people in the social network. Boissevain states further that a personal network is more than a communication network—the messages are in fact transactions. A transaction is defined as "an interaction between two actors that is governed by the principle that the value gained from the interaction must be equal to or greater than the cost" (p. 25). Over time, in persisting relationships, the transactions take on the patterns of exchange, since sentiments, goods, services, and information move in both directions. An asymmetrical pattern emerges when the value of the items (goods, sentiments or services) is consistently unequal. A symmetrical pattern indicates reciprocal exchanges. The emphasis is on the pattern of exchanges; credit can be built up and exchanged for a larger favor or a more socially valued service; "debts" can be paid in the same manner (p. 26, 27).

Social relationships are dynamic, not static; patterns change over time. This study was confined to single interviews with focal individuals; the findings represent the dimensions of their personal networks as they were elicited at that time. Many questions suggested by these findings will be addressed in the following chapter.

The Meaning of "Important Relationship"

The Ties That Bind

The overt definition of "important relationship" was mutually agreed upon by both researcher and participants. A second, covert meaning assigned by the focal individuals emerged: seen through their eyes, "important and influential" clearly meant a loving, affectionate role relationship. Without exception, those network members diagrammed (core cell members) were not only important, but important because they were loved. Persons described as having only an important influence, once loved but no longer in esteem, were relegated to the fringe zone. Persons in the core cells were connected to participants by strong ties.

A Distinction Not Made

In teasing out the meaning of "important" to the focal individuals, I finally realized I was operating under a false assumption: that individual roles are universally separate and distinct, kinship and friendship relationships clearly bounded. This assumption is based on a value system which prizes the uniqueness of individuals. "Blurring of individual boundaries" kept haunting me; why did 14 of the 17 focal individuals make statements which were coded under "blurring"? This gradually changed to a different question: why did I code statements from nearly everybody in such fashion? The two sisters said on separate occasions: "We are like the same person." One person

said "[my husband] is the only life I have." Another said, "after my aunt died [my father] was father to my cousins." Going back to the original tapes, reading the English transcription while listening to the Turkish interviews, I suddenly realized the language itself is a determinant in describing the relationships, both in English and in Turkish.

As mentioned earlier, Turkish pronouns have no gender. Kardes is a generic term for brother or sister; a more accurate meaning is sibling. Kardeslik is translated "brotherhood," "sisterhood," "adopted brother or sister," and "very close friend." If one lacks the language to differentiate, then the concepts cannot be significantly different. The distinction between relative and very close friend was a "blurring" of my own translating. Turkish has very specific kinship terms used when the specific relationship is deemed sufficiently relevant; separate words specify older and younger brother and sister, maternal and paternal aunts and uncles, with cousins labeled as son or daughter of specific aunts and uncles. Those relatives in the fringe zone were consistently referred to by generic terms; those in the core cells by specific relationship. Twice where I had translated "She's my sister," the original was "she's my sibling like my [older/younger] sister"; a distinction the native speaker who checked my translation apparently did not find worth correction; the assumed lack of distinction bothered me for

several months.

A Distinction Made

The meaning of the relationships defined as important for these young women is intertwined with an exchange of love and affection in multiple role relationships. When reminded that an important relationship need not be with someone she liked, one participant stated: other people do important things, but it is the thing and not the person who is important. "The butcher is important, but any butcher is the same." Another, on "other friends" - "there are lots of other people I like, but these I love."

Relationships Ranked in Order of Importance.

The participants (15 out of 17) started the diagramming with "my sister/child/father/husband is the most important person to me." Other ranking indicators were clear: "I really love my parents the same, so I am going to take two circles here; this one is my father, I'll put him first just because he is bigger." Another, choosing two circles together: "I cannot separate these two; these are my grandparents. I love my parents, but even more than my parents, I love my grandparents." Or: "It's really hard to decide between these two, but I guess I will put [a specific choice] first; and "My husband is first now, but after my baby is born, the child will be first."

Participants who ranked similar relationships first had

certain characteristics in common; the groupings presented represent only focused coding—additional theoretical sampling would be necessary to complete analysis along these lines. I believe the ranking indicates the strength of the ties as perceived by the focal individuals at the time of the interviews.

Five participants who listed their sisters as most important to them saw them as their main support persons. One is a self-described "old maid" who cares for her aging parents; the father is bedridden, the mother crippled. The two sisters named each other as "best friend" and "most important"; both feel abandoned by their mother and neglected by their father to a certain extent (he travels abroad frequently); they feel responsible for raising a younger brother, whom they both listed second. The fourth person (whose two sisters were first and second) lives with them, a brother, an aunt and a "helpless" grandmother. She states she was abandoned by her fiance two days before the wedding. These four participants turn to their sisters for "everything" for help in managing difficult life situations. The fifth person who cited her sister as most important said, "and my parents sent my sister to be with me for three months [when she first went away from home] as a good support and since then she has been my best friend."

All four of the focal individuals who were mothers listed the child as the most significant person to them; the two

additional participants who were pregnant both made a point of stating the child would be first when born. The descriptions of the daily lives of the mothers elicited in interviews confirm this; their activities, energy and overwhelming love are centered on their children. The elicited network densities for two of the mothers were two of the three whose combined core cell and fringe zone densities were 100%. The third mother was the one without a fringe zone; she listed only a core cell of four members—her child, her "foster" child, her brother and her grandmother. The elicited density of the fourth's network was 69%.

The three who listed their fathers first were career oriented, and attributed this to their father's encouragement: "He always told me I was bright, and should use my mind"; "he said, 'let her alone, let her do what she wants.'" All three talked about the importance of being free to choose what they wanted to do with their lives, and said their fathers supported them in their decisions: "even if he would rather I get married and had children, he wants me to do what I need to do." The nursing supervisor is one of these; one plans to go into business with her father; the third is the one whose core cell density is 81% (the only one not 100%); she has deliberately distanced herself from those with whom she has strong ties "because I had to see if I could do it on my own."

Two participants listed their mothers first. Both described

the mother as a role model; both live away from home and from others in their core cells; both visit or are visited by their mothers once a month for two or three days; both spend their vacations primarily with their mothers. One is married, the other engaged.

Two of the five who are married list their husbands first; both list their mothers second; both are pregnant. Both feel geographically isolated from other strong ties.

Only one individual interviewed said a girlfriend was the most important to her. She is isolated from all her core cell members except her husband and another female friend. She describes herself as lonely, unhappy with role of "wife," and afflicted with interfering in-laws. Her husband is listed as number five in her core cell.

Dimensions of Relationships

Initiation of Relationships

As previously described under characteristics of networks, the important relationships of focal individuals can be divided into four types; blood relatives (children, parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, and cousins); relatives by marriage (husbands, in-laws); "foster" female children; and close friends. These relationships are initiated in different ways and at different times. Blood ties are an accident of birth; the relationship was described as important if it met both overt

(defined) and covert (assigned) criteria. Over half the core cell members are blood related, 52 of 100; blood ties alone do not account for their inclusion in core cells. Not all fathers, mothers, brothers, aunts, grandparents or cousins were included in core cells, though in this sample, all children and sisters were. The focal individuals are all relatively young; the overall trajectory of initiating important relationships is developmental.

Relationships initiated during infancy, childhood and adolescence.

Important relationships initiated by birth were parent-child, grandparent-grandchild, and sister-sister. These relationships were described by the focal individual as dating "from the beginning," "ever since I can remember," or "I don't remember, I was so young," or simply "he/she has always been the most important to me." All participants who diagrammed their parents or grandparents in the core cells indicated the relationship had been "for always." Half of the sister-sister relationships were described in "from the beginning" terms.

Relationships which became important in early childhood were those formed with female friends. The beginnings were described as: "She was my neighbor when we were very small"; "we sat next to each other in primary school"; "our fathers knew each other from school days"; "my mother and her father worked in the same building"; "her father and my father were partners." As small

children they shared neighborhoods, classrooms, and their parents. "Our mothers were like the same [as though we had the same two mothers]. My mother and her mother were my mother, and her mother and my mother were her mother"; "we were like sisters."

Brothers became friends in later childhood and adolescence. "We used to fight all the time, but now we are friends"; "we beat each other when we were very small, but then we had things in common and became good friends"; and "when we started going to different schools, then we were friends." All but one of the remaining female friendships were formed during these later childhood years: "she was always my neighbor, but then I went to [boarding school] and she was the only one I had from home." "I sat next to her in middle school. Our mothers were school friends from before." For sisters who had not "always" been important to each other, the important aspect of the relationship began in adolescence. The two participants who included male friends in their core cells acquired them at this time in their lives. The young men were brothers of girlfriends or friends of brothers or other relatives; all but one were also classmates in middle school. This usually meant the participants had been introduced at an early age, but the relationship was initiated around the time of puberty.

The late teens and early twenties was the period during which boyfriend relationships were initiated. Even though "boyfriend,"

as opposed to "friend who is male" has the same literal meaning in English and Turkish, the concepts and cultural contexts are very different. Couple dating as known in the United States was not a feature of any of these relationships. Participants explained the concept in these ways:

"If you date one man, you're serious with him; if you date more than one, you are promiscuous, and your family hears about it and you have lost your reputation." "I love him as a friend, as a boyfriend; but I mean we aren't going out together because my parents don't want me to go out with anybody yet." "I've never been out with a man alone. We usually go in a group, eight or ten together ... You talk to more people, and you dance not just with one person but you dance with everyone. You know my father tells me 'don't just go out alone, go out with a lot of people, you can have more fun that way.' And my mother says, 'be careful.' ... You know, she wants me to be polite [well bred], to be a nice girl, to be a virgin, and you know, there are a lot of rapes going on, so she's afraid of that." "We can't really go out together unless we are going to get married afterwards, because my father and his father are friends, and my father doesn't want to hear about me from his father." "Our families don't like us to go out with boys, but most of the girls do it anyway, and they do it secretly. They say they are going to their girl friend's house, and then they don't; you know there is always a way."

Boyfriend relationships which had been initiated and terminated were initiated in a different manner than those which were still in process. The focal individuals were introduced to the young men by casual or work "friends," not intimate friends or relatives. The young men had no other ties to core cell members. There were three of these friendships with unhappy endings; no data were solicited on former boyfriends; these three were all in the fringe zone.

Relationships initiated as adults.

Only one participant included a core cell female friendship initiated after puberty. This friend was described as a neighbor, a relative of a former classmate, "but now she is my very close friend." The participant is married and pregnant; her parents are immigrants to one country; her only sibling, a brother, a university student in another country. She is in a different city from three other close female friends; the neighbor, now a fourth friend, completes the core cell. (The brother is the only network member mentioned in the fringe zone).

The only other important relationships initiated by focal individuals as adults are marriage and parenting. Participants who had children diagrammed them first and stated the relationship was "most important to me from the time the child was born."

Marriage is another concept which carries different cultural and contextual meanings. Turkish law recognizes only civil

marriages. The ceremonies, complete with bridal gown, flowers, and photographers are conducted in municipal halls at 15-minute intervals. Crowds of attendant family and friends pour through one door as the previous crowd leaves by the other, followed by laborers in white coats removing the flowers.

Seven of the focal individuals told me they were married. The friend who recruited another of the participants told me she was married, but separated from her husband. She never mentioned him at all. One participant mentioned her husband as a fringe zone member. That participant's core cell contained only her mother, her sister, her brother and one female friend. The husband is the son of one of her mother's very close friends. She told me they "chose each other" after meeting several times in each others' homes, "and our mothers were very, very happy that we decided to get married." Two participants diagrammed their husbands fifth; one explained the relationship this way: "You have to understand about marriage in Turkey; we love our husbands, but we love all these people who are important to us. You need a husband to have children." One of the focal individuals who spoke of her husband with love and affection mentioned him as the second most important person (after her child), and added laughing, "and besides those ways, he is important to me in the bedroom." One is left with the strong impression that these young married women clearly differentiate love from sex; sex is for marriage,

obviously, but marriage is about a lot of other things. As one person told me: "You know in Turkey, men give great importance to virginity. I was not a virgin when I got married. I had another man before him. My parents don't know, but I told him when I met him in [city name, at his mother's house], so we went on with our friendship and got married, and it is like a miracle to me, it seems almost impossible in Turkey. I have several friends, not too many, but a few, and really, I couldn't find this kind of love, this kind of shared interest; you know, not the physical part, not sex, but the kind of sharing that is important to any two people who love each other."

Only one of the married participants was not introduced to her husband by relatives or friends. She was working as a private duty nurse for an elderly gentleman, and the grandson introduced himself; they married three years later. Her mother-in-law didn't speak to her until her son was born "because I am a nurse"; "they did not approve of the marriage; they think I am not high enough [in status] for him."

Initiation of future relationships.

The unmarried focal individuals talked about what they expected in forming marriage relationships:

You have to get married, to have children, but I don't want that routine just by itself. My parents are pushing me to get married, but you have to be ready to have children, ready

to give to them. Girls are brought up to get married and have babies; they say you can get an education after you are married, but you can't—what do you do with the children?

(from 7341)

I suppose I will get married—someday. We have no money of our own [young women] we can't go out alone, we have no choices, so marriage is an escape, it gives some women the only freedom they have.

(from 7339)

I want to marry a Turk, I don't care about his religion. My grandfather tells me "Marry someone who is Muslim and he doesn't have to be Turkish." My parents would be happier if he were Turkish and Muslim. I just want somebody I can talk to.

(from 7351)

I'll get married when I am ready to settle down; probably to someone my family knows. I think most marriages in Turkey are like that. You choose each other, but from someone the family knows, so they approve. In Turkey, the most important relationships are those between girlfriends, not parents or siblings or husbands.

(from 7340)

Nurturing Relationships

Once important relationships are initiated, or formed, they are nourished by a series of exchanges and choices. Though originally coded as "maintaining relationships," examination of

the focal individual's terminology elicited a much more evocative category: the same root word is used to mean nourish, nurture, feed, support and nutrition. Exchanges were repeatedly described as mutually nourishing. The concept of nurture emerged from the data; relationships are initiated, then nurtured.

The initiation of important relationships differed on dimensions of time and manner of formation; they were visualized developmentally, corresponding to periods in the life cycle. Nurturing exchanges differ in degree of obligation mutually experienced; and are considered in terms of costs and benefits, the principle which governs exchanges.

Ritual exchanges.

From an exchange perspective, high value is placed on ritual exchanges by the focal individuals. The cost (compliance) is minimal to both actors in the exchange and the benefits mutual; the exchange is profitable because the benefit is greater than the cost.

Ritual exchanges were both participated in and elicited from informants. Turkish social interactions have fixed and formal dialogue for greetings, arrivals and departures (including separate sayings: by the one leaving, "We have given God orders [concerning you]"; by the one remaining behind, "Go with laughter").

Described rituals included the obligatory visits to relatives

on holidays: "We go to visit my mother and his mother and father." "We must go to his parents"; "You know it is our custom to visit our grandparents on those days." "We do what we have to do [what it is our duty to do], of course; we visit my parents, we visit his parents, we visit his [older] sister and her husband, we visit his [paternal] aunt." "Always on the week-ends we visit my [maternal] grandparents."

Another type of ritual visit is the visiting of a close friend or relative who is ill. "When my grandmother was ill and trying to get better she came and stayed with us for four months and all of us [multigenerational family] gathered together and everybody came to visit. She had to be helped to go to the toilet and to be fed and everything, and whoever was there, the first who came, did it."

