

Siyasal Bilim ve Hukuk

TRADITIONS OF SOME ATYPICAL CASES OF MARRIAGE IN TURKEY

Prof. Dr. İbrahim YASA

I

The Method

The research here-in is based primarily on two sources, one being the results of answers given in response to a poll (inquiry) prepared in advance while the author was an instructor in sociology in the «High Village Institute of Hasanođlan». To this end the students and some of the instructors filled in the inquiries and reported on their interviews with people either directly or indirectly related to incidents of elopement and capture by force. The content of these reports serves as the basic material of this research.

The second source of research stems from the author's keen interest in incidents of elopement and capture by force. After intensively interviewing privates while serving in the army, he either recorded the results himself or asked the same of those whom he interviewed. The research is being carried out in this manner because the author sincerely believes in the reliability of both means of recording.

The work consists of two parts, being the main text and its subordinate, the case studies. In addition, incidents cited from daily newspapers as well as local proverbs.

The cases included in the supplementary section are actual reports; Twenty-nine cases are given: twelve relating to capture by force; seven deal with elopment; three are the description of capture by force or elopement in the words of a student or a sol-

dier; one of the cases is a letter, intact in expression, spelling, and punctuation, on the same subject, written to a private by his uncle. In the supplement, we have included the proverbs, expressions, idioms, and interview blanks. I hope that the reader will bear in mind, while studying the cases, three things: first, the people who have transmitted the course and reasons for the events; second, the captures by force; and third, the elopements.

The text is based primarily on these cases; therefore, the reader should attempt to understand the setting and action of these incidents in various parts of the country. The author believes it to be of utmost importance to make such a suggestion.

It should be noted that capture by force and elopement are only two of the many types of Turkish marriages. We found it unnecessary to cite various foreign sources in this research since it is concerned only with this country and further, pretensions show is not the aim of the author.

This research must be considered only a beginning on the subject. Therefore, if we have succeeded in establishing a guide for deeper, more profound future research, we consider our intent fulfilled.

II

The Problem and the Basic Hypothesis

One of the most frequently recurring references in the social science literary works is to elopement and the capture of girls by force. This is a concept whose meaning has not yet been dealt with fully and clearly.

To begin with, we shall accept the hypothesis of love and affection universally as the prime motives for elopement and capture by force. After introducing our hypothesis, we shall try to demonstrate all phases and aspects of these various incidents by means of particular examples and case studies.

According to our hypothesis, agreements develop between young couples in all groups. Two children of opposite sex who were born and have grown up in the same neighborhood may feel affection towards each other long before attaining the age of puberty. It is possible to witness this show of affection through the relations of children in the games they play. Later on this

affection and these relations may develop between individuals of different districts. There is a tendency to place more importance on the older, closer friendships and in any disagreement or other incident, the older friends support one another in conflicts with another neighborhood.

If a boy and girl remain friends for a long period of time, they start to do small jobs and odd work together. When they attain the age of puberty, without knowing, they begin to develop sexual feelings under the influence of their pure, old friendships. With new meaning, they grow in attachment to one another and begin to long for and to trust one another more. In time these feelings may turn to love. Thus, we best look for the basic reasons of love affairs in our villages from this starting point.

It is not our concern to deal with the psychological meanings of love and affection, so, having mentioned this we will ignore the psychological aspect for the duration of the paper. To begin with, let us view the different explanations and definitions of elopements and captures of girls by force; then let's examine any other pertinent information.

Before starting our subject, we must mention that elopements and capture by force are phenomena not only observed in small village groups but occur as well in towns and even cities. Under such circumstances, we believe that this phenomenon is a problem concerning the whole country rather than being merely a regional or local problem. Studies made on the capture of girls by force and elopements are not enough to explain the presence and extent of other families formed either legally or otherwise. Capture by force is the carrying away of a girl (sometimes a woman) by a bachelor or a widower without her consent, the event ending in marriage. Yet, besides this simplified situation, the same incident may take different forms and end in different ways. In the general sense, whether or not either one or both sides have or lack approval, capture by force may be considered a social phenomenon, the purpose of which is to establish a family.

III

Definitions, Explanations

Capture by force must be distinguished from normal marriage because of a lack of approval (at least outwardly), by the families

of one or both sides and further, capture by force must be separated from the incident of cheating or seduction of girls or women.

