

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

**AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STATUS OF
WOMEN IN CIRCASSIAN CULTURE: THE CASE OF THE VILLAGE
OF SOĞUCAK**

BERİKA TÜRKER

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ÇERKES KÜLTÜRÜNDE KADININ STATÜSÜNE ANTROPOLOJİK BİR
YAKLAŞIM: SOĞUCAK KÖYÜ ÖRNEĞİ

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by

Berika Türker

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Master of Arts/Doctor of Philosophy

in

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Supervisor

Assist. Prof. Ayşe Hilal Tuztaş Horzumlu

Istanbul - 2023

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CIRCASSIAN CULTURE: THE CASE OF THE VILLAGE OF SOĞUCAK

This qualitative study aims to explore the status of women in Circassian Culture through the lens of Feminist Anthropology. Soğucak village, one of the Circassian villages in Yalova, was chosen as a sample in the research. The research is prepared using qualitative research techniques, participant observation, and in-depth interviews. The field interview was conducted between 17 December 2022 and 16 July 2023 with 25 female and 9 male participants. Participants are determined by the snowball sampling method. As a result of the study, it is revealed that housework, especially cooking, and taking care of children is the responsibility of women in the village of Soğucak, which is also described as traditional gender roles of women in the literature. Additionally, when evaluating the position of Circassian women in Soğucak village, their roles in the family, their roles in transition rituals such as weddings and funerals, and especially their role in transferring culinary culture to future generations are also considered. All these results reveal that the secondary status of the woman in Circassian culture, which is the assertion of this study and is perceived by the literature research, is not found in the village of Soğucak. In addition, it is revealed that women's roles in Soğucak village have changed from past to present. Consequently, cultural change has emerged in Soğucak village, including the status of women.

Key Words: Feminist Anthropology, Gender Roles, Woman, Circassian Culture, Circassian Women.

ÖZET

ÇERKES KÜLTÜRÜNDE KADININ STATÜSÜNE ANTROPOLOJİK BİR YAKLAŞIM: SOĞUCAK KÖYÜ ÖRNEĞİ

Bu nitel çalışma, toplumsal cinsiyet ve feminist antropoloji merceğinden Çerkez kadının Çerkes kültürü içindeki rollerini keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Araştırmada örneklem olarak Yalova'nın Çerkes köylerinden biri olan Soğucak köyü seçilmiştir. Araştırmada nitel araştırma yöntemleri kullanılmıştır; katılımcı gözlem ve derinlemesine mülakat. Saha araştırması mülakatları 25 kadın ve 9 erkek katılımcı ile 17 Aralık 2022- 16 Temmuz 2023 tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Katılımcılar kartopu örneklem yöntemi ile belirlenmiştir. Çalışmanın sonucunda, literatürde ifade edilen ev işleri, çocuklar ile ilgilenme ve yemek pişirme gibi kadınların geleneksel cinsiyet rolleri olarak tanımlanan işlerin Soğucak köyünde de kadınların sorumluluğunda olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Ayrıca Çerkez kadınının Soğucak köyündeki konumu değerlendirilirken aile içindeki rolleri, düğün ve cenaze gibi geçiş ritüellerindeki rolleri ve özellikle mutfak kültürünün gelecek nesillere aktarılmasındaki rolleri de dikkate alınmaktadır. Tüm bu sonuçlar bu çalışmanın iddiası olan ve literatür araştırması ile algılanan Çerkes kültüründe kadının ikincilliğinin, Soğucak köyünde bulunmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bunlara ek olarak, kadının rollerinin geçmişten bugüne değişim geçirmekte olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Sonuç olarak, Soğucak köyünde kadınların statülerini de içine alan bir kültürel bir değişim ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Feminist Antropoloji, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Roller, Kadın, Çerkes Kültürü, Çerkez Kadını.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved grandmother, Perihan Türker,
she was the most beautiful Circassian woman I had ever seen in my life.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this study, the status of women in Circassian Culture is examined fundamentally considering the feminist anthropological perspective. By viewing the status of women in Soğucak village, it is examined not only the roles of women in the family but also their roles in rites of passage¹ such as weddings and funerals and domestic works such as cooking. As a result of the study, a general framework is drawn about the status of women and their roles in the culture of the village of Soğucak. Moreover, the Circassian society, one of the leading research subjects of this study, is one of the ethnic groups living in Turkey.

Societies living in the Republic of Turkey have different ethnic, religious, cultural, and historical backgrounds. These societies interacted with each other in the historical process and shared their cultures with each other. Circassian society is one of these societies that continue to exist in Turkey. However, there is conceptual confusion about the definition of Circassian people who live in Turkey.