The omission of ritual exchanges is considered a deliberate insult. Comments which indicate the taken-for-granted nature of the obligation include: "I don't understand why she didn't ask after my mother"; "she didn't even send greetings to my brother"; "when my sister was having her baby, my uncle at that time was in the hospital with a brain tumor, so my mother had to go to him instead."

Exchange of company

Exchanges were coded for this category when the time spent together had no particular purpose, other than to be in each

other's company. Focal individuals, in describing how they spend their time with intimate friends and sisters who are intimate friends, used most frequently a word which means a stroll, or an outing, an excursion. It means going out just to be going out; there is no specific objective. "Spending time with each other" was the exchange which required the largest investment of time; the largest proportion of free (literally "empty") time was spent in the company of very close female friends throughout childhood and adolescence. "We were together all the time." "We eat together, we used to play together, she is at my house and I am at her house, it's like the same." "We spend all of our time together."

Physically "being there" for each other was an important quality in mother-daughter relationships too. Consider this exchange:

Q: How often do you see your mother?

A: Unfortunately, not very often. She comes only two or three times a week ... She comes over on the 10 o'clock ferry and goes home after dinner, about 8 o'clock at night.

When participants are geographically isolated from their close friends and important persons, they call "often. Every day, sometimes two or three times a day."

One of the married participants said: "Well, of course now we don't have very much time together, but we have to create time.

It is very precious because when you have so little, you want to spend it wisely."

Though only focal individuals were interviewed, many of them described their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers spending free time this way, though not everyone approved:

... and then in the afternoon there are these teas, five women, her old friends from primary school days—and they get together, and drink tea, and eat pastries, and gossip. What a useless thing to do! My mother doesn't really do this often, but when she is invited she has to go [emphasis mine], but she will come late and leave early. She'll spend two or three hours; usually women spend three or four hours doing this nothing! [emphasis hers]. You know, they get together and they have this knitting and crocheting and their big table full of cakes and pastries and everything. Some of them play cards but thank God my mother never does that. They just gossip and then my mother comes home.

(from 7348)

The concept of teenaged girls having this much unstructured (empty) time is strange to Westerners. A participant explains: "When we lived at home and were going to middle school, we never did anything in the house. Our job was to study. Sometimes maybe I set the table, but I never even washed the dishes. And in the summer vacations my mother never let us do any work, me or my sister. She wanted us to go out and enjoy ourselves and have a

break."

Another said: "I am sure my mother hates it [being a housewife]. That's why she talked and talked and influenced me and didn't let me do any housework. So then when I got married, it was very difficult for me. I find it very, very tiresome still."

Difficulties with household tasks are a common complaint; no one expressed the desire to have learned housekeeping and management earlier, however. The perceived benefits outweighed the perceived costs.

Exchange of confidences.

These exchanges require not only time but emotional investment. They take place during the time spent together, so are related, but time spent without this quality of mutual confiding is "empty" time. Participants are very specific about the exchange nature of this confiding, clearly differentiating it from conversation. "I talk and she listens." "No, she just listens, then when it is her turn, I listen." "That's not advice, we listen to each other." "I talk to him about everything and he tells me about his problems with his family."

The perceived value of these exchanges of confidences is illustrated by the following excerpt:

We are very close and we talk, you know, we listen to each other. We are very close. Trust is very important in our

relationship—we give each other a lot of trust. Maybe it is easier to give each other trust when you start in those young years, when you are very small. It would be difficult now to find a close friend, that you can tell everything. Of course it is not necessary to tell everything, but you feel comfort when you can talk about things. I can't do it with someone I just meet. I don't want to sound like I never see anybody and stay by myself, but they [new acquaintances] are not friends from the heart, you know?

(from 7341)

Confidences are routinely exchanged with mothers, sisters, and close female friends; this exchange was included in the descriptions of the focal individuals who diagrammed male friends, and two of the married participants said they confided in their husbands; the others specifically said they did not. "No, you don't tell your problems to your husband; you are a support to him." Fathers and brothers were not included in this type of exchange by the participants in this study.

Individuals geographically separated from confidants expressed a sense of isolation and desolation: "I have nobody here." Having to listen might be considered a cost, but it is evident that the reciprocal nature of giving and receiving trust makes these exchanges valuable to the young women in the sample.

Activity- or goal-oriented exchanges.

These exchanges include task assistance (housework, child-raising, shopping), personal services (care of the ill, cooking, cleaning), and exchanges of goods and information. The cost of these exchanges is in proportion to the amount of time, money and energy invested in the transaction. As described by focal individuals, these exchanges are most often mutual, but not necessarily concurrent. Credit can be accrued and debts occur if unequal or asymmetrical patterns develop over time. Some services and goods are more valuable than others; theoretically, reciprocity results if more minor services or a greater quantity of goods or information are "paid back."

An example of a highly valued personal service is the intermediary role described by a participant:

... She has this boyfriend, they were at the same school. They went out a couple of times and then he came here to [name of city] to go to school about the same time I did, and we don't know where it [the friendship] is going to go. She doesn't know either. Her parents won't let her come here, and they want him to go back there. You know, he's really too young, he's 25, and he doesn't have any job, he doesn't have any money yet. She spends her time reading, she goes shopping with her mother, she goes visiting from house to house, you know, they have families, and this other family

mentions they know someone who is looking for a wife. But she doesn't want to meet any of them now. She doesn't even want to be introduced to any of them. It is because of this one who is here, she likes this one, and her parents are quite worried, they want her to have someone. And when I say we, we don't know how he feels, I mean we; I am quite involved. Her mother asked me to go and talk to him, you know, to find out why doesn't he make up his mind. What does he want? How long is she supposed to wait for him? You know, they are worried; she is 24; she is passing her time now.

(from 7350)

I asked another participant about the intermediary role, is this a role she performed? "Oh yes, this is very common. If I were in that situation, I would certainly ask a friend to go and find out, it's very common. Even some people who are married, they have some discussion and some disagreement, and they can't resolve it, and the woman will ask a friend to go and talk to her husband." I asked if a sister or brother would perform this task: "Well, I suppose it would depend on the relationship, but I don't think so, usually a brother wouldn't go and ask, because he is a man; that's woman's work."

As the young women grew older, married, went to work or had children, they had less free time to spend. They saw sharing tasks and household chores as a profitable exchange; it enabled

them to "be together."

... And then my grandmother and my aunts who all live near to us in the same area, come to our house on the way to shopping and they go together, or they go out for shopping and our house is on the way, and they stop without calling and help my mother with the housework, and then they have coffee. You see here, not like in your country, everyday you have to buy the fresh fruits, and the vegetables, and the bread, and the meat, and that keeps all the women busy.

(from 7352)

Four participants described husbands (their own, or their friends') sharing household tasks. "If I am very tired, he cooks simple things, sometimes he makes the beds, sometimes if they are very dirty, he cleans out the closets, scours the sinks, and he is responsible for watering the plants and feeding the fish. They are his fish, and his plants, and they would both die if left to me. But the housekeeping and the laundry—that is all on me. But I also bring money home."

Behavior- or idea-oriented exchanges.

In the previous categories of exchanges, there was general agreement between actors concerning reciprocity; exchanges were equal in value and quantity, at least over time. In ritual exchanges and in the exchange of company and confidences, the exchanges belonged to the same generic classes. In activity- or

goal-oriented exchanges the generic classes of task assistance, personal services, material goods and information differed in particulars, but anyone wishing to "keep score" could find fairly objective indicators of costs and benefits. Behavior- or idea-oriented exchanges are much more difficult to classify in terms of reciprocity. Transactions in this category are expected to elicit specific behaviors in other persons, and are acknowledged as directive by the focal individuals. At the same time, the source of the directive is not always clearly identified; Kaplan, Cassel, and Gore (1977) assert that normative consensus and supportive shared values and beliefs are included in the transactional content of networks. Participants did, indeed, describe exchanges of this nature. Behavior- or idea-oriented exchanges are therefore divided into two sections: advice or expectations for behavior proffered by specific individuals in the core cells, and normative expectations identified by participants. Both types of transactions are coded according to the degree of obligation perceived by the participants to conform with expectations or to follow advice.

The excerpt which follows is coded "obligated to accept". The participant perceived the only alternative to conforming to her husband's expectations was to be talked about in derogatory terms. Though the husband expressed the expectation, the excerpt illustrates its normative nature as well. In these excerpts, the

cost of nonconforming is seen as prohibitive.

I choose my own clothes, of course, but he doesn't want me to wear pants. He says it shows your bottom too much, it makes other men look at you. He doesn't like low-cut dresses or blouses, and he doesn't like those skirts or dresses that are slit up the side; but it's not just me, he doesn't think any woman should wear that kind of clothes. But it's because of the men in Turkey, they say bad things about women who dress like that. So, especially on me, he doesn't like it.

(from 7346)

One young woman described a behavior-oriented transaction to which her father felt obligated to conform: nonconformity cost too much

My mother uses her illnesses, for example, ulcers, migraines, stomach aches, to get what she wants from my father. She forces my father to do things her way. He can't drink outside, he can't be late at home, you know, her stomach bleeds, it really bleeds, but it only bleeds when she wants my father to do something. He does it.

(from 7345)

Several young women did not perceive alternatives to directions or expectations. No calculations of costs and benefits were entered into because no other options, apparently, occurred to them. They believed their lives are governed by circumstances

or forces over which they have no control.

Examples include: "My father makes most of the decisions, so there's no use to talk about it, because we do whatever my father tells us." Another participant said: "In Turkey, it is the woman's place to follow her husband. It doesn't matter to me, I don't mind." Still another stated: "Now that I am married, it feels like I am not a person by myself. But that is the way it is when you are married."

Excerpts from items coded "degree of obligation depends on price she is willing to pay" indicate some of the focal individuals perceive options; the cost of conforming must be weighed against a benefit foregone.

When I have important things like examinations or a job interview, I usually prefer my father to come with me. Not always, but usually. You know, we have discussions, arguments, not a fight, but sort of midway between a discussion and an argument. He says one thing and I say one thing. You know, we don't always agree. I know he will disagree with me sometimes, but I prefer to ask him first. I like to hear his thoughts. It's a way for me to make more clear what I am thinking myself. It's just that before I make a decision, I feel better if I have his point of view and I can explain my point of view, then I really know what I think. Then I am easy in my mind, I am sure about my

decisions.

(from 7354)

A woman cannot live alone. I don't mean it's impossible, you know, if I can pay the rent, I can live anywhere I want, but the relatives wouldn't speak to me and my parents would be very hurt. I think I wouldn't mind not talking to the relatives, but I don't want to hurt my parents ... I know how far I can go, there are some restrictions I must live with and some, well, it's O.K. You know, you have to decide where you are going to draw the line, how much you can live with this. You know, even if you know what you are doing, sometimes you have to think about what other people are saying. I don't want people to say I am a loose woman with no morals.

(from 7341)

Still other participants believe the cost of conformity to be too high; tradition is evaluated in terms of benefits foregone. The expectations perceived by these individuals are seen as society norms, supported by core cell members of elicited networks. Individuals who believed conforming to be expensive for them, in exchange terms, were the ones who indicated a desire for change.

Most of the women in Turkey, I think, play their role according to the wishes of other people. I don't want to be like that. I want to be my own self, my private self, to be

me. If you want something, you should be able to do it.

(from 7341)

I think I would listen to him [her future husband], but I will do what I want. I think he will get angry, and then we'll have a fight, and then we will both get over it. Maybe I will change, I don't know; maybe I will change him. I don't think change is easy. Maybe to change myself will be easy, but to change him will be very hard.

(from 7340)

Well, in Turkey, the old men, like my father's age, there are a lot of very conservative, traditional men. You can hardly find anyone who wants the woman to think. I think in our country, a woman who wants someone else to make the decisions for her will have an easier time. There is a big difference between my father's generation and mine, but my father is trying. He is trying to understand the new generation.

(from 7346)

One participant, when asked if she felt her family's more traditional lifestyle and values hindered her career development, put it this way:

I think hinder is the wrong word, because that sounds deliberate. Nobody wants to put obstacles in my way, but they can't be objective about it; they are very subjective. They can only see that they love me, and they want me to have

an easy life. They can't put themselves in my place. They can't give the right decision for me. I understand their feelings, but I have to choose the right way for me.

(from 7349)

This idea of "they can only see that they love me, and they want me to have an easy life" leads into the findings related more specifically to the transactional content of normative consensus, supported by the network structure.

It is crucial for Western readers to recognize the accepting nature of that conformity of participants. To these young women, circumstances could not be otherwise; taken in context, they appreciate the security of their positions. As the participant who said "there's no use to talk about it" described her feelings about tradition:

You know, I like the traditions. When I was in school, if a teacher came into the room, you had to stand up, if you wanted to say something, you have to stand up and wait for permission to speak. I like that; maybe I am more comfortable with that type of tradition. It shows respect; it's important to respect other people. You know, older people know more than we do and we have to show respect. When I talk to my parents, I use sluz [plural, respectful form of you] even when I am only talking to one of them. And it makes me uncomfortable to hear anyone call their parents

by the singular you.

(from 7339)

Two young women described the normative transactions over time in terms of increasing the options available to young women, without having to assign such a high cost to either conformity or nonconformity:

My mother finished primary school, that's all. She wanted, my mother wanted, to go to middle school (grades six through eight), she was very successful in primary school, she finished second in her class on the examinations, but my grandfather would not give her permission to go on. You know, in those days it was ayıp [a disgrace] for the family for women to go to school, but you know, my grandfather gave the money for my education, so I could go to nursing school. You know, times change, and my grandfather changes too. Then my father doesn't give permission for my mother to have a job, but he encourages me to work. You see, it is interesting—times change, and they change, but not for their wives, only for me. Maybe my husband will do the same thing. He has some very conservative thoughts, but maybe he will change for our child.

(from 7351)

Now the big change in Turkey is that women use their economic power to get what they want. Sometimes the man cannot bring enough money, or sometimes the man cannot find a job. Women

now see more of the world, they come in contact with more people, they start to have political thoughts, they have more choices open to them. Better education is available to them and education is very important. Women now can choose whatever they want. They can be city planners, they can be economists, they can do anything. Women now have more rights on decisions that are made at home; they get rights from economic power—if they make the money, they can decide how to spend it. When they have a contribution, they can use this power, maybe it's not at the top level, but they have much more than they had before. Every woman chooses her own means to change her situation, but now she has more means to choose from.

(from 7352)

As the first participant said: "you have to have the freedom to choose. Then, you make your own society. You choose your own friends, and you live the life you feel you have to live."

Assessing Strength of Ties: Degree of Reciprocity.

The fourth index for assessing strength of ties, the degree of reciprocity in relationships, can now be added to the indices of amount of time spent together, emotional intensity, and intimacy. The exchanges which nurture the "important relationships" described by participants with core cell

individuals are characterized by extremely high reciprocity in four categories. The exchange of rituals, company, confidences, task assistance, personal services, goods and information is perceived as equal by participants. The pattern of these exchanges is consistent for all the participants, indicating extremely strong ties between focal individuals and the members of their core cells.

The fifth category of exchanges, those which are oriented toward eliciting specific behaviors and attitudes, is a consequence of the strength of ties; because the ties are strong, there is pressure toward conformity (Boissevain, 1974; Granovetter, 1973); individual differences in acknowledging this pressure result in differing perceptions regarding participants' obligation to conform; the option of changing behaviors was possible for those individuals who perceived alternatives.

