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An Urban/Modern Version of Tribe: "The Kalenderi/Hiyyi Association"*

Aşiretin Kentsel/Modern Bir Versiyonu Olarak Kalenderi/Hiyyi Derneği

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Abstract

This article focuses on an "existing tribe", which is regarded as a pre-modern social organization representing rural society, in order to reorganize/transform itself as a civil society organization, which is seen as the "ideal" organization of modern society and urban life. The efforts and strategies of tribes for reviving and sustaining themselves in urban life are analyzed over the narratives of the "well educated, skilled and urban" members of the Executive Board of "The Kalenderi/Hiyyi Association" (KHA). In big cities, the establishment of associations by the migrants coming from the same ethnic/religious community or the same locale is a common thing. But KHA is not a migrant solidarity association, it is located in its "homeland". A well-educated group of tribesmen put a special emphasis on the preservation of former relations and traditions in modern urban life and establish the KHA. During the research, it is observed that other urban tribesmen from all the world effectively use cyberspace, while responding the call for "unity" from their "relatives". The association regards "all tribe, as a community of broader relatives" and utilizes technology effectively to contact these "broader relatives". This type of organizational behavior brings a unique and effective perspective on the organizational pattern of tribes. The article argues that new forms of tribes such as "cyber tribes" could emerge in future, for instance, tribes ruled by "elected" leaders or tribes reorganized in different modern forms ranging from solidarity associations, pressure groups, corporations or else. In all these "modern" forms, the prerequisite of membership will be "traditional" (being a "member" of "the tribe"). The cyberspace also may give birth to its own leaders and these "cyber leaders" especially in online social platforms may gather new generation tribesmen around themselves and challenge the "traditional leadership".

Keywords: Modernity, Kalenderis, Civil society, Patronage, Cyber tribe, Hybridization.

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Öz

Bu araştırma, modern-uluslaşma öncesine ait bir toplumsal örgütlenme biçimi olarak tasavvur edilen “aşiret”in, modern toplum ve kentin “ideal” örgütlenme biçimi sayılan sivil toplum olma girişimini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Aşiretin kendini kentte var kılma ve sürdürme çaba ve stratejileri, “Kalenderi/Hiyyi Derneği”ni kuran “eğitimli, iyi meslek sahibi ve kentli” yönetim kurulu üyelerinin söylemlerinin analiz edilmesiyle okunmaya çalışılmıştır. Büyükşehirlerde belli coğrafi bölgelerden ya da etnik/dini topluluklardan olan kişilerin dernekler etrafında kümelenmesi sıkça görülen bir hadisedir. “Kalenderi/Hiyyi Derneği” ise, kendi memleketinde/anavatanda yaşayan, geçmişten gelen bağların ve geleneklerin önemini kavrayan ve bu değerleri, modern kent hayatında da yaşatmaya çalışan “eğitimli ve kentli” aşiretlilerin bir girişimi olarak görünmektedir. Araştırmada, coğrafi sınırları belirsizleşen “akrabaların” kendilerine yönelik “birlik” çağrılarını cevaplarken, “siber alanı” daha yoğun olarak kullandıkları da anlaşılmaktadır. Derneğin, hedef kitesini “geniş bir akraba topluluğu olarak aşiret” biçiminde belirlemiş olması ve bunu yaparken teknoloji yoğun bir iletişim biçimi seçmiş olması, özgün ve etkin bir örgütlenme tarzını doğurmaktadır. Örneğin, aşiret liderinin genel oya dayalı bir sistem ile seçileceği ve aşiretin, üyeleri, akrabalarından oluşan, büyük bir sendika ya da holding gibi yönetileceği günler veya siber alandaki sosyal forumlarda ortaya çıkacak yeni liderlerin klasik aşiret liderliği ile de örtüşmesi veya tamamen ayrışması ve aşiretin yeni neslinin yeni “siber lider” etrafında kümelenerek etkin dayanışma/baskı grupları oluşturmaları gibi durumlar çok da ihtimal dışı görünmemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modernite, Kalenderiler, Sivil toplum, Patronaj, Siber aşiret, Melezlenme.

Introduction

“Tribe” is one of the important characteristic structures of the south-east of Turkey and Mardin is an important city of this region. “Tribe” had lived great organizational, economic, social and cultural structural changes first due to modernity and urbanization later due to revolutionary innovations in communication. But it can be seen that though all conditions changed fundamentally, all tribes did not cease to exist, some of them adapted themselves to the new conditions successfully, developed new strategies and found the ways of transforming themselves to the new social forms. Mardin witnessed these changes and transformation in many cases. Our research focuses on “The Kalenderi/Hiyyi Association”² (KHA) which was established by some of the urban “Kalenderi” tribesmen. This association was chosen as a sample because in this case, both the tribe (rural social organization) and association (urban social organization) have the exact same name. This experience is significant because modernization theories expected the inevitable “dissolution” of traditional tribal relations in modern urban life. But in this case, some members are trying to reorganize themselves and reproduce the traditional values, mainly through a modern form representing gains of individualism (the civil society organization). Therefore, the validity of modernization theories based on a *dichotomy* between tradition and modern and *assumptions* envisaging that “traditional structures will remain in past” will be tested in this case.