The word Cherkess (Cherkess) describes all peoples who migrated from the North Caucasus in Turkey. These groups are Adyghe, Abkhazians, Dagestanis, Ossetians, Chechens, and Karachay-Balkars. However, the people defined as Circassian also describe themselves as Adyghe. Historian İsmail Berkok defines this situation as "Every Adyghe is a Circassian, but not every Circassian is Adyghe." The tribes of Adyghe are identified as Abadzekh, Besleney, Bzhedug, Chemirgoy, Hatuqway, Kabardian, Natukhaj, Shapsug, and Ubykh. There are also very small communities such as Jane, Mahoş, and Mamheğ (Kaya, 2011, pp. 76-78). Moreover, since this study was conducted among Circassians from the village of Soğucak, or Adyghe in other words, only Circassians were targeted throughout the study. However, the word that will be used to describe the Cherkess people throughout the study is the word Circassian. The reason for the use of this word will be explained later. Primarily, it is necessary to mention the migration process of the Circassians.

¹ Rites of Passage: Practices referred to as transition rituals are the name given to traditional and religious ceremonies that describe the individual's 'crossing the border' in various dimensions and the change of his status within the society which are bound by certain rules (Van Gennep, 2004), (Ozan , 2011, p. 73).

The Circassians were exiled due to the Russian invasion of the Caucasus on May 21, 1864. One of the countries where the Circassians were exiled was the Ottoman Empire. Circassians came to the Ottoman lands by land and sea routes (Karataş, 2013). The information about the process of exile in 1864 and the position of Circassians in the Ottoman Empire is explained in detail in the section on the historical background of Circassians.

Additionally, one of the most significant subjects of this research is the examination of Circassian culture. Circassian culture has a unique character and structure. The social construction of Circassians, Habze or Xabze rules, the concept of Thamate, the language of Circassians, the religion and belief systems, family life, marriage traditions, and the status and roles of Circassian women in society are explained in the context of Soğucak village in the findings and discussion section. Moreover, the findings and discussion section will present information about women's roles in the kitchen.

1.1. The Aims of the Research

There are many Circassian villages in the province of Yalova, which is in the Marmara region. Circassian villages of Yalova are Karadere, Soğucak, Çavuş, Tevfikiye, Örencik, Aktoprak and Fevziye. One of these villages is Soğucak village. It was chosen as a sampling site to investigate the status of Circassian women in Circassian Culture. Additionally, I am interested in Circassian culture because of my family background. Therefore, I read the literature about Circassian culture. Thanks to these readings, I perceived an impression that Circassian women may have a secondary status in Circassian culture. For this reason, I wanted to investigate the status of Circassian women in the village of Soğucak to find out whether women are subordinated in their culture. This is also why I focused on women in this study. In short, I tried to understand the status and importance of women in the culture and their decisive role in the culture of Soğucak village. Besides, to shed light on these issues, answers are sought to the following questions:

- Who are the Circassians?
- What does it mean to be a Circassian?

- What is the historical and cultural background of the Circassians in Turkey?
- What are the gender roles of women in Circassian society?
- What is the status of women in Circassian Culture and family life?
- What is the role of Circassian women in the Kitchen?
- What are the duties of women in the transfer of Circassian culture?

Additionally, this research differs from other studies on Circassian culture and Circassian women in many ways. Essentially, when I searched the literature, it turned out that very little research discussed women's status and role in Circassian culture. Additionally, no studies in the literature examine whether women are subordinates in Circassian culture. Furthermore, there are no studies on women or Circassian culture in the villages of Yalova, especially in Soğucak. Also, there are no studies assessing the status of women in Circassian culture from an anthropological point of view. For these reasons, I believe this study will contribute to the literature on the role of women in the village of Soğucak. At the same time, this research will contribute to feminist anthropology in the context of women's gender roles and subordination. Now, I would like to present a brief background information about the Circassians so that the subject can be better understood.

1.2. Historical Background of Circassians

1.2.1. The Etymology and the Definition of the Word Cherkess (Çerkes in Turkish)

Before examining historically, the answer to the question of who the Cherkess are, it is necessary to read first the etymological origin of the word 'Cherkess' (Çerkes) to understand who they are. In addition to examining the etymological origin of the word Cherkess, it is essential to mention how this word is used in the literature written in the English language. Firstly, in the literature written in English, the term 'Çerkes' in Turkish is not only referred to as 'Cherkess' or 'Cherkes' (Ertem , 2000, p. 148) but also and mainly as 'Circassian' (Shami, 1994, pp. 189-190). This ethnic group, expressed as Cherkess, Cherkes, or Circassian in English, is often described as Circassian in English sources; therefore, the word Circassian will be used throughout the thesis. Besides, there are also different opinions about the etymology of the word 'Çerkes.'