Disruption of Relationships

The dimensions of initiating and nurturing relationships were derived from the numerous descriptions by participants of multiple important relationships. These important relationships were confined, by definition and assignment of meaning by the focal individuals, to the members of their core cells. In network terms, the model of "important relationships" emerging from the data indicates that important relationships between persons are nourished by a series of transactions which occur along lines

connecting the focal individuals to the members of their core cells. The strong ties are nurtured.

The most salient feature discovered in examining the third dimension of relationships, the disruption of important relationships, is that the focus of inquiry shifts from the strong ties and the transactions between focal individuals and the members of their core cells to the transactions with, and ties to, persons in the fringe zones of participants' networks. Persons with whom important relationships had been terminated were specifically excluded from the core cells of focal individuals. Strong ties withered and became weak.

The ties that bind are indissoluble.

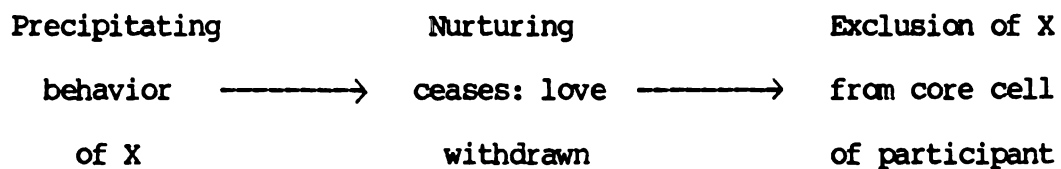
Although the participants spoke of terminating relationships, "of course after that, there was no more relationship between us," the every-day meaning of such terms as "the end," "severed connections," and "broken ties" obscures the theoretical reality. Focusing on the ties which link focal individuals to others in their fringe zones elicited a property of ties not previously considered: the ties themselves are indissoluble. A tie is a social connection, a shared social relation (Boissevain, 1974, p. 28). It follows, then, that a tie is not only durable, but permanent. It is the sharing of ties which makes an assumption of breakability untenable. Ties can be weakened but not broken. Blood kinship is the most obvious of indissoluble ties.

Neighborhood ties, once formed, can be transformed into ex-neighborhood links, but the neighborhood remains shared history. Religious affiliation can be altered so the shared tie is former rather than present. It is not the relationships which are terminated but the transactions which nurture them. Individuals connected by a social relation may choose not to use the link as a communication channel, but the potential for transactions remains as long as both actors survive.

Dynamics of disruption of important relationships.

The interview guide did not solicit data on relationships which had been disrupted; nevertheless, eight participants volunteered single instances in which they described a sequence of events culminating in the exclusion of particular individuals from their core cells.

The dynamics of disruption of an important relationship as described by the participants can be diagrammed in this manner:



Though focal individuals did not necessarily describe the sequence in order, the process is easily abstracted from their accounts:

I had a very close friend, but I hate her. I don't want to see her, I don't even want to talk to her now. Some people

come and go in your life. She is gone from my life. She was my best friend in boarding school. You know the kind of beds that have one down and one up? Mine was the down one and she had the top one. We used to talk about everything. We were like each other, we were each other, we were inside each other's skin. We had the same classes and we were together all the time. Day and night. And then when I came here I wrote to her and I asked her to buy me a school ring. I deserved it. I told her I would send the money, however much it would cost. So then [a mutual friend] was going back there for the summer and I asked her to bring the ring. So the day before she left, she called [first girl] and said, "I want to get that ring for [participant] and take it back for her." And [first girl] said, "Oh, I haven't even ordered it yet." So that was the end. (She repeated several times) "She didn't even have to pay for it; I was going to pay for it."

(from 7340)

That man played a very important role in my life. He used me, I used him too, in a way. I learned to know a little about how men think, it gave me a clue about marriage. For a short while I considered marrying this man. He was from [city] and I think my developing political ideas at that time had a role in choosing him. He had less education than I and in some ways I felt superior to him and that played a role,

too, but I really loved him. Then I found out he had another girl friend, and this other girl wanted to marry him, and he was deciding between the two of us, and so at the beginning I didn't want him to choose me, and then I did—I wanted, and I didn't want, I wanted, and I didn't. Do you understand? But at the same time I felt sorry for her so I decided to make a separation from him, so it finished. I was really upset. I started smoking and then I went away to [city] to get away from him, to put him from my life, and at least while I was there I forgot everything—well, not everything, but I forgot.

(from 7346)

This friend of my mother, poor mother [deceased] was like my [maternal] uncle, and always he said, "If you ever need anything, look to me like your own father and come to me." And we were very close, really close, like relatives, and so one day I had a big problem and I needed money very quickly, so I went to him and I kissed his hand, and I said please can you help me, and he said of course, you can take the money on Friday. And again I went and kissed his hand, and he said sorry, but I had to give the money to someone else, and of course after that there was no more relationship between us.

(from 7347)

An excerpt from one young woman who spoke with bitterness of her mother illustrates the rejection of the mother as a person,

even though the mother continued to use communication channels:

My mother left us when we were very small. She and my father divorced, she left him and she left us. We were so small, and our brother was a tiny baby, only three months old, and she took us to our [paternal] aunt and left us and never came back. How can a mother go away and leave her babies? Then she got married again . . . Sometimes I hear that she wants to see me, but I can never forgive her for that. She sees my brother, but we won't see her. She is not important to me as a person.

(from 7354)

A prominent feature of the disrupted relationships was the trauma experienced by the reporting individuals: "We finished our relationship three years ago, but I am still wounded, still I cry sometimes—but not about him, about my unhappiness." Another participant described: "You know, even though it is a good thing [now], for a long time it was like I was locked inside an empty room with no windows, and no furnishings, even. Like I couldn't find my way, to see into the future."

One participant spoke of the disruption of an important relationship in exchange terms; she concluded the cost of maintaining the relationship was too high:

Maybe now I will never marry, but I had to decide if I wanted to live in that way for the rest of my life. He spends a lot of money on clothes. He wants to be somebody special, above

other people. It put a big difference between us, it strained our relationship. I like good things, too, but not so much as him. I will only spend what I can. He looks down on us, on our whole family; as though we were villagers, no money, no education, no anything. We are not rich, but we are not ignorant peasants. I really don't like to say these things about him, because he was very important, very, very important to me, but I am trying to explain to you about him. I couldn't exchange my family for him.

(from 7352)

Three of the formerly important relationships were with boyfriends. These three relationships shared a common difference. Unlike most of the important relationships initiated with male friends who remained in the core cells, these young men had not been introduced to the focal individuals by either family or close friends. The participants met the young men through work contacts; none of the young men knew anyone else in the core cells of the focal individuals.

Disciplined abstraction revealed one other feature common to all the disrupted relationships: the exclusion of the individual from the core cell was seen as the only option by participants. Statements reflecting the mandatory nature of the disruption of the important relationship include: "Of course we couldn't continue with our friendship after that" and "so naturally, it was over."

I asked one participant what would have happened if she had continued the relationship:

I can't imagine such a thing. And if I hadn't stopped [the relationship] then what? Because I never thought about going on with it after that. Those are not the kind of thoughts I ever think.

(from 7355)

In the eight accounts of disrupted important relationships, precipitating events varied; in all cases the participants found the behavior of "X" intolerable. Termination of the important relationship was not seen as optional, but obligatory.

Summary

The social networks of the Turkish nurses elicited in this study were confined to a core cell of individuals with whom the participants had important relationships and a fringe zone of individuals of pragmatic importance. Relationships with core cell individuals are characterized by ties of great strength; ties with fringe zone individuals are consistently weak.

Important relationships are initiated early and endure over time and distance; the relationships are nourished by an ongoing exchange of reciprocal relationships, which in turn maintain the strength of ties; disrupted relationships described were few and characterized by lack of nurturance. Former strong ties then became weak. Of the four indices of strength, only emotional intensity remains high, transformed from highly positive to highly

negative. Amount of time spent together, intimacy, and exchanges are eliminated.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS
OF THE STUDY

The findings and implications of this study and the suggestions for further research will be discussed under three main headings. The first section is the most extensive. The contributions of this study to the growing body of literature on the analysis of social networks are divided into the contributions to methodology and the contributions to knowledge of network concepts, followed by a discussion of the findings on dimensions of relationships discovered from the data. The second section addresses the issue of Turkish nurses functioning in the public domain as private individuals. The last section discusses the findings of this study in relation to the initial questions for exploration which guided the research.

Contributions to the Body of Knowledge

Contributions to Methodology

As early as 1971, Bott suggested that further empirical research would make it "imperative for us to be more precise about the general forms that networks assume" (Bott, 1971, p. 323). Pilisuk and Froland (1978) indicate the proliferation of network analyses offers increasing convergence of definitions of network concepts, but few studies address all the known characteristics of networks. Since the dimensions of networks "do not stand by

themselves: they imply and interrelate with a broad range of other factors of import" (Pilisuk & Froland, 1978, p. 277), this study required a reformulation of the characteristics of networks, derived from the literature, in order to include all the salient characteristics known at this time.

The outline of characteristics of networks upon which the analysis in this study is based is unique in the division of the interactional dimensions of networks into the "nature of ties" and the "nature of transactions." The nature of ties are characterized by multiplexity, homogeneity, dispersion, durability, and the strength of the ties. It is important to identify the weak as well as the strong ties, since weak and strong ties serve different functions in the networks. Though Granovetter (1973) included amount of time spent together, emotional intensity, intimacy and reciprocity of transactions as measures of the strength of ties, the findings of this study support the idea of the degree of reciprocity as a more accurate index for assessing strength on a continuum from weak to strong.

The strength of ties is interrelated to multiplexity, homogeneity, dispersion, and durability. Considering all these characteristics of the nature of ties adds precision to an assessment of strength. Increased precision should prove useful in the identification of weak ties, suggested by Granovetter (1973) as important bridging mechanisms for the diffusion of new

information and the introduction of new contacts.

This research supported the notion of the importance of defining boundaries for the network to be studied (Pilisuk & Froind, 1978). Defining the boundaries of the participants' networks to include "important persons who had an important influence on your life" limited the networks to those individuals considered by the participants to be emotionally important as well as pragmatically important, a distinction not originally intended. Serendipitously, the ascribed meaning of importance by the participants added precision to the boundary definition, and differentiated between the "core cells" and the "fringe zones" in the elicited networks. Addition of the fringe zone provided a means of including individuals in the study whose relationships with participants enriched the data on "dimensions of relationships." "Elicited network" proved a useful term to describe the aggregate of individuals with whom the participants described relationships. The methodology also demonstrated the importance of considering what the participants tell the researcher in addition to what is asked for; the dimension of disruption of important relationships would not otherwise have been discovered from the data.

In selecting delimiting network criteria in conjunction with participants before beginning the interviews, two sets of unrecognized assumptions were in operation: I assumed

participants would include pragmatically important relationships; participants assumed the importance was limited to those they loved. Analysis would have been flawed had those assumptions not been recognized and considered, emphasizing the fact that recognition of assumptions is crucial.

Sharply defined boundaries served to limit the size of the network considered. The personal networks of individuals are virtually limitless (Boissevain, 1974); defining the boundaries of the network to be studied simplifies the technical difficulties of the researcher, who must consider the allocation of scarce resources, such as time and money, when planning the focus of inquiry. Focusing on the network from an anchorage perspective limits the transactions to those between the anchoring individual and others in the network, however the network boundaries are defined.

While the individual focus limits the size and the number of transactions to be considered, it prevents eliciting indices for centrality, degree of connectedness, and clustering. These are limitations of the method which strongly support the idea that what the researcher can find out depends on where the researcher focuses attention.

The findings of this study suggest that the idea of face-to-face contact implicit in the previous definitions of tie needs to be reconsidered; though all the contacts for initiating

relationships are described as face-to-face, many of the exchanges which nurtured the relationships were conducted by telephone. Action-sets, defined as groups of people recruited temporarily for a specific purpose, could well be constructed by telephone; an initial telephone or mail contact might or might not lead to eventual face-to-face contact. This notion needs exploration.

Procedural contributions to methodology included the introduction of the flannel board and felt circles to elicit network members. This was effective in data collection, but even more importantly facilitated role-making and establishing rapport with the participants and the individuals intermittently present during the interviews. Both researcher and participants were comfortable with the method of data collection. As expected, the analysis of social networks proved non-threatening to the young women interviewed. In retrospect, using the flannel board and felt circles, more sophisticated network concepts could have been explained clearly to participants. The differences between various personal and effective zones and the extended zone of personal networks could be outlined easily on the flannel board and more detailed information on the various levels in personal networks could be solicited. Boissevain's (1974) description of varying levels of zones requires empirical validation; including various levels of networks in analysis would lend supporting data. The "core cells" and "fringe zones" elicited in this study support

the notion, even though the fringe zones were not precise.

Polaroid photographs, both as a memento to participants and a permanent record of the networks as diagrammed provided an unexpected validation of the described networks: in all but one instance, taking a photograph precipitated the bringing out of photograph albums. The photographs were, indeed, of the individuals described by the participants as belonging in their core cells. A great majority of the photographs were of core cell members; virtually all the others were of individuals in the fringe zones.

The recruitment of the sample individuals demonstrated an exercise in the construction of action-sets. The recruitment action-set as designed was based on the assumption that a research permit and weak professional ties would provide access to the target population. The action-set as designed was completely ineffective. The reality action-set (see Figure 2, Chapter 3) suggests a number of implications. The focal individuals were contacted through a series of multiplex ties and the final introduction had to be made either by a female or a male relative of the participant. No unrelated males provided direct introductions.

The difficulty of access supports the contention of Olson (1982) and Fallers and Fallers (1976) that men and women occupy separate social spheres in Turkey. If this is to be documented

fully, future research must address the issue of segregated networks. The interviews conducted in the homes had a number of intermittent participants, but they were all women. Men were present only where I was invited to dinner, but the visitors who came in and out were women. The notion of duo-focal networks in Turkey suggests the importance of same-sex researchers in studying networks. A more complete picture of social networks in Turkey could be elicited by a male-female research team studying the elicited networks from the perspectives of both men and women.

Recruitment of the sample highlights the problematic area of entree for the foreign researcher, and illustrates the importance of speaking the same language. The interviews were conducted in Turkish, and although the method of taping, translating, re-taping and transcribing was effective (if expensive), much of the serendipitous awareness of basic assumptions of both researcher and participants would have been lost in the translation if a third person had been relied upon exclusively for the translating. A translation is, at best, an interpretation, since "words are not fixed symbols which have exactly corresponding meanings in other languages" (Nida, 1954, p. 17). Words, as symbols, convey ideas and concepts which are a product of the history, culture, and environment of the speaker. The listener translates and interprets the symbols according to his or her own history, culture and environment. Williams (1962, p. 16) declares that to

"translate is always to betray", which illumines the orthodox Muslim view that the Koran is untranslatable (Arberry, 1955). This view, expressed several times by participants, was a continuing sensitizing factor. Though a number of differing meanings of basic concepts were identified (such as those involving courtship and marriage, friends and kin) one can only wonder at how many other assumptions based on differing customs and/or values have gone unrecognized. The reader of this research report needs to bear in mind that, although sensitive to cultural and language differences, this study of the social networks of Turkish women is by a Western researcher.

Contributions to Knowledge About Social Networks

Keddie (1976) cites inadequate attention to class differences as a major flaw in studies on women in the Middle East. Exchange theory, the underlying theoretical orientation for the transactions which occur between individuals in networks, has not in the past addressed the issue of differences in class. This study demonstrates that the use of exchange concepts in the analysis of transactions in social networks has at least the potential for comparison between classes: the general class and type of relationships are identified and the transactions analyzed according to the exchange perspective. Further research on the social networks of Turkish women in clearly differentiated classes would add scope and precision.