This study aims to understand the efforts and strategies of the “tribe” (perceived as a traditional social organization belongs to pre-modern nation-building era) that transform itself to the “ideal” organizational form of urban life (a civil society organization). We tried to understand how they adapted and sustained

² The executives of the association stated that when they first established the association, the decision was using the original names of the tribe, “Qelenderi” and “Xiyi” as the name of association. But Mardin Governorship Directorate of Provincial Associations rejected their application on the basis of that Turkish alphabet does not contain first letters of names, “Q” and “X”. So they obliged to write the official name as “Kalenderi/Hiyyi”.

themselves in modern city life. During the fieldwork, through semi-structured questions, we conducted in-depth interviews with five founding members of The Kalenderi/Hiyi Association, all of whom were also members of the Executive Board of the Association. We conducted 1 to 3 interviews with each member at different times. Three of them were 50-55 ages, two of them were 29-30 ages, and all were male. Additionally, we conducted a focus group interview with the same group to shed light on "conflicting" and "compromising" points. However, the association was just one-year-old during the time interviews conducted. So analyses mostly based on the narratives of interviewees, our observations and the information are available on the two years old website of the association (which played a vital role during the establishment of the association). The analysis of the establishment process and future projections of the association requires focusing on key actors of these processes. Due to these, the case is not included "all members of the tribe". Besides, we also negotiated with some experts on local history and tribes in the region in order to verify our experimental fieldwork.

The Tribe of Qelenderan (Kalenderan) / Xiyan (Khiyyan)³

Based on the fieldwork, Khiyyis originally were settled in the region between Kulp (a northern district of Diyarbakir) and Muş province. They are descendants of "Giyaseddin-i Baghdadi (Ĝiyaseddin-i Baĝdadi)" who had been sent to Siirt province as "Al-Hakem" (The Judge) by the Abbasid Caliphate. It was believed that "Giyaseddin" as a name transformed to "Khiyy" by the time. Kalenderis are a sub-branch of Khiyyan tribe. They migrated to the region between Mardin and Nusaybin almost four centuries ago and mainly settled to the village of "Kalender-ul Cebel", 25 km away from Mardin on the road to Nusaybin. Later this group began to be known as "Kalenderi" (the ones from Kalendera region)⁴. (Also see Tan, 2011: 307-308). However, the migrant group also split up. Some migrated to other parts of the Mardin like Nusaybin, Kızıltepe and Derik districts, and some other migrated to Urfa. At the beginning of the 20th century, region witnessed a big turmoil and people forced to migrate again. During the last century tribesmen migrated to western parts of Turkey; Adana, Mersin, Ankara and Istanbul, and even to Europe. According to information given by the executives of association, the tribe has an approximately 30.000 population in total and around 1.000-1.500 of them are living in Mardin city centre. Lêçin, Kosê, Simêlî, Seyd Osman, Hedlê, Se'dê, Ismailî, Derê, Omer, Mahmudî, Hutî, Se'do, Dero and Isa are said to be important families of Kalenderi tribe. Altan Tan (2011: 308), states that most of the families living in the villages of tribe came from other surrounding villages and it is partly consistent with the information given during interviews. In fact, all families of the tribe do not directly claim to be "descendants" of the same "ascendant" but all of them "attribute" themselves to the same "tribe". As a matter of fact, one of the executives of the association (I1:16.09.11) expressed that his family is not part of the family who came from Khiyyans. They later migrated to Kalendera village and now they accept themselves as a part of the tribe.

Kalenderi tribesmen are also multilingual. Kalenderis living in Akçakale (Urfa) district speaks Arabic, the ones living in Siverek (Urfa) district speaks Dimili/Zazaki dialect of Kurdish and the ones living around Mardin and in all other regions (including the ones in Syria) speak Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish. Kurmanji is the lingua franca of the tribe as a whole and for the members living in Turkey, Turkish is a common language too. This shows that tribes can easily adapt themselves to the dominant language and local culture of the region in which they re-settled.

³ The name of tribe, families and places written in Kurdish-Latin alphabet as it was possible.

⁴ It is known that tribes in general get their name from a legendary "brave and skillful" leader (Nikitin, 2002: 217). In some cases, like Barzanis, the name derives from the region/territory. In this case, we witness both examples. The great tribe, Xiyyi (Khiyyi) took its name from a person. And the sub-branch "Qelenderî" took its name from a region.

Encounter with Modernity

Within the broader context, tribe is defined as a family union and they believe that they are coming from the same "ancestor" and have "blood ties" with each other. But in fact, tribe mostly transcends blood ties and covers ecological aspects⁵. In this sense, the definition covers people who;

- *Live* in the same region or migrate together,
- *Have* a common administration system, language/dialect, beliefs and religious behaviors,
- *Take* common action against external dangers
- *Show* solidarity during natural or other disasters.
- *Protect* each other's interests and try to compensate each other's losses⁶ (Kiran, 2003: 43).

Bruinessen (2003: 82) describes tribe as: "*a sociopolitical unit relying on a common, real or assumed to be real, ancestor; organized on relativeness, generally has a territorial integrity and a unique internal structure.*"

These definitions cleanse tribe from its local ties and give an abstract aspect to the tribe. But maybe like in the Jongerden's (2007:69) proper words, a tribe can be constructed as an organization relied on an "imagined ancestor". In fact, whether they have a documented family tree or not, all tribes tend to rely on a legendary founding leader/father. In most cases, members of the tribe believe to have a blood tie with a "great-great father" figure. In our case, this "great-great father", as mentioned above, is "Giyaseddin". Actually, this situation recalls the Anderson's "imagined communities". The members of "Imagined Communities" (1995) are indeed just statistical numbers within a drawn border. They do not see and know each other but all of them has the feeling of belonging to the same "nation". In this study, we also have a similar observation. In our case, the members of the tribe do not have a territorial integrity, common language or even a national border as some members are located in Syria and other states. Interviewees claimed that all people who known as "Khiyyans/Kalenderis" in all around the world are a member of the same tribe and they are relatives of each other. However territorial integrity is one of the prominent characteristics of definitions of "tribe". As seen, in our case the figure of "imagined ancestor" is more significant than the territorial integrity.