The statement «capture by force» is used to mean different things varying according to the regions of Turkey. We will classify the phenomena as :

A. Capture bu force

1. The boy captures the girl by force,
2. **Oturakalma** - the girl comes to the boy's house of her own will.

B. Elopement.

A. Capture by force :

1. In some regions capture by force is named «kız kaldırma», meaning to carry a girl to the mountains or elsewhere. Since it is broad in meaning we must classify its different forms. The basic factors to be considered in this classification are how and under what circumstances the boy captures a girl by force. There are two basic methods.

a) Capturing the girl by use of force specifically without her approval.

b) Capturing a girl by previous agreement with her, but without the approval of her family because of its opposition to the boy.

Usually, in captures by force neither the girl nor her family find the boy suitable for various reasons. In case of this, the boy might seize the girl by force in an out-of-the-way spot or may take her away by different methods. After remaining in the mountains (plains, etc.) for a few days, the couple will return to the village.

The captures by force with the girl's will but her family's disapproval may have different results and characteristics. In addition, the formation and development of incidents between the two families after the return of the couple to the village may differ as we shall see later. The various possibilities leading to capture by force are :

First, the young couple is in love, but one of the families opposes marriage. This may end with capture by force.

Second, the families may have engaged their children to each other without asking for consent, either one or both sides have no wish for marriage. The result is the capture of one side by force or elopement by one both engaged.

Third, the boy has fallen in love with a girl, but the girl is already engaged. This ends in the capture of the girl by her admirer whether or not she loves her fiancé.

Fourth, the boy falls in love with a girl from his or another village, near or far. The girl shows no interest for the boy, and the family, likewise, does not approve. In cases of this nature, the girl is usually captured by force and the use of occasional violence.

Fifth, the families of the lovers belong to different social classes. The girl's family may not have a good reputation in the village which causes doubts and opposition on the part of the boy's family. Thus, the boy may capture the girl by force ignoring his family's stand.

Sixth, the girl's family breaks the engagement without consideration of the will of their daughter, making a new engagement with someone else. This brings about rivalry between the suitors. The situation threatens the honor of the previously engaged youth. So, he may seize the girl at the first chance bringing the matter to a close with marriage but opening the way for future problems.

2. **Oturakalma** - (running away of the girl by herself to the boy's house).

The custom of **oturakalma** is rare in our country, but still does exist. There are two main reasons for **oturakalma**: in the first case, either the girl's parents refuse to condescend to the girl marrying whom she loves; or the boy's father does not approve of the girl. In the latter situation, the girl secretly packs her belongings and goes to the boy's house entering and refusing to leave. The boy's family is obliged to accept the girl as a daughter-in-law. In some places this may include widows and even married women.

In Kütahya, Sivas, and Kastamonu this custom is still to be seen. In Kastamonu it is not unusual to see a girl running away to the house of any man she considers suitable for herself. The girl, at this time, pays no consideration to her honor to her reputation. This is the reason for the acceptance in Sivas of the girl

by the family of the boy. In most cases, the acceptances result from fear that the girl's relatives may become eternal enemies.

Another example may be given from Sivas: A girl does not wish a certain man but her family tries to impose their wish upon her in marriage -beating even occurs to force her to accept the marriage. At the same time, the girl loves another boy and hopes some day to be his wife. She says, «Mother, I cannot marry anyone but him, so if you force me, I will kill myself», but her mother pays no heed to her pleas. The result is that the girl goes to the home of the boy she loves and fulfills her wish.

In this situation, the boy's parents try to be as hospitable as possible to the girl saying: «Dear child, since the situation is so, your place is here. You will share in our fate and we shall in yours». As, such they attempt to console both the girl and themselves.

Poverty is the second reason for Oturakalma. In most cases the families of the boy and girl are poor. An instance of this is the entry by a girl into the house of a shepherd whom she had met in the mountains. In the case of Oturakalma if the girl is accepted, this means symbolically, the capture of the boy by the girl.

B. Elopement (running away by mutual agreement with one another).

There is no great difference between elopements carried out without the knowledge of the families and captures by force. There are only minor peculiarities in procedure and in the resulting arrangements.