The word 'Çerkes'(Cherkess) is equivalent to the word 'Adige'(Adyghe), and this word means "those who belong to the sun" or "those on high" in the Kabardian language (Teşuk , 1957, pp. 18-19). The word 'Çerkes' has no meaning in any of the North Caucasian language families. The word 'Çerkes' is a word used by foreigners for all North Caucasian peoples who have a common culture, history, and joint problems (Berzeg N. , 1996, p. 17). 'Çerkes (Cherkes)' is a modified version of the Greek word 'Kerket(kercetai)', which describes the people living on the Northwest Black Sea coast. According to another view, the origin of the word 'Çerkes' is Tataric. Tatars started to live in Crimea in the 13th century and defined the Northern Caucasian peoples, known as Zihler, as 'Jarkaz.' The word 'Jar' or 'Çer' is used in Tatar language to mean soil, and the word 'Kaz' or 'Kes' in Tatar means to dig, and the word 'Jarkaz' means cultivation. Thus, the word 'Jarkas' settled in Turkish as 'Çerkes' in time (Avagyan , 2004, pp. 9-20). At the same time, there are correspondents regarding the word's usage.

This word is used both as 'Çerkes' and 'Çerkez' in literature. According to the research of Türkan and Çelik Kan, people from the Circassian branches residing in the Reyhanlı district of Hatay, "Shapsig, Abzah, Ubykh, Kabartai" states that it is correct to use the word 'Çerkes' instead of 'Çerkez' (Türkan & Çelik Kan , 2019, p. 188). However, in the dictionary of the Turkish language institution (Türk Dil Kurumu), the word is described as 'Çerkez,' not 'Çerkes'. Also, this institution defines the word 'Çerkez' as "A tribe living in the Caucasus or a person from this tribe" (Türk Dil Kurumu, 2022). In addition to all these, the etymological origin of the word 'Çerkes' reminds us of the question of who the Cherkess are or Circassian people and where they came from.

The word 'Cherkess' or Circassian is a commonly accepted name used to describe the peoples of the Caucasus. Adyghe, Abkhaz, Dagestan, Ossetian, and Chechen people are all Circassians. However, not all Circassians are Abaza or not all Adyghe (Berzeg N. , 2006, p. 30). According to Doğan, Circassians or Cherkess, people consist of tribes of Adyghe; Hatukuey, Beslenei, Bzedoug, Abzakh, etc., and other tribes; Chechen and Abkhaz groups (Doğan, 2009, p. 30). Kaya also argued that the word Cherkess or Circassian is a terminology used to describe all people who are North Caucasian in Turkey. However, apart from the Circassians, Turkey has other North Caucasian peoples, such as Abaza, Ossetians, Chechens, Dagestanis, and Karachay-Balkars. These groups define themselves with different words, and the Circassian people call some of these groups by

other names. In addition, some of these groups differ culturally and religiously from Circassian society.

Adyghe, Abzeh, Abaza, Chechen-Ingush, Ossetian, and Dagestan peoples were first identified as Circassians in Turkey. In fact, Circassians people define themselves as 'Adyghe'. The word 'Çerkes, Cherkess, or Circassian' is a word given to them by others. Historian İsmail Berkok defines this situation as "Every Adyghe is a Circassian, but not every Circassian is Adyghe." The tribes of Adyghe can be expressed as Abadzekh, Besleney, Bzhedug, Chemirgoy, Hatuqway, Kabardian, Natukhaj, Shapsug, and Ubykh respectively. There are also very small communities such as Jane, Mahoş, and Mamheğ (Kaya , 2011, pp. 75-78). As a result, there is a contradiction about using the word Cherkess or Circassian (Çerkes), in the literature. In addition to these, the exile process in 1864 is also researched to understand the background of Circassian people who settled in Ottoman lands. The period of Exile was a very long and challenging experience for Circassians, in which many people lost their lives. However, the Ottoman government applied some settlement policies to settle the Circassians. All this information about the exile process is explained in the next section.

1.2.2. The Exile in 1864

The relations between Turks and Circassians started with the settlement of Seljuks in Dagestan in the Melikşah period in the 1060s. The first relations of the Ottomans with the Circassians began with Ferruh Ali Pasha's departure to Soğucak in 1782. In the following centuries, the region witnessed an exchange of population, first between Iran and the Ottoman Empire, and then between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. With the conquest of Crimea by Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror, the Ottoman dominance and control over the Circassian people increased (Kaya , 2011, p. 78). However, the Ottoman influence on the Caucasus changed after the Russian-Ottoman wars.