If we took into attention the motion of tribes during historical processes, it can be seen that every definition fits to a certain reality and all the meanings not necessarily contradict each other. Because tribes have various diverse dynamics which enables them to survive in different regions and periods. There is no suspect that nomadic lifestyle is an aspect or phase of the tribal system. But even after becoming residents, "tribes" sustained their structure and were equated with "rural life" for a long period of time. Some even survived after moving to cities too, somehow with new channels and instruments, which one of them is this article's main concern. Yet the general approach/perception, which dominates the studies over the experiences of traditional communities during urbanization, foresees that such structures will be lost sooner or later.⁷ But "*community type structures were assumed to be temporary due to premises of research. The first premise*

⁵ Ecological aspects sometimes cover the nomadism between winter and summer quarters, sometimes broader geographic regions with different climate and seasonal conditions.

⁶ "Tribe" is sometimes defined as a "union of blood" (Nikitin, 2002: 210); "a summer camping nomadic clan", "an economic organisation" (Izady, 2007: 334); "a political organisation beyond the ties of relativeness or kinship" (Beşikçi, 1992b: 78); "a political group that defines the territory" (Leach, 2001: 36). Again, it is argued that tribe was mostly an organization with its beliefs habits, customs, traditions based on economic and social relations. But later in the course of the time, it gained a political dimension (Kiran, 2003: 45). But finally as Jwaideh (2004: 56) mentioned, though all differences among definitions, tribal organizations show a similar structure.

⁷ See., Özer, Kiran, 1997; Özaydın, 2002; Çetintaş, 2002.

is the inevitability of full urbanization, even if it is a process lasting few generations.⁸ The second premise states that the unequal development between formal and informal urban structures is the cause of the emergence of community type structures. So when reached the equilibrium such structures will disappear. And the last premise connects the existence of community type structures to the failure of states in the establishment of the new structures to undertake the functions of such solidarity communities” (Kurtoğlu, 2004a: 55-56). Consequently, such research foresee and expect the disappearance of communal solidarity structures and social relation networks (which attributed to the traditional times and societies) during modernization process.

The basic arguments of such research, whether consciously or not, had been produced and developed by functionalist/modernist/evolutionist theories. Especially modernization theories based on the dichotomy of "traditional-modern" (Özgiraz, 2007: 49) were widely used during the 60s as an alternative to Marxist social change theory. These theories tried to offer prescriptions of "modernization" for non-western societies.⁹ According to these theories, *“modernization is a process which can be started in very different ways. Yet the most possible one is to start with the change in technology and values. At the end of this process, institutions become widespread and simple structures of traditional societies transforms to the complex structures of modern societies.”* (Marshall, 1999: 509) But after a long period of modernization, traditional structures still survive. They are living and are not something that belongs to the "past". Modernization theories try to explain this survival by the existence of some buffer mechanisms or functionality/failure of modern institutions. The expectation that “traditional structures must/will remain in the past” became the dominant perception in social sciences and in current society but it never realized. This time, the form and relations remained from this structures began to be seen (or presented) as “pathologic things”.

The Reproduction of Tribe in the City: “The Kalenderi/Hiyi Association”

Certainly, the relation forms, emerged from tribal type socialization changed during modernization. Modernization, urbanization, the effects emerged from these processes and globalization, drastically changed tribal relations and structures. Because in a society in which modern urban institutions functions well, the opportunities and standards of education increased and developed communication and transportation technologies employed, no one can expect the continuation of the relation forms of nomadic or rural agricultural society without any fundamental change. Currently, we are living in urban societies. In our society, population density is changed in favor of cities, economic relations capitalized, living standards improved, opportunities of reaching institutions and obtaining information is expanded, participating in political decision making processes increased. So if we put aside the discussions about, in which types of societies it could be seen (Aktay, 2003), we can say that "civil society" is sine qua non in described urban societies.

In this study, we see a "civil society" activity carried out in an "association", which has the same name with "tribe". Civil society is described as taking a position vis-à-vis the state (Sarıbay, 1998) and "institutions" representing its institutionalization defined as "pressure groups" (Doğan, 2002:237) previously in Turkey, but it is not the case every time. At least nowadays besides the "pressure groups" positioned against the political power, we witness many associations ranging from "solidarity with fellow townsman

⁸ Most of the founding fathers of sociology (like Durkheim, Weber, Tönnies, Simmel) tended to study this as an obligatory/compulsory transition process. For a study, problematizing this point, see., Yelken, 1999.

⁹ “Modernization theory”, mostly developed on the basis of the T. Parsons’ works. While Parsons is the prominent representative of it, scholars like Eisenstadt, Smelser and J. Levy also developed the theory and adapted it to their works. See. Smith, 1996; Özgiraz, 2007.

(hemşehriler)", "constructing a mosque", "landscaping" to "protection of birds" (Tunçay, 2003).¹⁰ Çaha (2005:690) mentions five basic pre-conditions for development of civil society: social differentiation, social organization, voluntary togetherness, being autonomous in social level and to create a pressure mechanism.

The KHA meets at least one precondition, it can be argued that its existence is not against the functioning of civil society. The main reasons of establishment of KHA, upon our observations from all interviews, can be summarized as: *"re-gathering a community of dispersed relatives, building a bridge among them, dealing with the problems of relatives living in the city, to help the relatives suffering from economic problems, supplying scholarship for students, revive the traditions and customs of this social structure and pass them to new generations"*. Interviewees repeated these aims during interviews. Thus, in this case, we can speak about an association which devoted its activities (and aims) in parallel to the expectations from a civil society organization. It is useful to take a close look to the establishment, functioning, and targets of the association to identify the distinct features of this association. By this way the extent of the adaptation of the tribesmen, gathered around the association to the urban life will be understood better.