As a foreigner, I was careful not to label the specific classes to which the young women interviewed belonged, but listed only socio-economic indicators. Those who know the culture can assign their own labels.

Masson (1981) indicates that world-wide, nurses tend to come from the poorer sector of the population. While it needs to be documented for Turkey, there is no reason to believe the situation there is different. Turkey has five university programs in nursing, compared to 89 basic lise programs, where high school courses and nursing subjects are completed at the same time. The literature suggests (Erkut, 1982; Kandiyoti, 1982; Şenyapılı, 1979) it is the women from poorer classes who send their daughters to "trade" schools. Though graduates of lise nursing programs consider themselves professional nurses, it is unlikely that the wealthy, elite upper classes would consider high school graduation sufficient preparation for a profession. This is an assumption which remains undocumented, except for the fact that several of the participants in the study mentioned nursing was not well thought of in Turkey, and one young woman was looked down upon by her husband's family because she was a nurse. It is important to consider these factors when attempting to understand the milieu of the sample population.

The means by which all the focal individuals were recruited (an action-set based on my own social ties) probably selected an

unusual population of Turkish nurses. My friends who were the first links in the chain of the action-set were either foreigners themselves or highly educated professionals. Few Turkish nurses could be expected to have social contacts, even indirectly, with the educated elite who initiated the contacts. Obviously, no generalizations about nurses in Turkey can be made from a sample such as this; it is more valid to consider the network characteristics of the sample as belonging to a certain class, or classes, suggested by the socio-economic indicators listed.

Two of the participants were from families where the father was uneducated. One was typical of the lower class women described by Erkut (1982), Kandiyoti (1982), Kuyaş (1982) and Olson (1982) who value traditional, segregated, non-autonomous roles. Her husband, a university professor, went out alone in the evenings when they did not exchange visits with relatives; her mother-in-law made all vacation decisions. She only went out alone during the day, and made it a point to be home in time to cook dinner. When asked if she felt constrained in her own life, she answered: "Of course not; my husband is my only life." The other participant whose father was just literate and whose mother could neither read nor write, was committed to nursing as a profession and had just been promoted to the position of nursing supervisor. It is interesting that these two individuals represent the two extremes in the study; the most traditionally

oriented, and the most career oriented. Neither had remained in the same class as the family of origin, however one chooses to define it. The other participants were less concerned with either careers or tradition, though four of them were planning on careers other than nursing, "at least until I get married and have children." Analysis of social networks, considering as it does the structural and interactional dimensions of social life, clearly has the potential to differentiate between social classes.

The findings of this study support the belief of Boissevain (1974) regarding the importance of ideology as an influence on focal individuals, which in turn affects the structure of one's personal network. Although the information was not solicited, every participant volunteered her religious affiliation. Several spoke of the importance of having the same religion as one's husband, though one stated: "Even if my husband is Muslim, he won't be a very religious person, because I don't think I could live with someone who was very religious; it is my culture which is important." Western stereotypes of Islamic women following the lead of men need to be examined specifically with the intention of separating cultural from religious influence. Olson (1982) reports that for village women religious rituals provide the major opportunities for socializing. When I was working in Turkey, major crises or catastrophic illnesses of close relatives of faculty were considered sufficient cause to take the afternoon off

for a visit to a religious shrine, accompanied by fellow faculty members. Several times I was invited to accompany these women; the afternoon was much like a holiday excursion, and to my knowledge, was the only activity these women participated in together away from the work environment. Certainly this aspect of network has not been studied to an appreciable extent and suggests a fruitful area for inquiry. Religious questions are sensitive in Turkey; I would be inclined to believe that questions of ideology would best be addressed by fellow believers, at least in the early stages of research. To date, Turkish researchers on women's issues have not addressed the topic, though Kuyas' (1982) study on normative preferences indicates the socialization of female children is based on cultural rather than ideological factors.

Dispersion is another characteristic of networks enriched by the findings of this study. In Turkey, the literature addresses dispersion mainly in the contexts of migration. Duben (1982) discusses rural to urban migration, as do Kandiyoti (1982) and Senyapılı (1979). Abadan-Unat (1982) and Kandiyoti (1977) address the issue of guest workers, who migrate to another country for economic reasons. In both cases, the migrants are from the less educated, poorer classes. Dispersion, for these individuals, tends to loosen the hold of tradition, especially on younger individuals. Geographic dispersion means, for migrants, less frequent contact with former ties, with less pressure to conform

to the "home" norms. The young women in this study, on the other hand, were dispersed for reasons of education or marriage; the move was from one city to another and had very little effect on the ties linking focal individuals to those left behind. These young women could afford to maintain their contacts by telephone and frequent visiting, and did so. Telephone conversations were reported as often as "two or three times a day" for family members, and "every day" for intimate friends. Once a month visits were a common occurrence; by the young single women to their families in other cities, and by the mothers to married daughters if they lived in different cities. These findings suggest geographic dispersion functions differently in different social classes.

On the other hand, geographic dispersion has different meanings to some of these young women than a Westerner might suppose. Single young women completing obligatory service in cities away from home, though they had been away from home for several years, considered they still "lived" at home. One young married woman who described herself as "really missing" her mother lived less than four miles away, and still saw her for the entire day two or three times a week.

Frequency is another network term which this study suggests needs specific definition for the culture. MacCallister and Fischer (1978) suggest frequency categories which could yield very

misleading information. Compare their definition of "rarely—once a year or less" to a Turkish participant's "unfortunately, not very often—only two or three times a week", and another's comment about her brother: "He visits us very seldom, twice in a week at the most." A participant whose married sister lived in the far north of Turkey stated: "I never see her anymore;" but stated she visited her on vacation every year, and the sister and her husband came to visit on their vacation. In this instance, never means twice a year.

The small size, density, intensity, and intimacy which characterize the networks of the young women in the sample are much more pronounced than similar characteristics of networks in Western literature (MacCallister & Fischer, 1978; Mueller, 1980). Density can be precisely calculated by formula; intensity and intimacy are more or less subjective assessments, though based on specific indicators. The striking density of the networks in this study needs to be weighted for degree of connection.

Density indicates potential transaction channels; degree of connection indicates which individuals actually are involved in transactions with each other. It is theoretically possible to have a very dense network where all the individuals are known to each other, yet have virtually no transactions occurring between network members other than with the focal individual. Establishing the degree of connection entails interviews with all

the network members; a long and time consuming process, but necessary if the full potential of interconnection, with all its implications of fostering conformity and maintaining social norms is to be understood. One is tempted to assume a high degree of connection exists in the networks described by the participants because of the amount of time spent together in various family groups and the references to intimate friends as kin. The assumption needs to be verified. One misses important information about what happens in networks when indices for centrality and degree of connection are not elicited, though if the focus of inquiry is primarily on the individual, this is of minor import. If diffusion of information or the introduction of new ideas are of prime interest, then centrality is a crucial characteristic; central individuals control the amount and flow of new information to the entire network; individuals very closely interconnected to each other present a web of strong ties which inhibit transmission of new ideas and information.

Clustering is defined as a part of an individual's social network in which the members are more highly connected to each other than to other individuals in the larger networks. The core cells described by participants were essentially clusters; this was true because of the high proportion of kin in the core cells and was an accident of the delimiting criteria; if pragmatic contacts had been specified as important it is questionable

whether a cluster would have been elicited, though this needs exploration.

It is probably accurate to say these individuals in the core cells were highly connected to each other; whether or not they are more connected to each other than to others (exclusive of the focal individuals) is open to question. Many of the transactions which occur in networks are not directly observable, such as the exchange of ideas, sentiments, and affection. It is possible for individuals to perceive a unilateral transmission as an exchange. Kapferer (1969) found that certain participants named others as "best friend" without the "best friend" returning the sentiment. The value of exchanges can also be differentially defined by two actors. For example, a busy, time-conscious person might value an investment of time very highly; the recipient might not value time much at all. Boissevain (1974) cited as an illustration of this point the godfather who was only marginally aware of the many godchildren of his who listed him as very important in their lives. It is important to remember, however, that for the purposes of the godchildren, the godfather was important; when approached, he did assist them in the manner desired, though the transaction held little value to him. But if individuals depend upon strong ties as routine sources of support (of whatever description) from their networks (however delimited), then precise measures of identifying strong ties need to be developed for

predictive purposes. Reciprocal transactions need to be confirmed as reciprocal if they indeed have an important bearing on the amount and nature of resources available from various network members. Differences in perceived and actual resources available might be identified by the analysis of transactions throughout the network, rather than just by analyzing those with focal individuals.

This study differentiated between two types of weak ties; those which were formerly strong characterized by intense but negative emotion, and weak ties distinguished by neutral emotional content. A number of authors (Boissevain, 1974; Bott, 1971; Granovetter, 1973; Kaplan, 1977) discuss the strengthening of ties. The hypothesis is that ties become stronger the longer they endure; with increasing multiplexity; with a high level of homogeneity; and with a low level of dispersion. The findings of this study provide an added dimension to the concept of weak ties; strong ties can weaken over time. In this sample, decreasing or terminating reciprocal exchanges is a characteristic of disrupting relationships. In formerly strong ties the emotional intensity was transformed from positive to negative; intimacy was eliminated, and face-to-face contacts ceased. It is probable that these relationships, which remained important though in a negative way, were reported precisely because of the emotional intensity involved. The disruptions of important relationships reported

were traumatic; nothing is known about strong ties which weaken from other causes except those weakened by dispersion; dispersion was not an important factor in this study. A question yet to be addressed is the significance of the every-day comment "I used to know her." Boissevain (1974) says individuals move in and out of the various levels of one's personal network. How is this accomplished? Though the evidence is meager, I would venture to suggest that the stronger the tie at the time of disruption, and the more traumatic the disruption, the farther out from the core the individual will be moved. Persons discarded from the core cells in this study were removed entirely from the effective zones of participants. Analysis of social networks could, for instance, help to identify factors contributing to amicable divorces. Nothing is known about the changing composition of networks over the life cycle; the weakening of ties is as important a component of network structuring as is the strengthening of ties. Kaplan (1977) suggests networks are restructured to meet varying needs. If this is true, then is it not likely that more than chance is involved in the structuring of networks? The potential for discovery is exciting; the state of the art is such that each new study can flesh out what is now little more than a skeleton of network characteristics and properties. The concept of restructuring networks implies that at some point the network can be considered structured; Boissevain's (1974) view of networks as

dynamic and continually changing suggests restructuring is too restrictive a term. Kaplan (1977) used the term for widows who, in his view, had to "restructure" their networks after the loss of their husbands, yet no one knows to what extent the loss of a single important individual influences the structure or function of a social network. The whole concept of loss suggests further exploration, using the analysis of social networks. So far, only the dimension of social support has been investigated in relation to loss. The findings of this study suggest analysis of social networks, considering all characteristics of networks, provides information on relationships previously unconsidered. As Bott (1971) concludes: 'Perhaps we can now see things we might not have looked for before' (p. 330).

Dimensions of Important Relationships

The important relationships identified by participants in this study included 62 females and 38 males. The important relationships with women were about equally divided between relatives and friends. The important relationships with men were almost exclusively with relatives; only five non-related men were listed in the core cells and three of these were serious boyfriends. Only one young woman listed male friends who were neither related nor expected to join the family by marriage.

The findings of this study are consistent with those of Kiray (1964), Olson (1982) and Yasa (1960), that women in Turkey seek

emotional support and companionship primarily from each other. Typically, girls in Turkey are in the company of their mothers and sisters (and the women and female children with whom their mothers and sisters associate) almost constantly from the day of their birth except when they are attending classes (Olson, 1982, p. 45). Participants describe important relationships with sisters, female friends, mothers, grandmothers and aunts being initiated very early and enduring over time. Female friends were neighbors, often children of their parents' friends, or associates. Only one participant described an important relationship with a woman friend initiated after puberty. Important relationships are developed from a pre-selected pool, structured by the social patterns of the older women with whom young girls spend virtually all their time.

Fallers and Fallers (1976), Kiray (1964), Magnarella (1974), and Olson (1982) believe the relationship between Turkish girls and their mothers is especially intimate. The young women in this study described intimate relationships with their mothers for the most part, since 11 out of the 14 whose mothers were living ranked them in the first three places. Two sisters, however, excluded their mother from their core cell. One participant, who still ranked her mother fourth (after her daughter, her father and her grandparents) described her as a negative role model: "I learned from her that I did not want that kind of life, or that kind of

relationship with my husband." She indicated too, that her mother was too involved in her children's lives:

My mother doesn't give us any privacy. My father doesn't interfere in our lives, he is interested, but he doesn't interfere. You know, there is a border between a parent's life and a child's life and my father knows that border, and he doesn't cross over. My mother doesn't recognize that it is there. This border is very important to me.

(from 7341)

Fisek (1982) is not entirely in agreement with the previously cited authors: she believes daughters are close to their mothers because of a "shared same-sex subsystem which fosters identification" (p. 312), but that mothers have a closer relationship with their sons. Mother-son relationships were outside the boundaries of this study, but certainly the subject warrants further investigation. Relationships with mothers were important to the young women in this sample but not as important as relationships with sisters or, for those young women who were mothers, as the relationships with their own children. The four participants who had children and the two who were pregnant indicated their relationships with their children were or would be the focal points of their lives. This viewpoint was echoed by most of the unmarried participants who described intellectual, emotional, and material preparations they believed prerequisite to

having children: "You have to give so much to children; you have to be ready to look after them, it's a big responsibility;" "you have to give interest, you know?"

The discrepancy might be accounted for by the difference of focus or perspective of the writers. It seems possible that mothers place more emphasis on the relationship with children than children place on the relationship with mothers—a further argument for studying relationships from the perspective of all network members. The findings of this study suggest mother-daughter relationships might be an example of asymmetrical exchanges; consider the example of the young women who were never required to do any housework. Kâğıtçıbaşı (1981) found in the Value of Children study, that children are valued for future economic security and support in the lower classes, and for psychological rewards among the upper-class families. Perhaps mothers consider rewards differently when allowed to place their own values on children, rather than choosing from pre-selected choices, as those in Kâğıtçıbaşı's study did? In any case, the lack of agreement indicates a need for further exploration.

An alternative explanation might be that the importance of relationships changes over time, which may or may not be related to social class. The young women in the sample were either anticipating motherhood or were fairly new mothers; the relationships they described with their own mothers were from the

perspective of young adults; their own mothers, from their accounts, seemed to spend more time with sisters and grandmothers than with female friends.

The ranking of important relationships suggests another area for exploration; if, as Boissevain (1974) suggests, people move in and out of the various levels of personal zones over time, the rankings could indicate the relative importance of various relationships over stages of the life cycle. Other factors could also intervene; it is possible that as the circumstances of their lives change, young women find individuals who provide the most resources they are in need of at that particular time, the most important to them. The findings of this study suggest this as a possible explanation.