After Russia's occupation of Crimea in 1783, the period of migration of the Circassian people began. Although the Circassian exile took place in 1864, the reasons for the historical process of this incident date back to 70-80 years before the exile (Berzeg N. , 2006, p. 69). During this long period of wars, the possibility of Russian domination of

coastal regions such as Anapa, Soğucak, and Gelincik emerged. After the Ottoman-Russian war between 1877 and 1878, Circassian people began to migrate in crowds to the Ottoman lands (Kaya, 2011, pp. 79-80). The defense of the homeland and the struggle for freedom of the Caucasian peoples ended with the surrender of Sheikh Shamil to Russia in 1859. After this surrender, the Eastern Caucasus was occupied. Continuing its occupation in the Caucasus, the Russian State invaded and captured the Western Caucasus on May 21, 1864, after the Eastern Caucasus (Karataş, 2013). As a result, Russia's occupation of the Caucasus started the exile process of the Circassians. Moreover, the migration process has been quite complex for them.

The immigrants come to the major ports in cities like Istanbul, Trabzon, Samsun, and Varna. Due to the intense influx of immigrants, problems such as food shortages, lack of medical facilities, and lack of shelter occurred in these areas (Turgay, 1991, p. 216). According to McCarthy the displacement of Circassian people caused the death of one-third of the people which is estimated to be 1.2 million (McCarthy, 1995, p. 36). Between 1858 and 1862, approximately 56 thousand people immigrated from the Caucasus to Anatolia. It is claimed that the rate of those who lost their lives during migration constitutes about 25% of the total immigration-paid population (Avagyan , 2004, p. 58). The Circassian groups reached the Ottoman lands using land and sea routes. However, many Circassians lost their lives both during and after their arrival due to contagious disease, hunger, and unsuitable conditions (Berzeg N. , 2006, pp. 219-230). As a result of all these, the Ottomans settled them with systematic resettlement policies in Anatolia.

Figure 1.

The Exile Routes from the Caucasus to Other Countries



Source: <https://ajanskafkas.com/soylesi/fuat-dundar-ile-kafkasyadan-osmanliya-gocler-uzerine-soylesi/>

Figure 2.

The Regions where the Caucasian Immigrants were Settled as a result of the Ottoman Settlement Policies



Source: <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/331105>

Circassians reached the ports of cities such as Istanbul, Samsun, Trabzon, and Rize by sea and they were dispersed from these cities to various parts of the Ottoman Empire. Five central regions can be counted as settlements in the Ottoman lands: Western Thrace, Western Anatolia, Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, Syria, and Iraq (Karpat K. , 2002, p. 664). Circassians were settled in Ottoman lands along with the line from Sinop to Hatay. Their settlements are located around this line in the cities of Sinop, Samsun, Amasya, Çorum, Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri, Maraş, Adana, and Antakya. Furthermore, Circassians also immigrated to the Balkans to increase the Muslim population in these areas (Berzeg N. , 2006, pp. 213-214), (Eser & Kocacık, 2010, s. 190-191), (Karpat K. , 2010, p. 21). Therefore, examining the placement of the Circassians in the Ottoman state and their integration processes is essential to understanding and researching the Circassian society in Turkey.

1.2.3. Circassians in the Ottoman Empire

The Circassian people have an essential place among the ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire. Circassians, primarily those who settled in the capital Ottoman Empire, İstanbul, showed great success in a short time and took essential responsibilities in the army and palace (Çorlu, 1993, p. 11). Circassians held important positions in the armed forces and government, especially since the reign of Abdulhamit II (1876-1909), and thus, they became a part of the political structure and elite class (Avagyan , 2004, p. 98). In addition, Circassians had a vital position in the “İttihad and Terakki Committee,” which dethroned Sultan Abdulhamit II. Besides, according to Besleney's statement, Circassians had a prominent place not only in the political life of the Ottoman Empire but also in the literary and artistic life especially in the city of İstanbul. Circassian and North Caucasian artists were also highly active among the especially elite class in Istanbul (Besleney , 2016, pp. 78-80). Moreover, Circassian organizations began to open in this period.

The Circassians founded organizations such as the Circassian Party against Abdulhamit II (Avagyan , 2004, p. 104) The first official Circassian organization in the Ottoman Empire was established in 1899 under the name of "Cem'iyeti-i İttihadiye Çerakise". This society published a newspaper called “İttihad,” which was written about Circassians' poor living conditions in the Ottoman Empire and the Caucasus (Besleney ,

2016, p. 79). In addition, the second constitutional period (1908) opened the door for the emergence of Circassian organizations and publications (Atlı , 2021, p. 183). One of them is the association of Circassian women's solidarity.

The activities of the Circassian Women's Solidarity Association are essential. Because the first and only Circassian primary school was opened by this association in the Ottoman Empire (Çorlu, 1993 p.11). This school, which is called the 'Çerkes Numune School,' is an institution where Muslim girls and boys were educated together for the first time in the Ottoman Period. In addition, it was the first school to provide education in the Latin alphabet during the Ottoman Period. The primary purposes of the Circassian women Teavün society in opening this school are to raise Circassian boys and girls and teach these children the Circassian national identity. In addition, Circassian intellectual, activist, and author Hayriye Melek Hunç is the founder of the Circassian Women's Solidarity Association (Karakışla , 2001, p. 40).