Elopements take place more easily than do captures by force because the young couple is willing to elope. The interruption in relations among the concerned families is less than in capture by force. The assistance by friends and relatives and the wish of the families to bring about the happiness of the young couple is more obvious with elopement. There is an expectation of greater cooperation and economic exchange between the families of an eloped couple than where capture by force has taken place. The families strive to complement each others' needs than to persist in opposition.

Among some ethnic groups, primarily among Circassians, especially prior to Turkey becoming a republic, the custom was to

capture by force or to elope, at least symbolically, as part of the marriage ceremony. This custom still persists in many areas in the country.

If the couple is deeply in love, Aracı (people sent to propose in this name of another) are sent to the parents of both couples before elopement is attempted. If one of the families opposes a marriage, the boy then informs the girl of the time and place where he shall meet her to elope. The girl prepares secretly and while her family sleeps she runs to the appointed spot. In the morning the «muhtar» (elected headman of the village) is asked to begin formalities for contracting the marriage.

The two passages below are taken from a report prepared by two students. The first is an example of the differences between capture by force and elopement. The second passage exemplifies love affairs not ending in marriage. These are called «Kara Sevda».

When there is an agreement between a boy and girl, the girl may leave her house or place of work with an excuse and go to a previously arranged place. The boy would wait her with his friends. They have a horse or carriage and when she arrives, they would take her to a remote spot, possibly the mountains. Since there is great danger, total secrecy prevails. If a member of the girl's family should hear of the planned elopement, there could be hot pursuit and some violence. Thus, the responsibility of the boys' friends is to protect the couple and to give them a change to be alone.

If bad will enters into the chase, the agreement between the couple vanishes. The boy may then take the girl by force; thus, elopement turns to capture by force.

A young couple who decides to run away must want one another greatly. The girl prepares her valuables and portable belongings prior to the moment of elopement. Usually the meeting and elopement occurs at night. It sometimes happens that they enter a nearby village or the house of a close relative, or they spend from several days to a week in an empty house in the same village, all their needs being previously prepared. These elopements usually end happily. The marriage ceremony takes place upon the agreement of the families. If no agreement is forthcoming the burden is thrust upon the shoulders of the young people. They set up house together attempting to earn a sufficient living. Since no reason for argument exists there is no bloodshed.

The incident merely ends with a few harsh words and, at most, a quarrel.

Usually, in elopement the boy is forced to undergo great sacrifices beforehand. Often, the elopement is expected and the secret relation of the young couple must continue until the very moment of elopement. Occasional, they live in torment and suffering days or even weeks without the slightest news from one another or without having a chance to see each other. When this becomes a hopeless love affair it is called «kara sevda» (the black love). It is not rare that the unfortunates of «kara sevda» may end up in a doctor's office or partake of a magical spell for hope and help.

«Kara Sevdalılar» (people of a hopeless-love story) are most interesting topics for village conversation. All gossip revolves around them. The village usually divide into two factions some supporting the position of family of the girl, some supporting the boy. An enmity develops between the family of boy and that of the girl, but under all situations, the boy and girl continue hoping and sacrificing.

In secret the boy may send to the girl chewing gum, earrings, bracelets or other items a girl fancies. The girl in return sends him flowers, if in season, and sometimes embroidered handkerchiefs. These small favors indicate an increased love between them.

Upon capturing a girl eloping with her, the boy attempts to have as complete a wedding ceremony as possible and spends all his wealth for this purpose. As a result, the young couple usually start out in poverty. However, there is nothing to stop this endeavor. As is the custom in the villages, clothes, suits, dresses, shoes, earrings, and bracelets are bought for the relatives and for close friends. This however, is a custom rather than an obligation. If the father of the girl is forgiving, he helps and then gifts must also be purchased for the girl's family.

C. Preparation for capture by force: (Yardımcı-people who assist) (Aracı - people who propose by proxy).

1. Preparation :

No matter the situation, captures by force and elopements require planning; success may be obtained only through assistance. The boy and girl meet and show affection by some means while

in the fields, gardens or vineyards, or at school, marriage ceremonies, or in the houses of neighbour. In time affection and love-making develop. After a while, if the boy decides to capture the girl, he informs his sisters (if any) and friends and appoints them as «izleyici» or followers.