The young women who listed their mothers first, for example, described them as role models: "She is a pattern for me"; "In her relationships with other people, and in my relationships with other people, she shows me the way [lit. opens my door]". The three individuals who ranked their fathers first were career-oriented (although not in nursing) and attributed their success to their fathers' encouragement. Those who listed sisters first relied upon them for support in difficult life situations (separation, care of elderly relatives, abandonment by important others). The two individuals who listed their husbands first were pregnant and geographically isolated from the members of their

core cells. No firm conclusions can be drawn from these meager findings, but in the absence of evidence to the contrary, this explanation is a useful starting point. Further exploration is indicated. Confirmation would support Walker, MacBride and Vachon's (1977) notion of different models of networks as differentially supportive in various stages of bereavement. This idea needs to be extended for various specific needs. As Norbeck, Lindsey and Carrieri (1982) indicate, the question of whether particular types of support are crucial for adequate functioning in specific situations is still unanswered.

The networks described by these young women support the idea of extended families as functional units, as suggested by Duben (1982), Fişek (1982) and Olson (1982), as well as supporting their assertion that women live in female worlds. As the young women in the study grow older, they follow the patterns of their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers, and create time to be together by sharing household tasks, child rearing, and shopping. Most often these exchanges were conducted with mothers, sisters, mothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law, with intimate female friends included, as they had been since childhood, as "part of the family."

Though Boissevain (1974) suggests the climate plays a significant part in structuring social relations (people who have to shop often in warm climates tend to linger and socialize on the way to and from shopping), it would appear from the evidence in

this study that other factors are involved in the "shopping and socializing" combination. In Turkey, the shopping together is a means of spending time together. These young women all had refrigerators, though generally of smaller size than those of their American counterparts. However, in Turkey, the electricity is an unreliable commodity; often scheduled to be cut off for several hours of every day, the specific time depending on the area of the city. The climate is moderate; warm in summer, cooler in the spring and fall, cold in winter, but the shopping is still done daily. A contributing factor is the lack of cold storage in the places where the women do their shopping; fresh fruits and vegetables are brought to the markets and small shops on a daily basis. The general level of development and industrialization of the country seems an important adjunct to the traditional nature of the social pattern itself, carried over, perhaps, from the days when no refrigeration was possible. If pressed, the women might suggest the lack of dependable refrigeration as the "cause" of the daily, often joint, shopping expeditions; the frequency of the shared activity, described as "we have to make time to spend together," indicates the real function. Doubtless this sharing of activities is an inefficient use of time from a strictly pragmatic viewpoint, but the sharing of time together and the mutual confiding which takes place during this time are of more value to the women concerned.

Interdependence is prized above autonomy and independence for individuals in Turkey, according to Fişek (1982) and Olson (1982). In small, closely knit communities, people cannot disregard each other easily (Kagıtçıbaşı, 1982) and the functional extended family offers not only support, but security in a society in which individuals have to depend on each other in the absence of institutional support structures (Fişek, 1982). There is good reason for nurturing the close ties between individuals.

The small, dense networks of the women in the sample, characterized by low dispersion levels and very strong ties suggest that outsiders are unlikely to be invited into the women's networks. As Boissevain (1974) suggests, it is unlikely that individuals can sustain more than a small number of such close ties; the amount of time and energy already invested in relationships with other network members leaves little of either for anyone else. Those who do enter the network are likely, if they remain, to develop equally strong ties (Granovetter, 1973; Kaplan, 1977). It is difficult for strongly tied individuals to escape from each other. When ties are multistranded, regardless of where one goes, whether to social events, family and neighborhood gatherings or school and occupational pursuits, one is likely to encounter the same people. Encountering the same individuals in numerous clusters tends to reinforce consistent behavior; normative consensus is high (Boissevain, 1974; Epstein,

1969; Frankenberg, 1966; Walker, MacBride & Vachon, 1977).

These networks of very strong ties which link individuals in mutual interdependence have another consequence: the lack of spatial privacy. As one participant said, "Nobody has any secrets in Turkey"; another stated, "When anything happens in the family, everybody gets involved; uncles . cousins, everybody." When interdependence and mutual sharing are so highly valued, privacy in the physical sense cannot be, since the two are mutually exclusive, in the sense that the more one has of one, the less there can be of the other. If everyone's problems and concerns are known to, and discussed by, everyone else in the network, degree of physical proximity becomes relatively unimportant. At the same time, one could speculate that the intensity and intimacy of relationships are made possible by both actors to transactions becoming extraordinarily sensitive to the internal privacy of others. The maintenance of intimacy and intensity requires that curiosity, to a degree, be foregone. Fisek (1982) indicates Turkish children are not encouraged to display curiosity, and cites it as a developmental defect; I suggest it serves a nurturing function in a tight, intimate network. In talking with one participant about the differences between the obligations of "real" sisters and "intimate friend" sisters, she stated: "I suppose the big difference is that with your real sister you have to allow more privacy. With a friend, you have some space that is

different, but not with your real sister. People have to keep some things for themselves."

The data collection procedure for this study lends support to this notion. No interview was conducted in total privacy. Although all participants were assured of confidentiality, without exception they stated, "that doesn't matter, it is not important." Women of the household, maids, relatives, and female friends not living in the household, were in and out of the room during the interviews. I was continually struck by the ability of all concerned to create separate islands of activity. People did not ignore each other (ritual greetings were observed), but neither did they intrude. This granting of individual privacy without spatial privacy seems a crucial factor in enabling individuals to "live in each other's pockets," as a colleague put it. The case of the young woman who resented her mother's non-recognition of the personal boundary dividing them further illustrates this point.

Spatial privacy and personal autonomy are Western values. The evidence of this study suggests the values are not universal; though perhaps a more appropriate approach to the question of personal autonomy lies in the definition of the word. Autonomy means "self government; independence." As a participant expressed her ideas: "Independence means freedom, freedom to choose." The principles of exchange theory suggest that individuals tend to

choose alternatives which seem most profitable to them. It would seem that choices then, are based on the basic values one holds. In Turkey, "togetherness" is highly valued; people choose to be together. As a consequence of this overwhelming togetherness, an unaccompanied woman is suspect. Basic values will have to change before singleness in public places is appropriate. There is some indication that there are certain arenas of public life, especially during daylight hours, where it is appropriate for women to be seen alone (Olson, 1982). One of the young women in this study indicated she occasionally went to a concert or movie alone in the afternoon, though never at night. The same participant was the only one who had male friends in the core cell, in addition to a boyfriend. She was completing her obligatory service, and was geographically isolated from the intimate friends she spent "all the time" with at home. Another young woman drove her own car and visited friends alone. Other participants described only joint activities. A number of Turkish writers indicate increased autonomy represents gradual societal change (Abadan-Unat, 1982; Fişek, 1982; Kandiyoti, 1982; Kuyuş, 1980). There seems to be insufficient evidence at this time to distinguish between individual differences and changing society norms; certainly this is another aspect of social life requiring exploration. Westerners, concentrating on the "restrictions" imposed upon women tend to forget that men also choose

togetherness; Fişek suggests the social networks of young men, external to the family, are even more important to them than are those of the young women in Turkey. This notion needs validation. A short walk down any city street in Turkey supports the superficial observation; crowds of young men throng the streets and coffee houses.

While it would certainly be a mistake to suggest that no women in Turkey are unhappy with their personal lot in life, it is perhaps even more of an error to suggest that all women are. The young women participants, predominantly from comfortable, educated elite backgrounds, were not displeased with the circumstances of their lives. One young woman anticipated having to change her expectations when she eventually met a marriage partner: "It will be easier to change myself than to change him, but when you love somebody you want to do the things he wants." When speaking of norms which might be considered restrictive by Western standards, the focal individuals often used the word for acceptance, but it implies a willing acquiescence rather than a passive submission. The whole question of values and personal choice needs far more exploration. Advocating a change in values seems to be treading on dangerous ground; values cannot be coerced.

As described, the closest and most common relationships of importance to the women studied were those with other women, but a fairly common exception to the rule of "the strongest ties are

between females" are the intimate relationships some young women develop with their brothers, especially one who is about the same age or a little younger (Olson, 1982). Eight of the participants listed brothers in their core cells; four young women ranked a brother second. The young women who went out in mixed groups in this study were accompanied by their own brothers and brothers of their friends; although unrelated males were included in the groups, the presence of the brothers was consistently seen as protective by participants. One participant who had no brother described a male cousin performing this function. While women in most parts of Turkey are no longer shielded by the veil (nor the actual swords and shields of early centuries in Anatolia), they are effectively shielded by company—either that of other females or male relatives. Olson-Prather (1976) writes of a Turkish woman and her brother:

In addition to guarding her honor before her marriage, a brother is expected to champion her interests throughout his lifetime. In urban areas a brother can often be relied on as an escort to social affairs, and a woman may ask him to do so even after she is married. Further, in contrast to lovers and spouses, brothers and sisters are allowed to express affection toward each other in public. In fact, if one observes a man and woman of about the same age kissing or embracing in public almost assuredly they are brother and

sister rather than lovers or husband and wife (p. 247).

Duben (1982) argues that frequently in Turkey kinship terms are used in a classificatory sense to express and reinforce the significance of non-kin relationships. It is not that individuals confuse kin and non-kin, but that, for many purposes, they choose to ignore the differences. Actual kinship engenders rights and obligations which the use of kinship terms invokes for non-kin. Duben suggests simulating kinship provides a structure for relationships where the social rules are known to both actors in the transaction. In Duben's analysis, the kinship idiom is structuring behavior when a man who encounters a woman unknown to him and addresses her as yenge (female in-law) accepts the "moral and sexual constraints that would ordinarily apply to a man's actual yenge" (Duben, 1982, p. 92).

The protective nature of the kinship idiom is supported in a study by Magnarella (1974) . The women of a small town are described as living in a "defended neighborhood". The women form a dense network characterized by trust, cooperation and mutual aid, and "a collective pride and guilt over one another's achievements and shortcomings" (p 45). The consequences of any woman's behavior is shared by the group. Individuals in the neighborhood address each other in kinship terms; sexual relations between neighborhood members are thought of as incestuous. Though living in separate households, the entire community has the

characteristics of an extended family, with individual identities less important than the group.

The protective nature of the kinship idiom offers an attractive and logical explanation for the function of the kinship idiom by the participants of this study for the non-kin female members of the core cells. An intimate friend who is "a sister" and "a daughter to my mother" is as protected as the daughter of the house in relationships with the blood-kin in the household who are males. Though Duben (1982) confined his use of the kinship idiom to relationships between strangers, it seems functional for relationships within networks as well.

Although the harem (women's section) and selamlık (men's section) have long since disappeared from private homes in Turkey, public and private areas of the individual dwellings are still preserved (Olson, 1982; Olson-Prather, 1976). During data collection, although invited into the homes of participants, I was never shown any but the "public" rooms. Though men and women share space at home, not much time is spent there together. The focal individuals described spending evenings (after 7 pm) together as a family, but that does not account for much of the time men and women have at their disposal. There is nothing in the data in this study which sheds any light on how the space is shared when extended family members and friends of both sexes visit at the same time. Do men sit on one side of the room, women

on the other? Are they in separate rooms? Fallers and Fallers (1976) suggest upper class women spend more time in the company of men than do women of the lower classes, but the larger proportion of their time is still spent in unisex activities. Young women in the sample who were married described their husbands as sometimes going out on their own "with the boys" in the evenings, a thing none of the married women did. On the other hand, the women spent much of the day in combined working and visiting; working husbands are not allowed that flexibility.

Olson (1982) suggests the families in Turkey are characterized by networks having a dual focus. Each adult in a family is seen as the focus of his or her own and separate social network (p. 36). The family is traditionally considered the basic unit of society, both in the West and elsewhere, but one begins to wonder at the evidence for that assumption. Conjugal couples, no doubt, are the basic procreative units of society, but is it not possible this is merely biological necessity? Certainly in the United States in the last decade there is increasing dissension concerning the definition of "family"; is it not possible that some alternate grouping (or a number of alternate groupings) make up societal units? The functionally extended family, most authors agree (Gökçe, 1976; Kağ.ıtçıbaşı, 1981; Kandiyoti, 1974; Timur, 1972; Yasa, 1970) is the predominant "family" form in Turkey; at the same time writers are unanimous in describing the sexually

segregated nature of Turkish life. Further research is indicated, but the findings of this study suggest strong support for Olson's (1982) assumption of the duo-focal family. The "family" described by participants includes intimate female friends. Though fathers, grandfathers and male cousins are included in the core networks as "important" individuals and they are loved and admired, the ties are less strong with males than with females, except for brothers and in some instances, husbands. The indicators for strength of ties, the amount of time spent together, emotional intensity, intimacy, and the degree of reciprocity of transactions differ for the males in important ways. Participants do not describe exchanging confidences with their fathers, and the amount of time spent together is considerably less than that spent with female members of the core cells. The number of transactions which take place between fathers and daughters is also smaller, perhaps due to the lesser amount of time spent in each other's company. Superficially, the transactions give the appearance of asymmetry; young women consistently go to their fathers for large amounts of money, and more behavior- and idea-oriented transactions originate with fathers than with any other specific personal category. These findings are contrary to what Olson (1982) describes as the "myth" of male dominance.

Olson's argument is that women and men occupy separate social spheres and that each is dominant in her or his own sphere. The

evidence supports her argument about the nature of the spheres, both in the literature previously cited, and the findings of this study. While I believe the data do strongly support the separateness of social domains, when the two networks do interface, it would appear that the men make more of the decisions affecting both domains. As long as the separate domains remain separate, it seems likely that the women control their separate worlds, probably to a greater extent than the men realize. Participants agreed that women make decisions about how to spend their time during the day, what to cook, how to dress the children, even how to "spend whatever money she has in her hand, because that is what women do during the day." The married participants are consistently home in time to cook dinner, however, even when they are also employed. Two or three focal individuals reported young husbands "helping", but with minor household tasks; as one stated, "the responsibility is all on me." Olson does suggest an intriguing possibility, however; "since most ethnographies on Turkey have relied primarily on interviews with men, at least until recently, they reflect this ignorance [of women's freedom in their private domain] as well and create a possible bias in the literature" (p 41).

Kâğıtçıbaşı (1973), who is both Turkish and female, supports a more traditional view. She finds that more external control is exerted on girls than on boys during their formative years; from

late childhood, males have more freedom of choice. Among adults, her finding was that there is a higher incidence of male decision making among the lower socio-economic classes; increased education seemed to allow men to feel less need to control decision making.

In Kuyas' view (1982), the majority of women in Turkey have such a low level of perceived options, and marry at such a young age that autonomy over their decisions remains low; young women in Turkey are socialized to family responsibilities, not to individual goals and achievements. Kuyas does find a striking difference between classes. Many more options and potential for change are perceived by women in middle- and upper-classes.

It seems clear that the young women in the sample for this study are not typical of Turkey as a whole; perhaps the higher level of perceived options by some participants is due to increased education and economic opportunities, but this factor has received inadequate attention so far. It might be that individual differences in preference account for differences in behaviors, and it should be emphasized that the young women in the study exhibited a wide range of perceived options, as demonstrated in their responses to behavior- and idea-oriented transactions; some saw no alternatives to complying; the cost of non-compliance, especially to family norms, was so prohibitive as to be inconceivable. Yet the same norms, held by another family of

equal education and social position brought forth the response: "You have to know where you can draw the line . . . sometimes you have to think about what other people are saying." There is no clear-cut answer to what constitutes male dominance; one participant supported Olson's contention that women allow men to believe they are dominant, because it gives them more personal freedom: "I talk to men about them being better than we are; it's a joke [to me] but they don't get it. In primary school half the time I did better than they did. It depends on the person; some are more clever than others and it doesn't depend on their sex." "Important" decisions are generally defined by researchers as those involving large sums of money, place of residence, and so on. Yet to the young women in this study, the "important" aspects of their lives were the relationships with core cell members in the networks. The nature of "importance" needs to be explored in terms of the overall impact on women's lives.