According to the profiles of the founders, published on the website, and upon our fieldwork, the association is established by an "educated, professional and urban" group. According to the statements of a young executive (who is also in the executive board of a trade union) (I2: 19.09.11): *"the idea of association first brought forth by this group (the founders) and during discussions about the establishment, it was decided that this "educated and respected" cadres to be brought to the administration"*. During a focus group interview, they said that (FGI: 24.09.11) *"there is a place for all members of our tribe at here, we are trying to attract everybody to this job"*. Also, they mentioned that they selected people suiting the above-mentioned description from all villages and families. It seems that they have "representational" concerns in these selections. Because if potential members perceive the association as an organization of a certain family or a small intellectual group, this may cause them to react against the association. In the end such a perception will not serve the main goal of "unifying" the tribe. On the contrary, when tribesmen see that important families are involved in the process, it will make things easier for executives and increase attention toward and participation in the association.

It seems that the establishment of the website, a year before the association, was a cornerstone for the foundation.¹¹ Website created to "communicate" and "meet" with tribesmen and relatives. It really worked well and with the contribution of the new relations formed via website, they organized a big dinner meeting. The idea of establishing an association first publicized in this meeting. After discussions, attendees approved the foundation of the association by a general vote. After approval of the proposal some respected family elders who were settled in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, asked the Ankara to be the center of the association. But this proposal was not accepted and majority offered Mardin to be the center of the association, as Mardin is the traditional homeland of Kalenderis and most of the tribesman are still living in there. In big cities, it can frequently be seen that people coming from a certain region or ethnic/religious community gathered around an association. Some tribes from Mardin also have some other associations in Diyarbakır and other cities. If KHA established in Ankara, then it would be a solidarity association of migrants who are far away from their homeland or an initiative of "diaspora" to protect lost values, to show solidarity with fellow townsman. So the decision to establish the association in Mardin city

¹⁰ There are some definitions regarding civil society within this framework. For instance, Ashford (2009: 11), defines all voluntarily formed organisations between state and individual such as family, church, sport and music associations as civil society.

¹¹ Creators of the website are not a few young people chasing nostalgia or bored in abroad. They are from important families of the tribe and later became the administrator of the association. Because of this situation, our sample is important.

center is very important as it is founded by residents living in tribe's heartland and not by migrants living abroad. The other important point is that it is established by the "educated and urban" tribesman (not the rural ones) who believe the value of traditional connections and customs and are trying to sustain (or revive) these values in the modern urban life.

In association's website, the goal is declared as: *"to supply support to the understanding of social solidarity, charity and unity for all the people living in Kalendera region"*. The website states that the information about the history, cultural richness, lifestyle, traditions and customs of the region also will be published for the visitors. By this way they aim to reach more people, to a broader community. To rebuild the genealogical tree of tribe, website makes a call: *"elders of families, self-employed persons, civil servants (active or retired), university graduates, respected elders living in villages, in short, all relatives are demanded to send an e-mail including all information and documents -they have- with their own name, title, picture and job"*.¹² During the process of rebuilding the family tree, the sense of a common "great-great father" will be strengthened. Besides, the familial relations and kinship among tribesman also will be renewed, and it will help the tribe to re-emerge as a "community of relatives". When he is asked to describe the tribe, one of the executives who is also a member of one of the central families of the tribe, he defined it as: *"a broad community of relatives"* (I3: 11.09.11). Another executive stated the function (probably the most important one) of the association as, *"the revival of a currently existing population."*

Furthermore, website includes the names and pictures of important figures of the tribe, such as elders of significant families, bureaucrats and public officers, the businessmen (in Mardin and diaspora), tradesmen and self-employed persons. During interviews, it was expressed that they aim to help people to get to know each other and be in solidarity. Another expectation was to pave the way for big economic or cultural organizations in the future. The chairman's "words" show at least the vision about future: *"Currently we have around 20 gas stations, factories, corporations and firms. We want to gather all of these under the umbrella of holdings and unite forces. We want to commence bigger initiatives. Because current society is an economic society. Then we have teachers. We want them to gather and open a private school or a teaching course. In agricultural field we want to set up big plantations and factories. And in villages, we want to promote cooperative societies for the development of rural areas. I believe we can realize all because we have talented young people in every field."* (I3: 11.09.11) Of course, this way of consideration can be linked to the characteristics of modern urban life (or in other words to the civil society) such as "solidarity", "pressure groups" or forming a "union of force". But what makes it special is, it is occurring among members of a "tribe". Yet this development in one aspect is similar to other examples as people are organizing for preserving their common interests. Another thing that makes this experience different is the role of past memories. It can be argued that the nostalgia (and aspirations) regarding the tribal "union of force" driving from the past is one of the important motivations behind this formation. Even if there was not any "real" union of force in the tribal history, it can be achieved today through the envisioned activities of the association.