2. **Aracılar** (go betweens who propose to the girl):

It is difficult in Turkish villages for the boy to inform the girl of his love and to persuade her to elope with him. Thus, there exist in all villages women who are experts at solving such situations. They are usually old women and are named according to locality, such names are «elçi», «aracı», «hacana», «elbirler», «yardımcı» and «godoş». They are usually quite shrewd and possess powers of persuasion in bringing the girl to accept elopement or capture by force. The boy pays these women by cash or other means. They fulfill the requirements of their job, occasionally making sacrifices when necessary, losing nights of sleep arranging a rendezvous so that the lovers might meet and talk. This may occur once or twice a month. They also aid in elopement. The danger always exists that these women might be captured or even tortured by the family of the girl.

Since other women refuse these jobs, old women naturally play important social roles in village life. Usually, the women receive the animosity of the families of the young couple, sometimes gaining the enmity of the entire village.

It happens that they lose prestige and are occasionally excommunicated. In some places they are honored and respected, being welcome in all homes. Any one acting unpolitely toward them is punished. The clever man, falling in love, promises to buy any things the old woman desires should she be successful in persuading the girl to elope. Usually she is successful. In the morning after an elopement, the screams of the girl's mother arouse the people of the village to the fact that during the night the daughter has run away to the home of a certain young man.

When a love affair has endured for some time and the boy decides to capture the girl by force, his wish is transmitted to the girl. During this period the boy attempts to express his feelings toward the girl by looking at her in a manner such that she realizes his wish. So, upon receiving word of his desire, she arranges for talking with him. Places for this may be the village fountain, in the shade of a secluded wall, or on the way to work

in the fields. After this period of flirtation, if affection develops, the boy sends a *dünür* (person who formally proposes marriage in the name of the boy) to the home of the girl as a formality. If it is clearly understood that the girl's family would not agree, the couple decides to elope.

If there is not a mutual affection, intermediaries attempt to expound the fine character and abilities of the one to the other. If nothing avails, then they resort to a spell. Preparing charms is only done by an expert. Usually an amulet is prepared and is carried either on the body or is buried in a specific place. People rely on the influence of these amulets.

3. **Yardımcılar** (helpers) :

Relatives, friends, and neighbour play important roles in captures by force and elopements. Both the **yardımcılar** and **aracı** (go betweens) have two kinds of responsibilities, physical and moral. The **aracı** are paid for their assistance in arranging proper circumstances so that the couple may get to know one another; they assist in developing the relationship, they arrange the elopement and assist in obtaining a place to hide. These houses are termed **yataklık** (houses serving as receivers).

Helpers receive no pay. Still, their tasks are far more dangerous than those of the **Aracı**, because very often a struggle develops between the run-aways and the family of the girl. If an elopement concerns two villages both sides likely will use guns and bloodshed is quite possible.

— IV —

The Season, Time of Day, Place, and Means for Capture by Force and Elopement

All factors vary according to different regions in Turkey. Winter is not a suitable time of year for execution because the entire family is at home the majority of the time, then men going only to the coffee-houses or occasionally to village guest rooms. The prime seasons for elopement and capture by force are spring and autumn. The reasons for this are simple : In the fall, villagers are busy with the harvest; during the spring season field work begins; summer is a hot and tedious season most of the heavy work is done in the fields, so only rarely will capture take place in the summer.

Capture and elopement take place at all times of the day but usually toward night or while the father and brothers are gone from the house because the girl needs time for preparation. Quite often captures by force are carried out while the girl is on her way to or from the fields. Sometimes the girl may be taken while working in the fields or while she is alone at home.

In capture by force the means may vary according to the resistance of the girl. If she resists by shouting, her mouth may be plugged by pieces of clothing and her hands may be bound. A stone may be squeezed through her fingers so that she in pain must yield. If she continues to resist she may be bitten, frightened with a stick, knife or gun, and means may be employed to torture her.

The means may also vary in accordance with location (even in the same village) and depend upon the financial position of the captures. If the boy is poor, he may either drag or attempt to persuade the girl. If he has the use of a carriage or a horse, he may take her away in that manner. Even better, the pursuer may use a tractor or rent a car for the task. This is the reason for women in Adana not hiring taxis and preferring to travel in phaetons while going across town.

— V —

Phases of Capture by Force and Elopement

Agreements compose the first phase. No matter how the young boy and girl become acquainted, time must pass before captures and elopements take place. This is the time of preparation.