Figure 3.

The Teachers and Students of Circassian Sample School (Çerkes Örnek Okulu)



Source: <https://jinepsgazetesi.com/2021/03/cerkes-kadinlari-teavun-cemiyeti/>

Hunç is also a writer who writes feminist articles when evaluated within her period. According to her, the Caucasus symbolizes the Circassian nation's honor and freedom and the Circassian women's integrity. She acted with the leading women writers of the period, wrote about women, and took these strong female figures as role models. She also argued that women should get an education (Atlı , 2021, pp. 205-206). In addition to these, with the start of the Turkish War of Independence in 1919 and with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the Circassian diaspora in Turkey was exposed to many sanctions.

During the War of Independence, some of the Circassians supported the Kuva-i Milliye and later the Ankara government, while others chose to be on the side of the Ottoman government. For this reason, with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the state implemented policies aimed at ignoring and suppressing many ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities were significantly affected by the nationalization policy implemented by the Turkish state, especially between 1920 and 1950. For this reason, the Circassian diaspora did not engage in political activities in these years (Besleney , 2016, pp. 87-106).

Consequently, Circassians are all Caucasian peoples who left their homeland of the Caucasus because of the 1864 exile and dispersed to various parts of the world. They defined themselves as Adyghe. Circassian tribes are Abzekh, Besleney, Bzhedug, Chemirgoy, Hatuqway, Kabardian, Natukhaj, Shapsug, and Ubykh. Moreover, Circassians are a people who started to live in the Ottoman Empire after the great exile of 1864. For this reason, some detailed literature information about the exile process has been given.

The exile process started with Russia's occupation of Crimea and then the Caucasus. One of the most essential reasons for this process was the Ottoman Empire's loss of influence in the Caucasus because of the Ottoman-Russian wars. All these historical events prepared the exile process in 1864, but after the exile, the Circassians continued to migrate in crowds to Anatolia, the Middle East, and the Balkans. The process of exile to the Balkans and Anatolia began in 1787 and continued until the 19th century. During the exile, many of them died because of epidemic diseases, starvation, or drowning at sea.

The number of Circassians who settled in the Ottoman lands also differs in the literature. Besides, Circassians were resettled in Anatolia with a particular order along the Sinop and Hatay lines by the Ottoman State. Circassian settlements are located around this line in the cities of Sinop, Samsun, Amasya, Çorum, Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri, Maraş,

Adana, and Antakya. One of the reasons for the Circassian settlements is to create a buffer of immigrants in the troubled areas and to ensure the security of the borders. After the exile, the Circassians adapted to the Ottoman Empire.

They held many important positions within the Ottoman Empire and took part in substantial levels of the state. Additionally, Circassians opened some associations. In addition to all these, the field process, sampling method, data collection method, participant information, results obtained from participant observation, and study limitations are explained in detail as the methodology of the thesis. Moreover, the theoretical background of the study of Gender, Gender Roles, Feminism, and Feminist Anthropology is explained in the Methodology chapter.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. The Research Method and Design

In this study, participant observation and semi-structured in-depth interview techniques are used which are widely used as a qualitative research technique in anthropology. In this way, it aims to reach more realistic data in the research by using observation, interviews, and literature research together. The literature search for this study is explained in the results and discussion sections, combined with information obtained from Soğucak. In addition, in the introduction, brief historical information about Circassians is also presented. The study's theoretical background is detailed in the methodology, precisely the context of gender roles and feminist anthropology. At the end of the examination, a general summary of the findings is explained, and the results are then presented.

2.1.1. The Fieldwork, The Sampling, and The Collection of Data

The field research of this thesis is conducted in Soğucak village of Yalova province; previously, I would like to give some information about Yalova province. Yalova province was established on the Northern shore of the Armutlu peninsula and the Northern foothill of the Samanlı Mountains. This province is in the Southeastern part of the Marmara region in the Northwest of Turkey. The Marmara Sea is in the North and West of the city—also, the city of Kocaeli is located in the East of the Yalova. The provinces of Bursa, Orhangazi, Gemlik, and İzmit and the Gulf of Gemlik are situated in the South of the town. The area consists of 6 districts. These districts are the center of Yalova, Altınova, Armutlu, Çınarcık, Çiftlikköy and Termal. The distance of Yalova to the surrounding provinces and districts: Bursa is 79 km, Gemlik 43 km, Orhangazi 21 km, Karamürsel 30 km, Gölcük 50 km, Kocaeli 63 km, Istanbul (by land) 174 km, and Istanbul (by sea) 24 miles. Yalova is the smallest province in Turkey in terms of surface area and is one of the provinces with