The Transformation of Patronage

During the processes of modernization and urbanization, the forms of patronage also transformed. This is similar to the transformation of "tribe" to "association". In fact, patronage is a reciprocal but unequal relation. The dependent one's welfare and security or protection is under the responsibility of the patron. The patron gets economic services, political obedience, prestige and respect from the dependent one in

¹² It is valuable to quote one of the responds on the website's message board at here to see the degree of the echoes of the call: *"Sir (Hocam), I am writing from Derik. I will try to collect information about the relatives in Derik and send to the website. Congratulations. With my due respect."* A.K (Message's date: 17/10/2010 22:59).

exchange for protection. In former times this structure of patronage was not questioned but with parallel to the general transformation of urban society, this situation changed (Kiray, 1998: 185). Today it is argued that, especially in big cities, the relations that based on townsmanship (hemşehrilik), enables the reproduction of patronage and brings a tribal social structure on the agenda. Such relations also bring forth tribal type cultural tendencies by the way of creating social, political and economic relations (Kaya, 2002: 48). Some groups, transformed patronage relations -the *raison d'être* of tribal style organizational systems- in their favor and keeps such relations alive within the modern urban relations. These groups are well aware of the fact that such traditional type relations cannot be sustained in modern urban life without any change. So they are trying to show an important performance on meeting their target groups' (whether based on tribal ties or fellow township) social, economic or prestigious needs. The same situation also observed during focus group interview with executives of the association. They asked to give details about the "problems of tribesmen which will be tried to solve by the association". The answer was enough clear (FGI: 24.09.11): *"One of our goals is to defend our relatives, our friends against all dangers. For example, let's say someone made an injustice to one of us, whatever injustice it is. Of course we will give our full support to our cousin when he/she is right. For another instance, if one of us has been sacked from his position due to political reasons, every one of us, wherever he/she is doesn't matter, in Istanbul, Ankara or Mardin, with full power must back the one sacked. We will try to reach our every member wherever they are or whatever their problem. We have "respected" relatives at everywhere in every position. If required, either political or bureaucratically we will try to do whatever needs to be done."* As it is known, such a support can also be given within the existing traditional tribal structure, even if the association does not exist. So the role of the association in this process needs to be clarified. The answer of the executives regarding this point shows the degree of transformation of the traditional system and the opportunities supplied by "modern" means (FGI: 24.09.11): *"(without association) we would again give support but we would not be in touch, we wouldn't hear news about each other. Association enabled us to communicate with a broader community. This includes every issue. One person (in trouble) is coming. Where will he come, where will he apply? There are lawyers in the executive of the association. The executive of the association consists persons who are interested in such matters. If he comes to the State Hospital he will see Mehmet, if he does not know Mehmet, he will see me. When they have a job to do in education or provincial administration or anywhere else, he will reach the ones who are from us. Even if he doesn't know anybody, his job will be done. Before the establishment of the association he would go to an elder or political figure, now no need for this. They are coming, directly telling to one of us (a member of the executive board). For example, one of us (a member of the tribe) put his candidacy to be nominated as a member of parliament in elections. I am calling Ankara, and asking from one of our cousins, "do your best. Solve this matter." But if people see us powerless they will try to oppress. We all, still accept each other as cousins coming from the same father. While speaking with each other we say "cousin (amcaoğlu)" to each other. Pismam.¹³ If I know you (means 'the researcher' himself, represents the "stranger") I will personally do my best to help you, too. But at there (in association, in tribe), it is social. Everybody tries to do his best. It is a broader platform."* This shows that how patronage mechanism envisaged as a "resolution mechanism" via the association, even if it is still mostly in an imaginary level.

This resolution mechanism is much more explicit when the justice system does not function properly. Anyway such *"protection systems play a foremost role in non-institutionalized orders"* (Kiray, 2001: 34). But *"unstable political/economic environment"* is just one of the phenomena that paving the way for such types of patronage relations. The other, *"unlike the common belief, is not the habits of migrants who came to cities. It is the bureaucratic coldness and social stratification, as Weber also saw the source of alienation."*

¹³ Pismam: In Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish it literally means son of uncle (the kinship between sons of two brothers). In English it is "cousin", in Turkish it is "amcaoğlu".

(Kurtoğlu, 2004b: 48). It can be argued that this situation is the re-adaptation of the classic patronage relations -between tribal leader and tribesman- to the urban life.

Maybe becoming a “locus of power”, during the process of foundation of the association, was not initially intended. We asked another executive if there are any applications to the association about problems. The administrator who is an administrator in another association too, answered our question in parallel to the above words: *“That’s the way in Turkey the things work. People are coming to my friends who are working in public services and they help people”* (I1: 16.09.11). The executive added that old generations are using traditional channels when they have a problem but the younger generation, who are in support of being organized, (gradually) prefer to come to the association. In one side, in the Weberian meaning, still an authority taken over via traditional ways exist but on the other side a “modern” structure, trying to carry on some “beautiful” traditional values to the modern life, appears.

Naturally, such a structure reverses the foresights of the modernization theories. Because modernization theories,¹⁴ assumes that when educational level increases, economic opportunities, urbanization and modernization improves, individualism will prevail and traditional values, behaviors or attitudes will disappear. Certainly, this process will result in "individualism", but this individualism will have the ability to equip some traditional "forms" with modern "contexts" and revive/recirculate them. Yet, one must bear in mind that, “individualism” in fact is a myth. As a matter of fact, in societies where individualism is most powerful like North American and Western European societies, the individuals’ needs of “belonging” or “existing within a community” or their efforts “to get rid of the feeling of loneliness” gave birth to a lot of unions, groups, cults or communities, some of which were publicized by news of “mass suicides”. Such formations, even very extreme cults, can pick up a lot of members in modern individualistic societies. This shows that there is a “need”, for “togetherness” and “being with the similar ones”. This is a big problem before modernism which somehow must be confronted.

Enlarging/Growing While Renewing Oneself¹⁵

One of the important means for the revival of tribes is modern mass communication. Ironically it was expected that the developments in mass communication technologies will bring an end to the tribalism. Because the developments in mass communication technologies were almost assumed as the basic condition for freeing oneself from the restrictions of closed communities. When “foreign”, “other” societies were in concern, the correlations set between social structures and society’s level of technological development, in some cases turned to reductionist approaches. And such approaches result with ironies between foresights and realities on the ground. It is known that in western societies emergence of “cyber” communities goes back till 80s, to the dates when internet began to proliferate.¹⁶ But when it comes to the societies trying to preserve traditional values in urban life too, the same means serve to the functionality of those traditional values. In the case of "the Kalenderi Association" this situation seems more meaningful. The website was created before the association and it was an important platform driving the process of the establishment of the association. Even some of the communications about the formation of an association directly started on the website.