In captures by force, provided the girl is unwilling, the boy studies where she spends her time in order to find a proper chance to capture her. If he is unable to follow her, he then enlists the services of the girl's friends. These are the **aracı**. It is they plan a proper time and place such as while going to the fields, or in a garden. They then hand her over to the boy. The girl meanwhile is completely unaware. If she resists, the boy's friends to his assistance.

If the couple is in love, the boy sends a «dünür» to the family of the girl to propose the marriage. If he is refused, the boy and girl meet secretly to determine the time, place, and signals to be applied in their running away. This is all unknown to the family

of the girl. When the time comes, the girl who has previously prepared a small bundle of her valuables and her most needed items, goes to meet the boy.

The second stage consists of the actual running away, either to another village or to the distant home of a friend or relative (as described in the novel **Mehmet My Nawk** «Ince Mehmet» by Yaşar Kemal). The helpers aid in receiving the couple. The girl remains for a few days or more, returning then to her own village. During this period it is customary for the girl to lose her virginity.

The final stage begins with the intervention of the police who interview both the family of the boy and the family of the girl in order to discern what is desired both by the families and by the couple. A contract is concluded if all parties concerned agree and the newly weds, amid gossip, establish a home. After the birth of a child, all returns to normal. The almost bitter ending becomes a sweet memory instead.

— VI —

The main Reasons for Capture by Force and Elopement

The purpose of this paper is to establish reasons, limitations, and difficulties in capture by force and elopement. We may classify these reasons as threefold :

- A. Economic,
- B. Socio-psychological,
- C. Biological (as in the case of running away of girls or the capture of women by force).

A. Economic Reasons :

It is usually the case that the families of boy and girl do not share equal status nor are peers economically. Elopements and captures by force do occur for economic reasons, however, even though the families may be of the same social status. The major reasons are as follows :

1. The boy's family is poor. The girl's family knowing this, still asks for many gifts and large sums of money to be given before the ceremonies of engagement and marriage. These gifts are named **başlık** or **kalin**.

2. Expense of the marriage ceremony. The bulk of these expences come at the time of the marriage. The ceremonies in some continue a week or more, the whole village and sometimes the neighbouring village are invited, and musicians and dancers must be hired. Quite often, the families collapse economically, and occasionally these families are permanently impoverished. Thus, the girl knowing that the boy would not be able to cover the expenses runs away with him or to some other man, a rich one.

Yıldırım nikâhı is the Turkish term for a quick marriage contract and a later and also short ceremony.

3. The families disagree in sharing the cost of the ceremony. This is a result of the refusal on the part of the family of the girl to assist knowing that the boy's family will be unable to finance the marriage alone.

4. The family of the boy is large and in economic need.

5. The girl's family is poor. Thus without considering her social position nor her reputation she goes to the boy's home not concerned with whether or not she would be accepted.

6. The boy is poor and the girl's family which is rich desires a young man to direct its work. The girl's family would be willing to accept the boy as «İç güvey» (he works for the girl's family). The boy usually refuses the arrangement and persuades the girl to elope with him.

7. Sometimes the parents wish to give their quite young daughter to a rich but old man.

B. Social and Psychological Reasons :

1. Discord and lack of family harmony :

Customarily the authoritarian form of family is found in Turkish villages. The family is monogamous and extended, including relatives under the rule of one man who serves as father, husband, and family head.

Neither dissolution nor weakening of family ties occurs unless do two important reasons. When the family reforms after the death of either mother or father, discord will often break out. This lack of harmony then will permeate to all members of the family. Family weaknesses readily appear through the links of step-parent

and step-child. Thus, the younger members seeking happiness and security run away to marriage. The plurality of wives increases this disharmony.

2. Lack of harmony between families and between villages :

All social scientists agree that villages and small ethnic groups consist of a small number of families or limited number of clans and tribes. These groups characteristically break up and reform. When threatened from the outside these groups unite to thwart a threat but nevertheless find time to quarrel internally over matters of water, grazing land, or animal runs. Often these feuds will end with the death of a member of the village. The feud develops into a blood quarrel through the generations. Intermarriage ceases. This goes on until a boy from one side and girl from the other fall in love.

In this instance the boy captures the girl by force, or considering both to be willing they elope. This increases hostilities in the village promoting more bloodshed. Should elopement or capture by force occur between two villages, both villages act leading to possible major conflicts.