the longest coastline to the sea. Yalova has fertile plains. The economy of Yalova Province is mainly based on floriculture and greenhouse cultivation in the agricultural sector, textiles, chemistry, and paper in the industry sector, and tourism (Kocatepe , 2011, s. 68-71). According to the website information of the Yalova governorship, the city's population is 262,234 as of 31 December 2018. The province's population increased by 11,031 people in 2018 compared to the previous year (Yalova Valiliği, 2023). In addition to these, according to Çelik's statements, Yalova is a migration city. This city has hosted many nations throughout history such as Hellenes, Romans, Slavs, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, and Turks. Besides, the population of Yalova has changed considerably over the years because of wars like, the Crimean War (1853-1856), the Ottoman-Russian War (1877-1878), the Ottoman-Greek War (1897), the Balkan War (1911-1913), the World War 1 (1914-1918), and the War of Independence (1923). During these periods, immigrants from Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, and the Caucasus Region settled in Yalova and its surroundings. Furthermore, the city of Yalova has a total of 44 villages: 5 in Armutlu, 10 in Çiftlikköy, 3 in Çınarcık, 11 in the Central District, 2 in Terminal and 13 in Altınova (Çelik, 2018, pp. 6-7). One of these villages is Soğucak village, which is connected to the central district of Yalova, where I conducted field research.

There are many Circassian villages in Yalova. According to Kaplanoğlu and Kaplanoğlu, some of the Circassians who migrated from the Caucasus settled in Bursa, İnegöl, and some of them settled in the villages of Yalova. Circassian villages in Yalova are Karadere, Soğucak, Çavuşköy, Tevfikiye, Örencik, Aktoprak, and Fevziye (Kaplanoğlu & Kaplanoğlu, 2013, pp. 131-149). The most important reason I chose Yalova is that there are many Circassian villages around the region. Therefore, I believe that these villages may have a high representation of Circassian culture. I thought that the Circassian culture is better preserved in these villages because these villages are far from the cities and therefore the influences from outside might be less in these villages. In addition, the studies of Circassian culture carried out in several villages in Yalova led my thinking to develop in this direction. (Hajilova, 2019), (Karaca & Güçlü Nergiz , 2020). Besides, one of the villages close to Yalova city center is Soğucak village.

The village of Soğucak was founded in 1864 by the Circassian people from the Caucasus. The name of Soğucak comes from a settlement in the Caucasus. Soğucak village was first established around Paşakent, then in the area where it is now. It also is 9

kilometers from the center of Yalova. It is located 1 kilometer inside the Yalova-Bursa highway (Karaca & Güçlü Nergiz , 2020, p. 56). According to the statements of the village headmen, the village population is 441, and the number of digits is 80. Additionally, there are some reasons why I am choosing Soğucak as fieldwork.

Primarily, I visited some other Circassian villages in Yalova. One of the villages I visited was Fevziye and the other was Çavuşköy. However, transportation to these villages is challenging. Because these villages are in very remote areas. These villages probably more accurately represent Circassian Culture. However, I had to be mobile while doing the fieldwork. After the fieldwork was over, I needed to go back to my home in Istanbul. For this reason, since it would be difficult for me to go to these villages and it would not be possible for me to stay there for a long time, Soğucak village which is closer to the road, seemed more convenient to me. Another reason why I chose Soğucak village is because the people I talked to in Soğucak were more friendly to me than those I talked to in other towns. When I first went to Soğucak, the village headman and a few people from the village treated me very warmly. For this reason, I thought that I could establish better communication with the people of this village and obtain more information for fieldwork. On the other hand, unlike other towns, Soğucak village is inhabited by people who had lived in cities such as Istanbul, Yalova, or Bursa for many years and then returned to the village.

Some of these people (the exact number is unknown) returned to Soğucak after the 1999 earthquake. Additionally, some of the participants I spoke with had worked in cities for many years and returned to their villages after retirement. For this reason, I thought it important to examine how people who have lived in other cities for a long time and have returned represent their culture. This is another reason why I chose this village. In addition, general information about the village of Soğucak is revealed during the field research.

The village generally consists of two or three-storey houses. There are also white stone houses, an architectural style belonging to the Circassian society in the village, but they are very few. Generally, modern homes are built in the village. There is one big mosque in the center of the village. Also, there is a headman's office very close to the mosque. The village has a school building, but according to the participants' statements, the school was closed. A dining hall is established for cooking on occasions such as

weddings and funerals. It is also near to the headman's office. A village cafe is just below the headman's office, where only men can sit. A minibus goes to Yalova from the village every 10 minutes. Thus, the villagers can do their daily shopping from Yalova. In the village's upper part, Paşakent residences were built after the 1999 earthquake. According to some of the participants, this region does not have much to do with the village. Moreover, the village has almost no agriculture and animal husbandry. Only one person is engaged in animal husbandry and meets all the village's dairy needs. In addition to these, my frequency of going to the field varies during the period I work.