The exchange nature of the transactions reported by the focal individuals suggests Olson's assertion might be correct if we can assign equal weight to basic values. Westerners value autonomous action and decision making; many of the young women in the sample valued "being taken care of". Independence, unprized, is a useless commodity. Participants refer with pity to women who "have no one" to take care of them; much more needs to be known about the value placed on these two polar behaviors before

consensus can be reached. "Being taken care of" is seen as a measure of a woman's worth by many in Turkey—women and men. While no one would dispute the notion that opportunities should be equally available to all, the advisability of maneuvering unwilling women into roles they do not want has to be questioned. Kuyas (1982) indicated the normative preferences of women coincided with their life situations in most instances; when there was a difference, the women preferred a more traditional role to the one they were forced to assume. Food for thought. Basic values are difficult to change; who is to decide which values are "better"? The issue requires very careful consideration.

Another question inadequately explored is: How does authority differ from status in different cultures? The individuals in the networks in this study showed very little differentiation in status. This is congruent with Boissevain's (1974) and Barnes' (1954) notion (still undisputed) that individuals in dyadic relationships are of essentially equal status. Power differentials can build up over time if there is a series of asymmetric transactions. Participants do not report unequal transactions except in the cases of money and "advice". The father is seen as acting appropriately; advice is sought eagerly, though not always followed, within the context of "concentrated love", as one individual stated. These transactions were recorded only for the fathers who were "important" in the

lives of the participants; eight of the seventeen. Though it would need specific documentation, there is no evidence that the "unimportant" fathers offered advice. Perhaps the person most qualified (defined variously for various tasks, decisions, etc.) is chosen to carry out the tasks and make decisions; expertise may be dependent on socialization in part, but perhaps also on the relative native abilities and personal preferences of both actors in transactions.

The notion of greater value being placed on idea- and behavior-oriented transactions is open to another interpretation as well: Gergen (1979) suggests that in intimate relationships ("concentrated love"), inequality of exchanges is not an issue. The concept of "keeping score" arises when the intimacy of the relationship is called into question, or in relationships which are lacking in intimacy and intensity from their beginnings.

In the relationships described by the participants as important, the interests of the group were placed above those of particular individuals; togetherness was of prime importance. In times of crisis, the individual's problem became the group's problem. Much Western research is based on the importance of the integrity of each unique individual; there was little to support that view in this sample. The most "independent" young woman interviewed voiced a number of individual goals and aspirations, but stated "they say you can do anything you want to in Turkey,

but you have to think about the effect for your family. I would do anything for my family. We are very close, there is very strong love between us."

Cultural Factors Influencing Professional Behaviors:

Private Women in the Public Domain

Neither nursing nor employment was important to most of the young women in this study. Except to the newly appointed supervisor, committed to her profession, employment was very tangential to the important business of living—the relationships between the participants and the individuals described as important to them. Participants repeatedly glossed over the hours spent in employment when asked to describe the activities of their days: "I go to work and come home. . . ." followed by accounts of activities and relationships they considered meaningful.

The unmarried women were all employed at the time of the interviews; six in nursing. Three were completing their periods of obligatory service; none of them planned to remain in nursing. The two participants working as private duty nurses planned to resign as soon as they had enough capital to invest jointly in real estate. The sixth single nurse expects to remain single and move up further in her profession; she is the supervisor. The participants employed in non-nursing fields expected to remain outside nursing; their present jobs offered either more money or greater satisfaction, if not both.

These findings are consistent with reported labor force participation of women in Turkey. Kazgan (1982) found only 11% of the urban labor force in Turkey was comprised of women. Kandiyoti (1982) described the women's labor force participation in Turkey similar to that found throughout the Middle East: a heavy base of non-qualified women, employed in agricultural production and domestic service, a small cohort of semi-skilled or semi-qualified workers, and again a heavy top level of highly qualified, professional women. The categories of workers correspond to class levels, though as Erkut (1982) indicates, a very small percentage of village women do become university educated and enter professional fields. Except for the educated elite who encounter few if any barriers, there is a conspicuous absence of women in occupations which require spatial mobility and exposure in public places.

As indicated earlier, the nurses in this sample are most probably not typical of nurses in Turkey. While the findings of this study cannot be said in any way to be applicable to the general population of nurses, the cultural implications derived from the findings are applicable to women in the public domain. In the absence of specific data on nurses in the work place, I have elected to discuss the professional behaviors one might predict on the basis of the findings of this study and the evidence gleaned from the literature which these findings support.

In the first place, one would not expect these young women to work after marriage; certainly not after the birth of a child. The only women who continue to remain gainfully employed in Turkey (following marriage and the advent of children) are those who work from sheer economic necessity, either as unpaid family workers or as wage earners whose incomes contribute to basic subsistence. On the other end of the scale are the few highly qualified professionals who can afford to pay the women on the bottom end of the scale to carry out their household and child-care duties. Factors reinforcing this trend are the very early age of marriage for most women (over 50% in one study were married between the ages of 15 and 17), the high proportion of pre-school children in the families of these women, the absence of child-care facilities and the intrinsic unattractiveness of jobs available to women (Kandiyoti, 1982).

None of the women in this sample were, at the time of the interviews, from the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Only one was a university graduate; this nurse was the only employed mother; she had household help five days a week. Though she described herself as "semi-committed" to nursing, she indicated she worked partly for the satisfaction of contributing something and partly to increase their standard of living; her income was higher than her husband's. Although Özbay (1982) indicates women with both university and vocational training are more likely to

remain in the labor force than other women, clearly the nurses in this sample, though fitting in the "vocational" category are somewhat of an anomaly.

Citçi (1974) found women work (other than professional women) because they have to; they find no incentive to continue once economic motivators are removed. On the contrary, not having to work is considered a privilege and an advance in social status. The value of work is perceived differently by women who can afford to do it "for the fun of it" and women who would find themselves hard put to feed the family if their incomes should cease.

Şeryapılı (1982) found that women who work because they have to never consider the work anything but a temporary stop-gap, "just until the family finances improve", even though the "temporary" work may go on for years. The income from the work is not enough to raise the standard of living and is performed at the perceived cost of neglecting the family; "work becomes a disappointment, an obligation to be suffered" (Şeryapılı, 1982, p. 245).

Focal individuals were not asked why they went into nursing; the focus of inquiry was on the changes they encountered. Several of them volunteered the reason: entering nursing provided them with the potential for earning some money independently by the time they finished a high school level education. This motivation is consistent with the commonly held belief that labor force participation increases women's economic independence (Özbay,

1982). Boserup (1970) found, however, that this holds true only for women who do not need the money for subsistence. Kuyaş (1982) found economic independence was closely associated with a higher amount of disposable income and an already independent personality, an explanation much more in keeping with the general findings concerning these young women.

Since the division of labor by sex is such a dominant reality in Turkey (Kuyaş, 1982) and the segregation of men's and women's worlds so pronounced, how is that women in Turkey can enter the profession of nursing in the first place? I would suggest that for the women in this study, they were secure in their own positions, with strong network support, so that external considerations were minimal. Class alone offered all the protection necessary in their public contacts (Olson, 1982). Speech, dress, and bearing are class indicators in Turkey just as they are in other parts of the world.

But I believe there are factors inherent in the nature of the relationships of Turkish women which enable women of other classes and backgrounds to function in patient-client situations.

The first factor, not addressed in this study, but gleaned from the literature, is the authoritarian nature of the society as a whole. Although authority is normally thought to be vested in adult males (Levine, 1982), men are thought to be at least affectionate and dutiful toward their mothers throughout life

(Fişek, 1982). The nurse coming into a patient's room represents authority—the authority of specialized knowledge and the authority derived from her position on the hospital staff. Though she may be low in the hierarchy, patients are even lower. The nurturing "mothering" nature of nursing may have some impact, but this needs specific exploration.

The second factor is the nature of the "care" nurses in Turkey can be expected to direct towards patients. Compassion and meeting physical demands could be expected; the kind of caring American nurses pride themselves on delivering to their clients would be inappropriate from the standpoint of both the patient and the nurse in Turkey. In Turkey, the important relationships, as described in this study and in the literature, would preclude any kind of emotional or interpersonal relationship other than that of meeting ritual obligations and the carrying out of necessary tasks by the nurse. Individuals inside the core cells in networks are totally in; other individuals are totally outside. Attempts by the nurse to offer emotional support would likely be seen as intrusive, if perceived at all. Overheard comments made by nurses in the United States while attempting to offer this type of support to similar patients with close-knit, strongly tied families demonstrate their lack of understanding of this type of network. "The family is trying to take over" is a frequent complaint. On the contrary, the family is simply retaining

control which was never abdicated. In Turkey, I suggest, this is expected, accepted, and understood by all. The maintenance of interpersonal distance, with no attempt to strengthen ties, enables young women to carry out their duties.

A third enabling factor of special concern to those who wonder about the physical proximity of unmarried young women to men unknown to them is the "togetherness" factor. No patient would be left alone in Turkey. When individuals are ill enough to be hospitalized, a relative stays overnight in the room. In government hospitals where wards are more common, relatives might not stay overnight, but in that case the nurse is "protected" by the presence of other patients. Family members frequently perform personal services for the patients, including baths and feeding. Families are structured to provide these services, and the functions continue even when the individual requires hospitalization.

A fourth factor is that although all nurses in Turkey are women, male orderlies are hired to perform intimate services required by male patients if too difficult for the family. There is not the danger of an unrelated woman being in a compromising situation with a man, certainly never alone.

An additional factor operating in Turkey is that, unlike most of the Western world, medicine is not a man's preserve. The patient is quite likely to have a female physician, and the nurse

is not put in the position of being in "a man's world." She moves in and out of family groups, insulated by the nature of the relationships to which all are accustomed. The habit of allowing personal privacy to others while sharing the same space is a distinct advantage to all participants.

In summary, the dual nature of the social worlds of men and women and the nature of the relationships which are central to the lives of the young women in this study protect and enable them when functioning in the public domain. I suggest it is the strength of the ties and the all-absorbing nature of the relationships participants described which defined them as private individuals; the public domain is an unimportant influence which they are socialized to ignore. Nothing that happens in the public domain can touch them in any important way.

These suggestions need empirical testing. In the meantime a number of cautions are suggested for the development of nursing practice. Most of the Third World looks to the United States and the West for assistance in nursing education and development (Meleis, 1979). A better understanding of the dimensions of personal relationships in a country such as Turkey indicates that some of the basic assumptions about individuals and about the role of the nurse need to be reassessed. In countries where individual needs are not paramount, family needs must be addressed first. Interventions directed toward a "unique, autonomous individual"

will have little effect where autonomy is suspect. One can readily imagine the conflicts inherent in a situation where the nurse is attempting to foster self care, and the family and patient are operating in a situation where value is indicated by "doing for" and "taking care of". There is no evidence that either orientation is superior, but they are certainly different. These differences need to be valued and appreciated instead of intervened against. From a Western perspective, the impersonal approach (what Parsons, (1967) described as affective neutrality) seems cold and uncaring. In a sense, perhaps it is, but on the other hand, there is no need for the warm and personal interactions espoused by Western nursing; patients are cocooned within their personal networks with no room for the concern, except in a polite, impersonal way, of strangers.

Discussion of the Findings in Relation to

Women and Change

The questions for exploration which guided this research were directed toward discovering which changes the young women in the sample had experienced in their lives and how those changes were managed and by whom. The changes described by the young women in this study were those involved with growing up, attending boarding school during secondary and nursing education, employment, courtship and marriage, and parenthood.

Initial assumptions were that living away from home, either

because of education or marriage, would represent major changes for the participants, as would entering the work force as professional nurses. Employment was expected to elicit factors which enabled the participants to move from the private to the public domain, from an arena where their behavior influenced only domestic activities to a field where their behavior had impact on the larger society. The developmental processes of growing up, courtship, marriage and parenthood were expected to elicit data on how these changes were managed by the focal individuals.

Changes involved in living away from home and those connected to developmental processes were described by participants in terms analyzed as strengthening or weakening the ties which linked focal individuals to persons important to them. Important relationships were initiated early in the lives of these young women and, up to the time of the interviews, had endured despite geographic dispersion.

In this study, the young women who were unmarried and living in cities away from those they considered important to them showed no indication of strengthening ties with new acquaintances. Strategies for managing changes were directed towards minimizing the physical separation of participants from those they loved; daily telephone calls and frequent visits continued to nurture strong ties. Separation was considered temporary; the young women planned to return to their home communities and resume previous

patterns of relationships.

Participants who returned to their home communities and were unmarried described their lives in terms of nurturing exchanges between themselves and those they love. They structured their lives around individuals important to them. Those who had boyfriends continued to find relationships with female relatives and intimate female friends of central importance to their lives; some included boyfriends in their core cells; one did not. One interpretation might be that the young women's relationships with their boyfriends were in different stages of development; this must be balanced against the finding that not all the married participants included their husbands in their core cells.

The young women in this sample who married and moved with their husbands to cities far removed from persons important to them also continued to nurture the strong ties linking them to individuals they had left behind. The difference between the single and married participants in this study, however, was in the nature of the feelings engendered by the dispersion. The married women considered themselves permanently isolated geographically, and unlike their single counterparts, experienced loneliness and feelings of isolation. These young women began to include neighbors in their personal networks, although at the time of the interviews, all but one of the neighbors remained in the fringe zones of participants. The exception was a neighbor related to a

former classmate; this was the single instance of an intimate female friendship initiated after puberty in this study. Conceptually, the acquaintance the young women had in common was an additional strand to the tie between them; though only one example, this relationship lends support to the notion that the more multiplex a tie, the more likely it is that an intimate relationship will develop.

For the young married women who stayed in their home communities, the important relationships they described which sustained their lives were still with their families and intimate friends. Some added their husbands and selected in-laws to their core cells; some did not. All of the participants who became mothers placed their children first in their affections and centered their lives around their children.

The patterns of relationships described by participants for their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers were similar to their own, except for the two mothers of participants who had been uprooted from their home communities by moving with their husbands. Neither of these women had formed new attachments; their entire world focused on their husbands and children. The daughters of both of these women described their mothers as negative role models.

These findings demonstrate the relevance of the difference between frequency and duration of contact in transactions for

individuals separated spatially from each other. Both single and married participants remained in daily touch with individuals important to them in their home communities, but the amount of time they were able to spend together over the telephone was necessarily less than that they would spend together in person; talking on the telephone limits the activities with which one can concurrently be engaged, and even though telephone conversations were reported to be "for an hour or two", that falls far short of the "all the time" which the participants were accustomed to spend with their intimate friends and relative when they were in the same neighborhood. The investment of time is less; the investment of money is considerably higher in maintaining telephone transactions than it is for transactions conducted in person, although the financial considerations were of no importance to the participants. One would expect, however, that over time the ties of dispersed individuals would tend to become weaker in spite of continued nurturing because of the lesser amount of time the individuals are able to spend together.

The findings are descriptive of the conditions obtaining at the time of the interviews; all of the participants were young; only one of the young women had been married for more than five years, the other marriages were of less than three years duration. Longitudinal studies on social networks of women are needed to discover the dimensions of weakening and strengthening the ties

that link them to others over time and distance.