¹⁴ See. Smith, 1996; Özkiraz, 2007.

¹⁵ According to Lefebvre (1971: 31), “until they are shattered by de-structuralism, a society’s social relations remain constant, their reproduction being the outcome of a complex impulse rather than that of inertia or passivity” and he suggested that this reproduction is inevitably shaped within the “daily life”.

¹⁶ For further information, see the book of L. Adams Tyrone and Stephen A. Smith (2008) named *“Electronic Tribes”*.

The "association" type organizations have a long history in Turkey and go back to more than 100 years ago, to the last years of Ottoman State. In the first years of the II. Constitutionalist Period (1908-9) there were a lot of associations with various backgrounds including Kurdish cultural associations. So this type of organization is internalized in our society. But the current case, in some aspects, stands over the cyberspace, which has a history of 15-20 years in Turkey. This structure is using this relatively "new" space effectively. The vital role played by the website can be seen apparently in the visitors' notes on the message board of website and this point is also frequently stressed during interviews. Just one of the totally 34 messages on the "message board" has negative words. All other messages were congratulating the founders and stressing the importance of unity and to getting know each other. For instance, this message saying that: *"With globalization people began to going away from each other and alienate. Alienation is a big problem for communal societies like us. People must be united instead of being going away from each other. Thanks to all friends who pioneered such an activity."* (V.A, 19.02.2010 19:34). From the point of the view, about the revival of tribalism, even the only negative message has a meaning too. It seems that the one who wrote the message claims to own the tribe, more than the founders of the website.

With the creation of the website and subsequently the foundation of association, "tribe" passed the imagined borders of the founders. Some members of the executive board stated that before the website they were not aware of each other, they even do not know that they are relatives. There are also some other members and families living in different places that do not know each other before the website and first contacted over the website. This shows that "tribe" now corresponds more people than before. In the words of one of the founding members of the association, this situation can be seen very explicitly: *"we in first place come together after the creation of website and thanks to the association we began to know our relatives. For example, I met with mr.... thanks to the association. Once more, I did not know that Kalenderis are my cousins (emmioğlu). In short, website gathered us."* This statement points the fact that the "tribe" is also enlarging/growing while renewing itself via website and the association. The website is two years old and the association is just one-year-old. People who do not regard each other as "relatives/cousins" only two years ago now calling each other as "pismam/amcaoğlu (cousin)". This situation also can be seen as the evidence for/reflection of the mental enlargement. Similarly, the words of the president, who played important roles during the establishment, are also very meaningful (I3: 11.09.11): *"For example the ... family. I did not know that we are relatives. They came and said that we are relatives of I heard about them before but never saw them. Later we asked and found that we are first degree cousins (öz amcaoğlu). After the creation of the website everybody heard. Everybody said you will come and invited us to their villages. We were just two-three person at that time. Our aim was to gather people, not so much forming an association."* A young administrator told his similar experience in these words (I1: 16.09.11): *"There are people we do not know. They called me from Syria. There is a journalist among us. He said he wants also to write articles in our website. They called me from England and Sweden. All were spontaneous developments. They were calling me, communicating with me on their own. But at the end, you are creating such a thing. Someone called me from Siverek. He said, "why are you making such a thing by our name (the name of tribe) and do not inform us?". Such things are occurring. It is a little bit because of this. If there were not (such events) we were not planning to communicate with Muş or Diyarbakır immediately. You (gradually) know each other in any case."*

Furthermore, they are now talking about visiting five or six villages which they never heard about them before, located around Tebriz-Iran. This is also an interesting example showing the extent of enlargement. Till now just family elders had contacts with elders of the other families and all communication was just restricted to this. Naturally, this was not occurring in a wide geography. But today they are talking about people calling them from Iran, Syria, England, and Sweden. Tribesmen living in cities and villages and young generation who left their home cities for educational purposes are communicating with each other over

the website and becoming members of the association. They began to redefine themselves over the association and say "we are a tribe; we are relatives". This mental enlargement can enable families to synergically enlarge their spheres of influence and increase their protection/patronage abilities for their members by means of communicating to other families and gathering around a legendary common "great-great father". It seems that this sphere of influence exceeded even the imagines of founders only within two years when the website is taken as a ground.

One of the founders stated that he even doesn't know the president himself before, who is a well-known figure among Kalenderis. He said that he "*doesn't know anything about their relativeness with Kalenderis*" (I4: 21.09.11) and he first get into contact with the president over website. This example also is another indicator of the cyber space's important role in the reproduction/renewal of tribe.

Cyber space is improving, becomes cheaper and more and more people now get involved in it. With the expansion of cyber space by new, fast and cheap communication technologies, new opportunities will be opened before ordinary people. This new situation may pave the way for a new phenomenon, the "cyber tribes". Young people who affiliate themselves with "tribe" maybe be in contact with each other from different parts of the world even without seeing or actually knowing each other. Traditional tribesman knows each other with their parents' and grandparents' names. It will not be a surprise if this new generation knows each other only from their nicknames used on "tribal internet forums". Such types of social connections and sharing could have important implications in daily life. It will not be unrealistic to make a prospection about a future "cyber tribe"¹⁷ formed by new generation tribesmen who first gathered around virtual platforms and later in the real world, of course, it depends on this "reconstructed tribe"s ability to pledge something attractive or a common point to the younger generations.