3. The part played by the villagers :

If it becomes generally known that a boy is planning to capture the girl he loves or the young couple is ready to elope, the villagers begin to persuade the couple morally. The knowledge of a forthcoming event of this nature may activate the atmosphere of the village causing great excitement, all are interested. The young girls of the village understanding the nature of the love affair prepare a poem for the boy, for example :

«Soldier boy, soldier boy, why do you sleep, what do you fine in this deep sleep?»

4. Psychological motives and reasons :

Should a girl break her engagement with one fellow for someone else, this is likely to create intense rivalry between the two boys. The ego of the first boy is damaged, so he decides to take revenge upon the girl and her family. In some cases three or four boys may desire the same girl. Thus, the one who acts quickly captures the girl. The marriage contract and ceremonies are carried out later. In the case of several suitors the losers feel no enmity toward their successful rival.

5. In most villages the children are engaged while still very young and are notified of the engagement before the age of puberty. If the families later break the engagement, capture by force or elopement likely takes place.

6. If two children grow up together and love each other they may elope if the parents of the girl promise her to another. The love affairs are usually known throughout the village, thus the villagers do not attempt to hinder the couple.

C. Married men or women not satisfied biologically in either first marriage either run away (if a girl) or (if a male) capture another girl. Very rarely will a widower who has children capture a girl.

— VII —

The Results of Capture by Force and Elopement and Affects on Village Life

Capture by force may be as a result of either love or hatred. The manner of capture and treatment of the girl varies. If the boy is from a rich family and the girl is poor the the disagreement of the family over marriage is severe. On the other hand, disagreement between two middle class families is less violent. If an engaged girl is captured, the fiancé attempts to kill the abductor. If prevented on the first attempt and imprisoned, he tries again as soo as he is released.

Whenever force is overemployed in capturing, the relationship does not usually last. According to my statistics 75 % of these cases end in failure. Ninety-five percent of the elopements results in happy family lives.

In the decade prior to 1950 in the village of Polos in Kirkklareli there were 89 marriages. Forty-nine were by normal means and forty-one were by alopement. Two of the normal marriage ended in death and two by divorce. Two of the elopements resulted in divorce and one relationship was dissolved by death. This shows that the stability of elopement and capture by force marriages compares with that of normal marriages.

The statement made by the girl at the court or police station does much to influence later stages of devlopment. Always, the girl is the tormented and the boy the agressor. Thus, the girl, who will usually marry her abductor, has weight placed upon her

declaration. Being the sufferer she saves her reputation in the eyes of the villagers.

If the boy insists on wanting to marry the girl, he captures her by force, and quickly contracts the marriage. The girl then returns to her home until the day of the marriage ceremonies. The ceremonies are carried out relative to the boy's economic positions. This is done, however, only if the girl's family is willing and does not carry the case to court.

If the girl however, has attained legal age and puts forth her desire in the matter, her father's request at court carries little weight and in the eyes of the village, the case is closed.

As the results of the field work indicate, the girl remains three or four days in a near-by village, in the house of a neighbour or a relative. If the helpers find out that the girl's family will not offer resistance, they return to the village. After returning neither boy nor girl leave their homes. For the boy, his appearance would injure the honor of the girl's family. The girl due to shame remains at home for almost a month.

Actually, reproach falls not upon the girl but on her parents. Reactions of the families toward their children vary from family to family. By the intervention of the important village personages, the incidents are eased and the families continued, but still some families are overly harsh toward their children. For example, a young couple married, but at the end of continuous arguments girl's family did not accept the boy because of his economic state, and at the end of continuous arguments the young couple separated. Because the care of the children became too difficult for the divorcee she was forced to marry a widower, a possibility which might end even more tragically.

In other instances the children are deprived of some legal right and may be disowned. This sort of action may bring heart-break to mother or father sometimes ending in collapse of the older family. This happens especially with interference by neighbours.

Occasionally, the parents of the boy refuse to accept the match so the boy goes to remain in the home of the girl as «iç-güveysi». In such cases the relatives of the girl help to defray the cost of the ceremonies no support comes from the boy's family. The girl's relatives fall brunt to the attack of public opinion

losing face and reputation. Upon settling in the home of the boy the girl is poorly treated. Hopefully the situation changes with the birth of a child.