I only had the opportunity to go to the field once a week because I was also working. I usually went to the area on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. On the way to the field, I went to Yalova by using the ferry or Osman Gazi bridge with driving my car. Then, I reached the village of Soğucak by driving the car again. Therefore, fieldwork was costly for me. My average weekly expenditure during fieldwork was 1000-1500 TL (Bridge fee and gasoline fee). Also, in July 2023, I stayed in a hotel in Yalova, which is close to the village, for one week. I went from the hotel to the village, again with my private car. I will explain below the details of the field research I conducted throughout this process.

When I first went to the field, I went to the village's headman and talked with him. Then he introduced me to other people in the village. So, I began to know the villagers. Every time I went, I usually interviewed people collectively. There were also people I interviewed individually. I conducted field research between 17 December 2022 and 16 July 2023 with twenty-five female and nine male participants. Primarily, I went to the village with my car during the winter period from 17 December 2022 to 31 March 2023. I went to the village around noon and left around 5 or 6 in the evening to return to my home in Kartal, Istanbul. Then, in the summer of 2023, I took annual leave to obtain more data from the village and spent about one week in the field. I conducted my in-depth interviews between 12 July 2023 and 16 July 2023. I was staying in a hotel in Yalova for this one week. I stayed in Yalova because I could not spend much time in the field. After all, the road was long. While staying at the hotel, I went to the village around 12 until about 6 or 7 in the evening. This way, I had the chance to spend more time in the village and conduct in-depth interviews. Also, the interviews with the participants ranged from 20 to 197 minutes. Additionally, I obtained information about the participants' ages, educational backgrounds, and jobs while doing fieldwork.

During the field research, I interviewed 25 women aged 25-87. Since there is almost no young generation in the village, I could only find 1 participant who is 25 years old. Apart from this participant, the age range of the other 24 female participants is 40-87. The age range of the nine male participants I interviewed is between 43 -74. Moreover, since most of the participants I interviewed are middle-aged and older, they are generally housewives and retired. The young population settled in cities such as Yalova, Istanbul, or Bursa for work or education. Among the twenty-five women interviewed, thirteen are homemakers, seven are retired, four are still working, and 1 is a university graduate looking for a job. Among the nine men I interviewed, six are retired, and three are still working. Most of the female and male participants are primary and high school graduates. There is only one participant who is a university graduate. In addition, I conducted the interviews by choosing a particular sampling method, and I tried to conduct in-depth interviews in environments where the participants were most comfortable.

I used the snowball sampling technique in the research. The people I meet introduce me to others they know, such as their neighbors, relatives, siblings, and mothers. In this way, I conducted in-depth interviews with random people. When I went to the field, I usually held the discussions at the participants' homes. Because they invited me to their house, for this reason, I usually interviewed more than one participant every time I went to an interview. I typically talk with multiple people simultaneously to make them feel more comfortable when they are talking with me and thus create a more intimate communication environment. I tried to make my interviews not in an official way but in a conversational mood. Since my questions were long, I tried not to bore people. For this reason, I sometimes took a break when asking people questions. In addition, I had the opportunity to observe the family life and lives of the participants as I conducted the interviews at the participants' homes. Addedly, I will explain the results of the participant observation method that I obtained and observed in the field throughout the section on the technique of Participant Observation.

Table 1.