The Risks of "Revived Tribe"¹⁸

The process of tribes' adaptation to modern urban life, "the renaissance/enlargement" of tribes also has its own risks. The awakening of a crowd of a "dormant" people (Gellner, 1995:4), by modern communication and political means and the "discovery" of the potential of a mass movement within this process by politicians, could result in the politicization of a civil effort which initially started just with cultural and solidarity concerns (Hall, 1995:9). There can be some similarities regarding the initial phases and paths followed, between the process of reviving a tribe in a modern nation-state and the evolution of nationalism in small nations. Hroch, (1995:66-67) defines three phases of a successful nation creation in small nations of Eastern Europe: in first phase there is a dedication to apolitical studies on their own ethnic culture,

¹⁷ In the case of "hactivist", "Anonymous" group, we witness such a form. Anonymous, is not a cult or a tribe but they also are not a classic organization we know from world's political struggles history. They are a new and different type of cyber organization. Young people who in some cases do not know each other with their real names and are living in different parts of the World are coordinating cyber-attacks on behalf of their common "cause". Simon Cox, "Anonymous, hactivism and the rise of the cyber protester", BBC News, 26 November 2012, <http://www.bbc.com/news/technology-20446048> Accessed: 10.03.2018 and Geneva Sands, "What to Know About the Worldwide Hacker Group 'Anonymous'", ABC News, 19 March 2016, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/worldwide-hacker-group-anonymous/story?id=37761302> Accessed: 10.03.2018.

¹⁸ Bourdieu (1990: 68-69) states that "Matrimonial strategies cannot be dissociated from the set of strategies – I am thinking for instance of strategies of fertility, of educative strategies as strategies of cultural investment or of economic strategies such as investing or saving money, etc. – through which the family aims to reproduce itself biologically and, above all, socially: aims, that is, to reproduce the properties that enable it to maintains its position, its rank in the social world under consideration." In the trace of Bourdieu's sense, it can be suggested that "habitus of tribe", which can be altered through confrontation with modern city-scape and cyber-scape, produces some strategies based on challenge and transformation. It is quite meaningful that these strategies can be understood as "strategies of tribe's reproduction".

language, and history by a small group of intellectuals; in second phase this small group tries to reach as more as people they can, to create a future nation; in third phase enough number of people from all walks of society embrace this new identity as a special value, the mass mobilization phase. Of course, we are not making a one-to-one analogy between the revival of a tribe in modern urban life and the process of nationalization targeting the independent political unions. We found some similarities regarding the paths followed. First in both cases in initial periods a group of intellectuals is turning their face to the past to find (or recreate) a common imagined "ancestor/culture/nation". Secondly, in both cases, these intellectual groups began to make calls to their fellow people to unite around these "found/recreated" "figures". Third in both cases, in first times, pioneers are not exclusivist. They are not externalizing other "tribes/nations", they just want "a place under the sun for their people". But persons, who are aware of the power of communication, will well know that the scope of influence of power that could emerge from the constant communication of a certain group of people will much more effective than the classical systems. A passionate leader (or a leading group) can easily try to convert this power to an instrument to supply political, economic privileges to their people/tribesmen.

In the case of the KHA, it can't be argued that there is enough evidence for such a prediction. Furthermore, they frequently stressed that they will not allow anybody to use association for his own political purposes. *"Nobody can pursue a political purpose or a target by using the name of the tribe, family or association"*. But when looking, things done till today, the declared things to be done and future prospects of the leading group it can be argued that the developments resembling the first two phases of Hroch can be observed in this case.

A retired teacher, member of the executive board says that they want to see everybody together in good and bad days (I5: 17.09.11): *"We want everybody to gather in a funeral, or during paying condolences; in a good day, in a wedding ceremony. We want them to pay visits to patients. We are in favor of every type of solidarity. If our children are abroad for education, we want to support them morally and financially"*. Another member who is a journalist: *"We are the first among tribes who established an association. Our sole goal in the association is to gather our family under a single roof. Social solidarity, helping each other, preserving our culture and traditions. Tradition, what we say, is not "we are lords, hit-beat or oppress"*. In this words there is a clear identification of "family" and "tribe" and a call to family, to unite under the roof of association. In the words of the president the cultural and economic horizons of the association also can be seen, who is an administrator in a public institution too: (I3: 11.09.11): *"One of our mental goals is to bring our economic power together and involve in bigger initiatives... Culturally we want to bring our youth together. Every year in one place. This year in Mardin, next year in Siverek and the other in Muş, Kulp."* Another member of the executive board talks about the process of creation of the website and puts stress on the importance of youth for them (I1: 16.09.11): *"Two years ago they asked me to create a website. I told them that I do not want such things like blood feuds, the pressure of one family to another. I told them that for me such things are not right. They said, "No, the aims are to revive this existing family, current population; to transfer the old customs and traditions to the younger generation; solidarity, helping each other; education and culture. So I accepted... In the end, such a social structure (tribe) also has beautiful traditions and customs and values. We aim to revive and transfer these to younger generations."*

The quotes show us that the classic tribal structure has negative connotations (along with orientalist perspectives visualized in the movies of Şener Şen-Kemal Sunal). They are against the revival of the classical structure as what it was. Especially young generations are confused. A young administrator of association talks about his remarks about the revival of old structure (I4: 21.09.11): *"Because there are some people who want to revive such a tribal structure (the old one). Mostly young people around my age are against this. They do not accept. They do not see it as a contemporary structure. My aim is not something like tribal organization at here. It is mostly the name of a region. It is a community of several families. The creation of*

new relations among these families at contemporary level. For instance, education and sharing. To revive and live again the old beautiful cultural richness. Because this tribe and family has a positive aspect. I will speak only for Kalenderis, this tribal structure is not formed just to oppress others or establish superiority over the others. It has such an essence. Mostly they helped or protected people in trouble. In general, they treated other people in a good manner. It has such an aspect. As it was not established on the oppression of other people today's youth are not opposing so much to this (the revival of the tribe). But they are against that general tribal structure in the Middle East and Anatolia." Interviewees generally opposed to the recreation of the classic tribal structure. However, almost in all interviews, an emphasis laid on "gathering family under single roof", "concentrating economic power", "gathering youths" and "revival and transfer of the beautiful customs, traditions and habits of this social structure to the youths."