In areas where captures by force and elopement are common the boy will usually ask for the hand of a girl several times.

— VIII —

Measures for Prevention of Capture by Force and Elopement :

Prevention can only be accomplished by rectifying the main problems surrounding capture and elopement, the first of which is economic and the second social and psychological. As long as our society remains basically unaltered, change for the better can not be expected. Seventy-five to eighty percent of the incidents are based on economic problems the remaining twenty percent due to social-psychological discordance.

The well to do villagers ask too large «başlık» for their daughter, including livestock and gifts from the family of the boy. The great percentage of the money goes for this family's own use; so, in order to prevent capture by force and elopements the bride price must be stopped or at least lessened. The other major expense factor is the cost of the marriage ceremony. In 1337 A. H. (1921 A. D.) the government promulgated law Number 55 was enacted for the purpose of stopping daughter selling. The fine ranged from 500 to 1.000 Turkish pounds or an imprisonment of one to six months. Today, application of this law is nowhere evident.

In some regions, captures by force customary; thus the act is symbolic increasing the girl's prestige and that of the family. Captures are never an act of disgrace so prevention is not an issue.

Captures by force and elopements which develop out of enmity and matters of tribal and clan honor cannot be stopped unless the hostility disappears. The captures and elopements are not approved by administrative and judicial authorities, yet once accomplished these authorities desire to aid in the consummation of the marriage.

The author does feel that improvement in cultural understanding nor in education would yield better results since educated individuals in the past have acted as did the uneducated; neither

does it appear that davice to those exposed to village cultural life, who are well acquainted with its nature, would alter the present situation; nor does it seem probable that closer ties between village and urban centers would have a positive effect, More important would be the part played by parents in understanding the basic stimulus for such actions and a reduction in autocracy on the part of the father.

After the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey the incidents followed a general curve although increasing in some areas and decreasing in others. During war years and years of low agricultural return, economic crises tended to increase the incidence of these phenomena. The opposite may be said about years of relative prosperity and stability.

However, to understand the results of the last 35 or 40 years, careful investigation must be made because no body of statics exist for this period. Even if reported, most cases never reach the courts of law. To give an idea, let us view a few statistics (1):

The number of those who were punished for capturing a girl in urban areas :

1952 - 580
1953 - 535
1954 - 405

The ones in villages :

1952 - 3453
1953 - 2879
1954 - 2665

(1) Statistics concerning the convicted of the General Directorate of Statistics. Bulletin No. 395, pp 44, 1960.

Some Main Sources

1. Baykurt, Fakir : Onuncu Koy. pp. 307 - 333, 1960, Remzi Kitabevi.
2. Beals L. Rolph ve Hoijer : An Introduction to Anthropology, 1954, pp. 382 - 410 ve 414 - 439, the Macmillan Co. New York.
3. Bogardus, S. Emergy : Sociology, 1959, pp. 71 - 72, The Macmilland Co.,
4. Encyclaeperia Britannica, 1961, Vol. : 14, pp. 940 - 956.
5. Encyclaeperia of Social Sciences. Vol. : 9 - 10, 1951, pp. 146 - 155.
6. Dixon, A. Carl ve Gettys. Warroon, E. : An Introduction to Sociology. 1929, pp. 50 - 54. The Ronald Press. Co. New York.
7. Düğünlerde Meni İsrifat Kanunu. 28 Mart 1337. Kanun No. 55.
8. Linton, Ralph : The Study of Man. 1936, pp. 180 - 181, D. Apleton - Century Co., New York.
9. Lowie, Robert, H. : An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology 1934, pp. 240 - 241, Farrer and Rivenhart, New York.
10. Yasa, İbrahim; Taşpınar, Kenan : Erdemli Kazasının İnkışafı Hakkında Bir Araştırma, 1959, pp. 14, TODAİE Yayını.
11. Yasa, İbrahim : Hasanoğlan Köyü, 1955, pp. 128, 137. TODAİE Yayını.
12. Yasa, İbrahim : Sindel Köyü, 1960, pp. 54, TODAİE Yayını.
13. Yaşar, Kemal : İnce Mehmet, 1949, pp. 91 - 105, Remzi Kitap Evi.
14. Tylor, Sir Edward B. Kt. : Anthropology, 1930, Vol. II, pp. 56 - 61 and 31 - 160. Watts and Co., London.