The assumption that employment of participants would elicit factors which enabled them to move into the public domain was supported, but as discussed in the previous section of this chapter, in a surprising way; the employment itself was tangential to the lives of all but two of the participants; they function in the public domain as they do in the private domain—women and men in separate worlds.

The ties between participants and the individuals in their core cells are of such strength that the relationships with those individuals dominate their lives. Work contacts did, however, provide weak ties. Three participants described relationships with former boyfriends initiated through introductions by arkadaslar [friends] at work. None of those contacts were made during the time when the young women concerned were working as nurses; perhaps an indication that for these young women at least, the hospital environment was more foreign to them than the offices and businesses where they subsequently found employment. Only the nurse supervisor socialized outside working hours with fellow nurses (and her most intimate friends, though nurses, had been friends since primary school days). The young women who were employed in positions outside nursing occasionally went out with "friends from work"; although none mentioned anyone of sufficient pragmatic importance to be included in the fringe zone. Of all

the young women in this study, only the nurse supervisor truly found self-fulfillment in her employment; the other participants sought fulfillment in their intimate relationships. For married participants, motherhood was the most fulfilling of all their activities.

The changes that were important to the young women in this study were the changes in their intimate relationships, not the changes involved in moving away from home, getting married, or going out to work. Moving away from home, getting married, and going out to work, in fact, involved creating new strategies for spending time with intimate friends.

The transactions which occurred in the social networks of the young women were similar in most respects; the exchanges of rituals, company, confidences, task assistance, goods, information and personal services were symmetrical and consistent. Differences were apparent in the participants' perceptions of their own obligations to conform to behavior- and idea-oriented exchanges. Further exploration is required in order to account for these individual differences, though it would appear from the evidence in this study that personal preference is a major factor. There is some indication that young women who describe different types of intimate relationships as being the most important to them (such as sister, father, mother, or female friend) have differential needs for the kind of support the particular

relationship provides. The young women who perceived the most options available to them were those with less strong feelings about the importance of traditions and less inclination to accept the obligatory nature of societal norms, reflected in the views of those they considered important in their lives. Whether or not they chose to act on those options, the young women who perceived a variety of alternatives for behavior were most open to change.

The significance of these findings in relation to young women and change in Turkey lies in the implications for the introduction of change to societies or groups characterized by small, dense separate networks of women and men, (though the existence of similar men's networks is yet to be confirmed in Turkey), and in the types of changes which are likely to be effective in such networks.

According to Granovetter (1973), individuals embedded in social networks, however one defines the boundaries, are reached only through weak ties. Given the nature of the social networks of Turkish women in this study, it is most likely that weak ties with other women would be a more effective bridge than would those with men, unless the men were related. My own experience with attempting to gain access to the young women in the sample supports this; the final link in the chain was always female or a male relative. The weak ties described by participants were those with female neighbors, women friends, in-laws, and male relatives.

The dissemination of new ideas or recruitment of action-sets could best be accomplished, in these networks, by working through "friends of friends".

Although a weak tie is necessary for the introduction of change, new ideas or actions are more likely to be disseminated within a network if introduced through a central individual. Centrality refers to the lateral links an individual has within a network; the shortest route to individuals on the fringes of everyone's core cells (or personal clusters) is through the central person. The most central individual has access to the most people, therefore the most power, because individuals distant to persons in other clusters, lacking direct connections, must rely on the central individual's good will, or at least cooperation, to transact their business. Descriptions of the intermediary role by participants suggest the person in this role occupies a central position. Aswad (1974) found that in the visiting patterns of elite women in a small town in Turkey, political information was passed to male members of the elite across political lines by the wives talking with each other, then carrying the information home—a channel unavailable to the men.

This idea of the transmission of new ideas and information through a central individual is contrary to the general impression that the "trickle down" theory doesn't work; Kapferer's (1969) work suggests that it is through the elite in society that new

norms and standards do "trickle down" throughout society, because of the tendency of persons with lower status to imitate those higher in prestige. I would suggest that it is not the "trickle down" theory which is at fault, but the way in which it is applied. Instruction and direction probably do not trickle down without enforcing sanctions; information and behavior does, according to the evidence available from network analysis. An example in Turkey is the adoption of the veil by the common people—following the lead of the elite in the Sultan's harem. A supporting example is the subsequent discarding of the veil by most women in Turkey; again, the example set by the elite (those in power who wished to please Atatürk), which legitimated the dropping of the veil by the educated, elite women already disposed to do so; they were in turn followed by their less privileged sisters.

Buvinic (1983) supports this notion of the influence of these persons with power: "the organization of women into groups with political influence should be promoted" (p. 31). This should not be taken to mean, as it sometimes is (Elshtain, 1982; Leghorn & Parker, 1981) that all women should be encouraged to exert political influence. The findings of this study support the widely held belief (Nasr, 1981) about Middle Eastern women—a majority find their most satisfying activities in the private domain, in relationships with their children and intimate women

friends.

Women typical of the individuals in this study would have neither the skills nor the inclination to participate in activities in the public domain. It is likely, however, that these women, uninterested in public life themselves, would strongly support any of their number who did have the skill and inclination, as even those young women in the sample who perceived no alternatives for themselves, believed "women in Turkey can do anything they want to now; they can be lawyers, doctors, judges, economists, anything they want."

The key to increasing women's participation in public policy planning and implementation would seem to lie in identifying those women who do seek alternatives (probably drawn mainly from the educated elite) and introducing new ideas, attitudes and behavioral norms through them to central individuals in a wide variety of social networks. As Senyapılı (1982) suggests, introducing impossible aspirations to young women with neither the education nor skill, nor the financial resources necessary to obtain them, serves to heighten discontent with their present lot and offers no hope of alleviation.

It is difficult to see how the present emphasis on economic development (Buvinic, Lycette & MacGreevey, 1983) can be implemented in a society characterized by the dense, intimate networks described in this study unless the educated elite lead

the way. it is equally difficult to imagine plans and directives filtering down; in networks such as those described in this study, ideas and behaviors will filter out, across networks, and gradually down through society.

Much research remains yet to be done for the precise relationships between individuals and their networks to be identified. The potential of network analysis is in the promise it indicates for discovering resources available to individuals, how these resources are mobilized, and to what uses they might be put.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Guide - Quick Reference Topic List

1. Network Diagram
2. Decision Making: task division; illness; decisions with/for/nursing school; changes—how managed; obstacles—resolved, ignored?
3. Demographic Information
4. How time is spent: what, when, where, with whom, decided by?
5. Future plans, goals, means of achieving? "Nurse" a problem?
6. Courtship, marriage, children; compare across generations, siblings, friends. Management of differences? Relationship to husband's career?
7. Changing roles: laws, generations, effects on men?
8. Other ...

APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

Introduction:

As you know, I am talking with Turkish nurses, asking questions about your lives (hayatınızdaki—your total lives; yasantınızdaki—how your lives are lived) so I can understand better how women's roles are developed as their lives and the things they do change. I am especially interested in the important influences and the important relationships that are involved in these changes in your lives. I am looking for a description of your life as it seems to you (görmek—to experience, live through, see). I believe our daily lives are a series of changes; we move from morning to night, from childhood to old age, sometimes from place to place, and from role to role, for example. In fact, most people have many roles; you are a nurse, a daughter, (a sister, wife, mother, etc. use examples already elicited in preliminaries) just to illustrate.

In order to obtain the same kind of information from all the nurses I talk to, we need to both understand what we mean by "important". (Discuss değerli, etkili, nüfuzlü, önemli, tesir, until mutual understanding is evident). Important can be both negative and positive. Influence can be harmful as well as helpful.

Do you have any questions before we begin? (Answer in full).

Do I have your permission to ask you these questions and to use your answers in my research? Do you mind if I use the tape recorder? If yes, TURN ON TAPE RECORDER.

You have agreed to be interviewed and to have the interview recorded. You will not be identified by name, only by number of the interview. No one will listen to the tapes except someone in the United States who will verify my translation from Turkish to English, and who will not be given any information about you, not even your number. If there is anything you would rather not talk about, or any question you do not want to answer, just tell me and we will move on. Any time you want to ask me anything, please feel free to do so.

Any questions so far?

1. These circles represent people. Select one to represent yourself and place it on the board, anywhere you like. Describe yourself. (Probe for demographic information, roles; use examples gained in preliminary conversation).

2. Now choose another circle to represent someone who is important in your life in the ways we have talked about; a relative, or whoever you wish. Remember, it can be a friend, someone you work with, (you don't have to like the person), and place it on the board. Tell me about this person. Who is she/he? (Turkish pronouns have no gender). How did you meet this person? Under what circumstances? What do you do together? How much time

do you spend together? How often do you see this person? What kinds of things do you talk about? In your relationship with this person, what type of things do you give/receive? For example? (Offer examples if necessary: friendship, affection, advice, companionship, babysitting, help with housework, loan of objects, etc.)

If it doesn't come out in the discussion: To what degree does this person influence your life? What role/s does this person play in your life?

You have mentioned several roles you have in this relationship; what other roles do you have? (Probe) What other roles does this other person have? Can you tell me more about the things you give/receive in these other role relations?

REPEAT #2 UNTIL NETWORK IS AS COMPLETE AS INFORMANT IS WILLING/ABLE TO DESCRIBE.

3. To change the topic a little: It seems that all families have certain ways they divide up the tasks that have to be done. Somebody cooks, somebody earns money, some people make decisions about some things, other people about other things, and so on.

Before we talk about how it is in your family, tell me about your family; do you have brothers and sisters? (Add to demographic information; if already in network, establish birth order, ages, education, occupation, place of residence). Does anyone else live in the household?

Now tell me how it is in your family; are there certain duties certain people have? (Keep probing).

Suppose someone in the family is ill. Who takes care of the ill person? If a relative or friend of the family were ill, what are your customs?

Another example: When you decided to go to nursing school, who was involved in that decision? In what way? Was anyone outside the family involved in the decision? In what way?
(Probe)

What kinds of things are you able to decide for yourself? What decisions are made with you? Are there decisions that are made for you? (Probe for both past and present). What about other members of your family—is it the same for everybody, or do different family members have different circumstances surrounding decision-making, or are there certain kinds of decisions that are handled in a different manner? (Probe especially for males versus females).

Was going to nursing school a big change for you? Tell me about it. (Probe: In what ways? What helped? What bothered you? What things made it easier, harder, what did you like about it, not like about it, etc.)

Have there been other important changes in the circumstances of your life? Tell me about it. (Probe, as above).

Have you ever felt there was something you wanted to do very

much, but there were obstacles in the way? Tell me about it. (Probe for helps, hindrances, if they proceeded; explanations if they gave it up).

4. In order for me to get a better idea about your life, tell me how you normally spend an ordinary day. Start with when you get up and tell me all about what you do during the day until you go to bed. (Elicit what they do and who they do it with). What about weekends? Holidays? Vacations?

How do you decide what to do with your free time? What do you do and who do you do it with? Tell me about it.

Sometimes people feel they should do one thing, but they really want to do something else. Can you tell me if this happens to you? (Probe for ideas and influences which assist or determine decision-making). Do you ever feel you are pushed by circumstances or individuals to do something you would do differently or not at all if left to your self? (Elicit sanctions, constraints, etc).

5. What are your plans for the future? Will you have help (from whom?) in making plans, or will these decisions be made by you alone? What sorts of things will you take into consideration in deciding about your future life?

In many countries, nursing is not very highly thought of. What do you think about this? Has this been a problem for you in any way? Do you think it might be in the future? (If yes, how

has she come to terms with this)?

If career oriented: How do you plan to accomplish your goals? What do you think will help you? (Elicit resources from network, if not mentioned). What obstacles do you think you may have to consider? Have you already overcome obstacles? Tell me about it.

6. Most young women plan to marry and have children, it seems. What about you? Can you tell me about your customs? For example, will you choose your husband for yourself, or will your family arrange it? Do you think it will be the same for your friends, sisters, brothers? Where will you live, with whom?

Do you plan to work, have children? Both?

What are your ideas on how your husband will accept your plans, goals? Will you (did you) talk about it before marriage? How will disagreements be worked out?

Do you anticipate being able to (or wanting to) influence your husband's goals and future?

7. Do you think the roles of Turkish women have changed in the last few years? For example, tell me about differences between your life and your mother's life, between your mother's life and your grandmother's life (if not already elicited). How does your mother spend her day? (Probe) Were your mother's and grandmother's marriages by choice or by arrangement?

Do you think women's roles will change more? In what ways?

Can you tell me about the laws in Turkey which protect women's rights? Do you think these changes (all those mentioned) have had an effect on men? In what ways? Do you think men's roles have changed?

8. Is there anything else along these lines which we haven't talked about that you would like to tell me?

APPENDIX B

1. Legend for parts 2 and 3
2. Identified Members of Elicited Networks
3. Matrices of Elicited Networks Showing Calculated Densities For Core Cells and Elicited Networks

APPENDIX B-1

LEGEND FOR PARTS 1 AND 2

1. Identified Members of Elicited Networks

0 Deceased

1,2,3, etc. Order in which Core Cell members were
diagrammed

X Fringe Zone member

X Fringe Zone member discarded from Core Cell

P Participant pregnant; indicates infant would be listed
first after birth

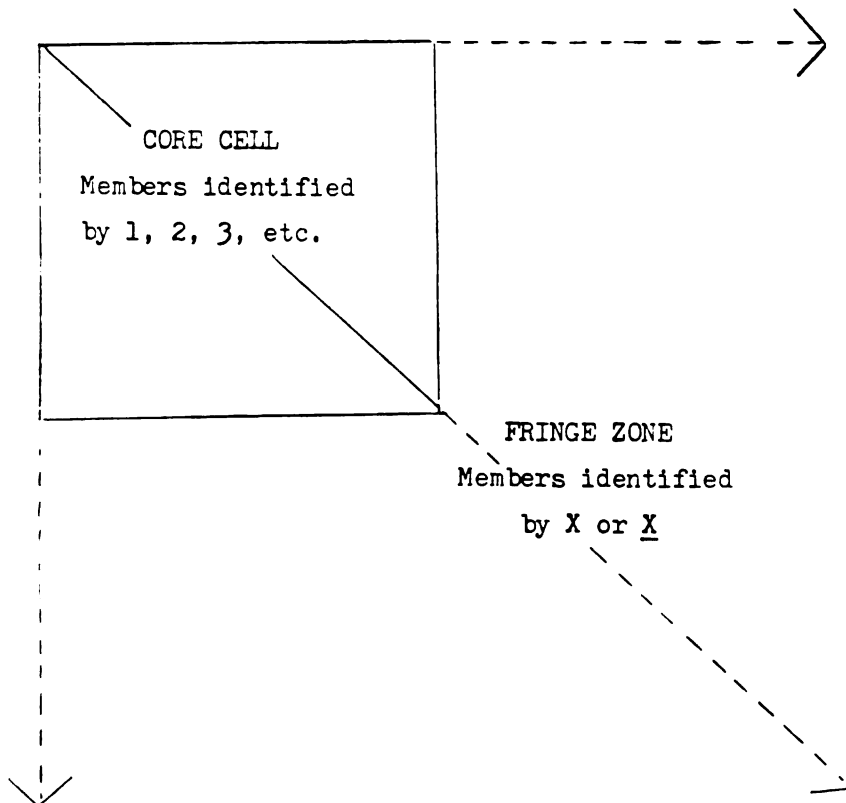
Note: Participants indicated all parents and siblings by
number, by X or X, or indicated they were deceased.