In the case of KHA, we faced a community that some members previously were not aware of each other and met only one or two years ago. But as soon as they met, they all reached the consciousness of belonging to the "same family", coming from same "ancestor" and identified themselves with their (for some of them "newly found") family. It doesn't matter if they really are or are not descendants of the same great-great father, or they do not require necessarily to transform to the exact form of classic tribal organization. We need to notice that the awakened reality does not belong past, it belongs to today and future. A common past or a common "ancestor" figure helps covering the "feeling of belonging" for youths who are facing individualism and lets older generation to live a nostalgia of "old beautiful days". On the other hand, it gives the motivation to build a common future. After all, in this process, a sociality sleeping in the cradle of modernity is awakening with the means supplied by modernity. But as young generation also stressed, it has the risk of being politicized and creates new "dispute" areas.

Conclusion

One of the most important conclusions that this study reached is the "sense of belonging to the same tribe" was the motivation behind -independent from the founders' intentions and aims- this initiative's aim to become a "civil society organization" which can also be seen as the result of "tribe's" efforts to survive in modern society. In this case, it can be suggested that traditions and customs continue within modernity and also are reconstructed more different than the traditional and modern society's forms described by modernization theories. It was observed that the means or values used for restructuring the tribe transformed this structure's traditional organization, institution and relation forms. These means, created new opportunities and rendered the mentioned forms much functional within modern urban life. For example, patronage relations are one of the most transformed. Today patronage relations mean reciprocal, mutual protection and backing presented by members of a "civil society organization" to each other in politic, economic, bureaucratic and other spheres of life. It can be said that former hierarchical, vertical patronage relations are now much more horizontal. In our case, the currently transforming structure begun to institutionalize and the tendencies of the ones demanding patronage is changing. It is observed that elder generation still mostly uses classical channels of patronage but the younger ones -who are in support of institutionalization (association)- gradually began to use the channel of association.

Certainly, an individual living in the city, whether he is a member of a tribe or not, has a lot of alternative options such as political, ideological and cultural organizations. He can choose to be "member" either of them (or more than one simultaneously). But among all such "memberships" the ones chose, the gathering around "relativeness" or "common ancestors" as a starting point; the "solidarity with relatives" or "revival of family values" as a "common cause" seems to be the most harmless/innocent ones (in the eyes of ordinary people). And this is the easiest way to unify people around an organization. Yet in our case, members of KHA who at the same time are members of other political organizations or trades unions, made

their “belonging” choice on “relativeness”. However, a movement, institutionalizing by the aim of searching and reviving the “beautiful traditions, customs and habits of the past” and passing them to the today’s youth, always has the risk to transform to an “imagined community” as it accepts all the target group as “relatives” and calls for unification around a common “great-great father”. It can be said that chosen means and instruments for the realization of the mentioned aims meet some needs of today. But, it is not clear that, in case, how it will keep itself away from the tension and dispute realms which can be produced by the politicization of the movement.

In addition to this, the intensive usage of cyberspace has been observed by the "relatives" who are responding to the unification call of the founders. Another observation is the indefinite geographic border of "relatives" responding to this call. Cyberspace is relatively loose, cheap, fast and brings less responsibility. Persons safely can contact with much more people when compared to the real world in very short time periods. Because of these characteristics, it is expected that cyberspace will be used more and more by the members in the future. At all, the determination of target group as the "tribe as a broad community of relatives" and usage of communication technologies intensively makes this experience a unique and effective type of organization.

As a final analysis, tribes are not and will not be the exact "classical tribes" no more. Some new structures will emerge in the course of time. They expected not be fully independent from the classical tribal forms but they clearly will not be a mere continuation of them too. New structures will be different than that of past times. Very different types of "tribes" can emerge in the future. From the current point of view, some of them can be regarded as utopic. But for example we can witness tribal leaders elected by "general vote", or a new type of tribal administration which ruling the tribe like a trade union or a holding, or new "cyber leaders" (current "internet phenomena" maybe a clue for this) stemming from social platforms can be popular among young tribesman (in some cases these leaders may overlap with traditional leadership or maybe totally different). We can witness some young tribesmen gathered around a young, popular cyber leader and forming a pressure/solidarity group. It is not out of probability. Modern individual is an active participant in social organizations. Then why not to gather with “relatives”?

New forms apparently neither will be the same of the “traditional” ones nor be “modern” as envisaged by the modernization theories¹⁹. The reading abilities of leading cadres of the transformation of the changing world system and strategies developed by them to counter these changes and the responders’ answers will determine the success or failure of such a transformation.

Studies on this process, such as our article and the others, also can have some effects on the “process” to a certain degree. But it is a responsibility to make the sociology of what is currently ongoing.

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¹⁹ This situation can be interpreted as hybridization that is usually grasped by sociality as negative effects, because generally it is reflected to destroy pureness. But, in fact, every confrontation in every case inevitably reproduces hybridization. See. Göle, 2008.

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