2. Abbreviations for identified members of elicited networks:

F	Father	BF	Boyfriend
M	Mother	M a	Maid
S	Sister	F _{1,2,3}	Female Friends
B	Brother	M _{1,2,3}	Male Friends
H	Husband		Subscripts indicate more than one
GF	Grandfather		Subscripts indicate more than one
A	Aunt	C	Child
FI	Father-in-law	GM	Grandmother
SI	Sister-in-law	MI	Mother-in-law
N	Neighbor (female)	BI	Brother-in-law
MC	Male Cousin		Subscripts indicate more than one

- Ne Nephew
- CW Cousin's Wife
- E Evlatlık (female foster child)
- FH Female Friend's Husband

3. Elicited Network: Combined Core Cell and Fringe Zone



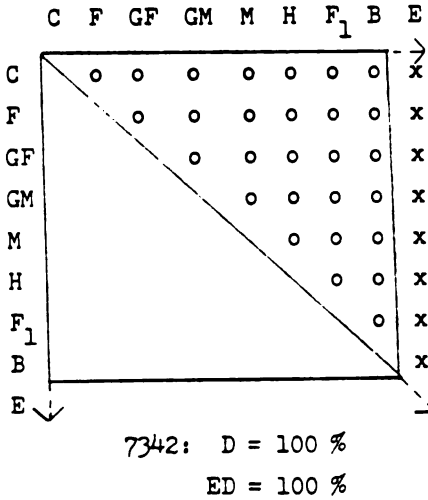
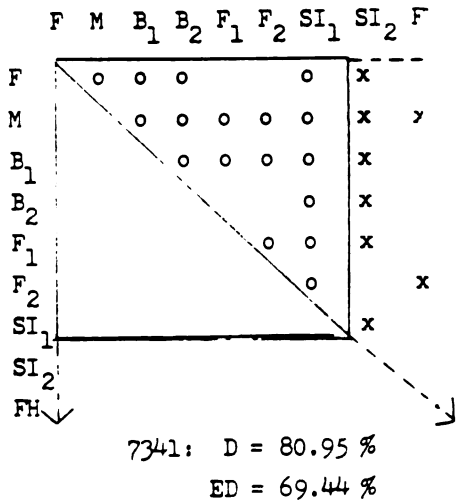
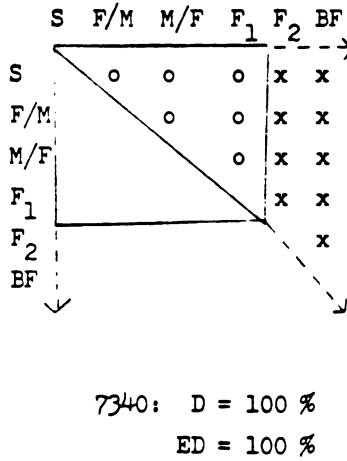
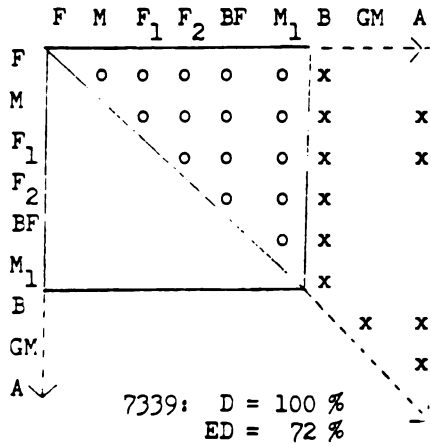
APPENDIX B - 2

IDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF ELICITED NETWORKS

I.D. #	F	M	S1	S2	B1	B2	H	C	GF	GM	A	MI	FI	SI1	SI2	BI	Ne	MC	CW	BF	F1	F2	F3	M1	M2	FH	N	E	Ma	
7339	1	2			X					X	X									5	3	4								
7340	2	2	1																	X	3	X								
7341	1	2			3	4								7							5	6				X				
7342	2	4			7		5	1	3	3										6								X		
7343	X	2			X		1	P			X	X	X	X						3							X			
7344	0	1	2		3		X				X			X						4							X			
7345	2	1	4							X	X				10	X				3	5	6	7	8	9				X	
7346	1	0	4		2				X	X										X	3	5	6					X		
7347	4	2	3				5						X	X						1	6	7					X			
7348	3	3	1		X					X	X									2	4	5								
7349	X	3			X		2	1					X	X						4							X			
7350	0	3					2	1					X							4	5	X					X			
7351	0	0	1	2	3					X	6									X	4	5						X		
7352	0	0			2		1		3																					4
7353	3	2			X		1	P												4	5	6					7			
7354	3	X	1		2					4								5	6	7	X	X	X					X		
7355	6	X	1		2					3								4	5	X	X	X	X					X		

APPENDIX B-3

MATRICES OF ELICITED NETWORKS SHOWING
CALCULATED DENSITIES FOR CORE CELLS AND ELICITED NETWORKS



D: Density of Core Cell
ED: Density of Elicited Network (Combined Core Cell and Fringe Zone)

	H	M	F ₁	F	B	SI	MI	FI	A	N
H	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
M		o	x	x	x	x	x	x		
F ₁			x							x
F				x	x	x	x	x		
B					x	x	x			
SI										
MI							x	x		
FI									x	
A										
N										

7343: D = 100.00 %
ED = 64.44 %

	M	S	B	F ₁	H	SI	MI	N
M	o	o	o	x	x	x		
S		o	o	x	x	x		
B			o	x	x	x		
F ₁				x				
H					x	x		
SI							x	
MI								
N								

7344: D = 100.00 %
ED = 67.86 %

	M	F	BF	S	F ₁	F ₂	F ₃	M ₁	M ₂	BI	GM	A	Ne	Ma
M	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x
F		o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x
BF			o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o			x	x
S				o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x
F ₁					o	o	o	o	o	o				
F ₂						o	o	o	o	o				
F ₃							o	o	o	o				
M ₁								o	o	o				
M ₂									o	o				
BI										o	x	x	x	
GM														
A														
Ne														
Ma														x

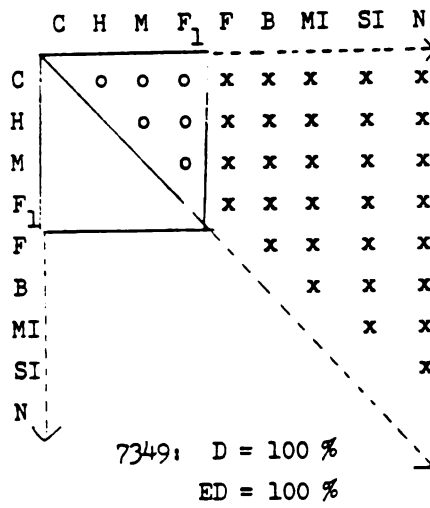
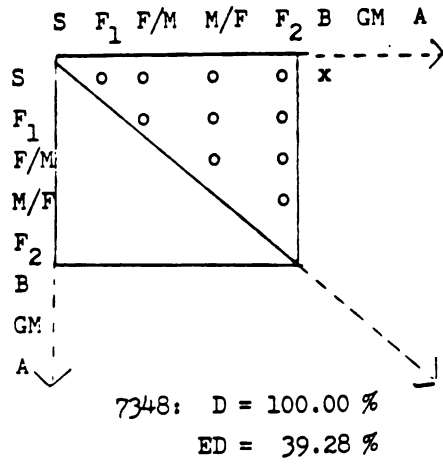
7345: D = 100.00 %
ED = 69.23 %

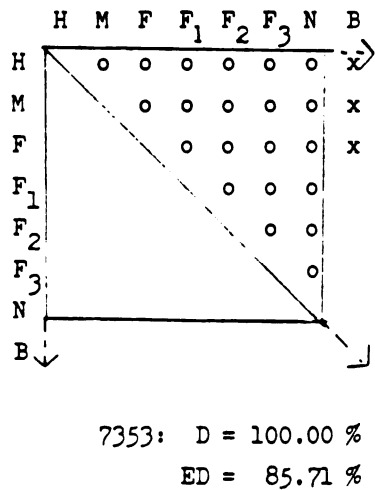
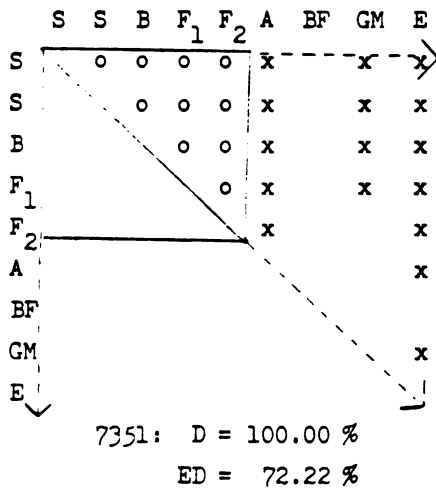
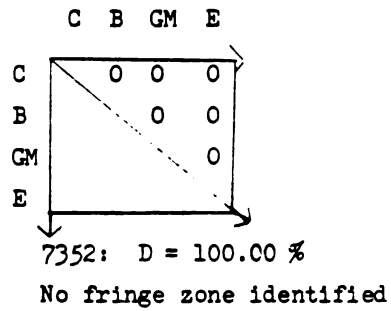
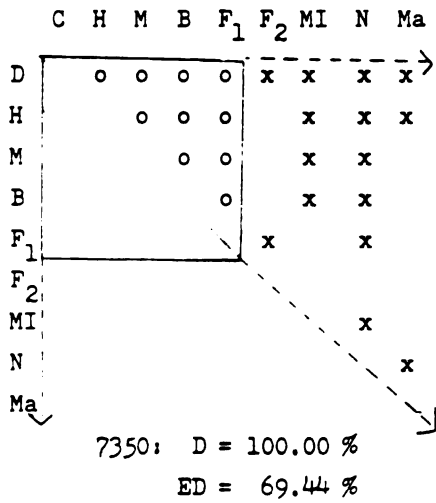
	F	B	F ₁	S	F ₂	F ₃	BF	GM	GF	N
F		o	o	o	o	o		x	x	
B			o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x
F ₁				o	o	o	x			
S					o	o	x			
F ₂						o				
F ₃										
BF										
GM										
GF										
N										

7346: D = 100.00 %
 ED = 57.78 %

	F ₁	M	S	F	H	F ₂	F ₃	MI	FI	A
F ₁		o	o	o	o	o	o	x		
M			o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x
S				o	o	o	o	x	x	x
F					o	o	o	x	x	x
H						o	o	x	x	x
F ₂							o			
F ₃										
MI										
FI										
A										

7347: D = 100.00 %
 ED = 73.30 %





	S	B	F	A	MC	CW	BF	M	F ₁	F ₂	F ₃	N
S	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x
B		o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x
F			o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x
A				o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x
MC					o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x
CW						o	o		x	x	x	x
BF							o		x	x	x	x
M												
F ₁									x	x		
F ₂										x		
F ₃											x	
N												x

7354: D = 100.00 %
ED = 86.36 %

	S	B	A	MC	CW	F	M	F ₁	F ₂	F ₃	BF	N
S	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
B		o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
A			o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
MC				o	o	o	x	x	x	x		x
CW					o	o		x	x	x		x
F						o	x	x	x	x		x
M												
F ₁									x	x	x	
F ₂										x		
F ₃												
BF												x
N												

7355: D = 100.00 %
ED = 78.79 %

APPENDIX C

Preliminary Worksheet
Identified Members and Demographic
Information of Focal Individuals

I.D. #

Age:

Marital status/children/occupation

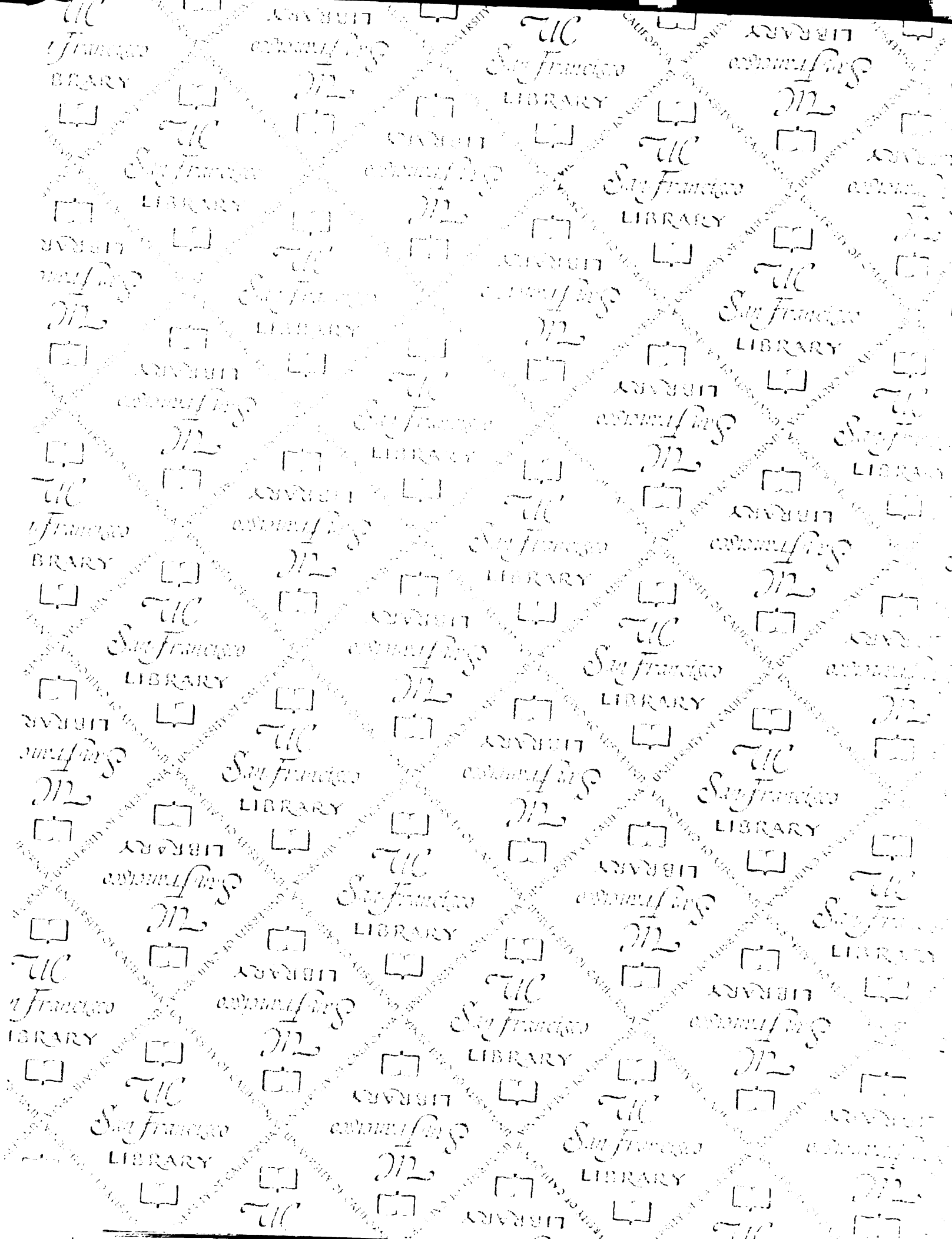
Primary and middle school background:

I. Network members in order
diagrammed

II. Other persons
discussed at length
(or discarded from
network)

III. Family Constellation: Place of origin, education,
occupation; who lives in household?

IV. Economic Indicators: Place and type of residence, travel,
leisure activities, household help, cars?



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