The List of In-dept Interviews

Number of the Participants	Code	Gender	Age	Marital Status	The Dates of Interviews
Participant 1	F1	Female	54	Married	17/12/2022 - 02/03/2023 - 12/07/2023
Participant 2	F2	Female	74	Single	17/12/2022
Participant 3	F3	Female	73	Single	30/12/2022
Participant 4	F4	Female	57	Single	07/01/2023 - 27/01/2023
Participant 5	F5	Female	62	Married	31/03/2023 - 14/07/2023
Participant 6	F6	Female	25	Single	31/03/2023 - 14/07/2023
Participant 7	F7	Female	67	Married	24/02/2023 - 13/07/2023
Participant 8	F8	Female	60	Married	19/01/2023 - 12/07/2023
Participant 9	F9	Female	59	Married	19/01/2023
Participant 10	F10	Female	87	Single	30/12/2022
Participant 11	F11	Female	52	Married	30/12/2022 -12/07/2023
Participant 12	F12	Female	59	Married	07/01/2023 -12/07/2023
Participant 13	F13	Female	62	Single	07/01/2023 -14/07/2023
Participant 14	F14	Female	69	Married	12/07/2023
Participant 15	F15	Female	45	Married	12/07/2023
Participant 16	F16	Female	56	Single	13/07/2023
Participant 17	F17	Female	44	Married	13/07/2023
Participant 18	F18	Female	40	Single	13/07/2023
Participant 19	F19	Female	46	Single	13/07/2023
Participant 20	F20	Female	65	Married	15/07/2023
Participant 21	F21	Female	55	Single	16/07/2023
Participant 22	F22	Female	58	Married	15/07/2023
Participant 23	F23	Female	79	Married	15/07/2023
Participant 24	F24	Female	50	Married	15/07/2023
Participant 25	F25	Female	48	Married	15/07/2023
Participant 26	M1	Male	66	Married	27/01/2023 - 03/03/2023
Participant 27	M2	Male	71	Married	19/01/2023
Participant 28	M3	Male	74	Married	27/01/2023 - 24/02/2023
Participant 29	M4	Male	58	Married	17/12/2022 - 02/03/2023
Participant 30	M5	Male	68	Married	03/03/2023
Participant 31	M6	Male	51	Married	17/12/2022 -12/07/2023
Participant 32	M7	Male	43	Married	15/07/2023
Participant 33	M8	Male	70	Married	12/07/2023

Participant 34	M9	Male	68	Married	12/07/2023
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2.2. The Technique of the Participant Observation

Anthropologist James Spradley argued that people participate in the society they live in from birth and start to observe this society. In this way, they are learning the rules of their community and how they should live in it (Spradley, 1980, pp. 53-54). Moreover, the researcher also sees themselves as the person who will transfer the culture to writing; therefore, they should see themselves as a data source (Turner, 1970, pp. 20-26). My study of the Circassian society in Soğucak with the participant observation technique started when I first went to the field.

I first started my field research in November of 2021. I started my field research by visiting some Circassian villages in Yalova to decide which Circassian village I would like to research. First, I went to Soğucak village on November 14, 2021. I first went to the village not to start in-depth interviews but to get to know the area I would research and find potential participants to talk to. When I first went to the village, I met the headman of the village. After a short conversation, I toured the village and its surroundings. In this way, I decided that I wanted to work in this village in the following days, and thus my field process began.

The first thing I observed when I went to the village was that the village was built in a hilly area. Therefore, the village was quite cold and blowing. In addition, the village is surrounded by trees and greenery. Frankly, I was slightly surprised when I first visited Soğucak village. Because the village of Soğucak did not fit the image of a traditional village that I had positioned in my mind. For instance, I saw no fields or barns in the village. On the contrary, I found the village very clean and well-maintained. I didn't see any trash cans on the street. I later realized that this situation was due to the cleanliness custom of the Circassian culture because I observed the people in the village taking care of their gardens and sweeping the streets very carefully.

In addition to the old village houses, there were modern villa-type houses with 2-3 floors. The roads and streets of the village were immaculate. I also saw many cars parked in front of the villager's houses and a minibus passing through the village. Since I went to the village during winter, I could not see many people on the street. I also noticed that most of the houses in the village have gardens and that there is a stone oven in these gardens. Also, when I explored the village, I went to see the Paşakent earthquake residences above the village, which are said to have been built after the 1999 earthquake. I discovered that the area where Paşakent is located is a bit far and independent from Soğucak village. Besides, I saw a mosque in the village and that the men in the village go to the mosque at noon. There also is a playground opposite the village mosque. After exploring the village, I started my first in-depth interview on 17 December 2022.

The culture of Soğucak studied through the technique of participant observation is examined over a period. Being as close as possible to the community or society you work in during this time is essential. However, I couldn't go to the field for a long time because I was working simultaneously. That's why I only had the opportunity to observe the field when I went to the field for in-depth interviews with people. When I went to the village, people invited me to their homes.

Primarily, I saw women cook the meals in every house I visited. Some women went to the kitchen to prepare dinner while I was there, making the last preparations or taking their food from the stove. At the same time, they were plating the pastries they would prepare for me in the kitchen. All my visits to the participants' houses caught my attention because they always offered me food, tea, and coffee. Almost every participant I visited their home gave pastries such as psı haluj (boiled haluj), haluj (fried haluj), börek and cake. They also served tea and coffee with chocolates or candies. All the participants were taking me to the outer door of their houses when I wanted to go. The participants said that the guest should be sent off to the house's exterior door in the Circassian culture. All these situations match the information in the literature about the importance that Circassians give to their guests. While conducting in-depth interviews with the participants, I witnessed them saddened by some subjects and angered by others.

The participants, whose children were far from the village, expressed their longing for them and became sad while talking about their children. The issue that the participants

were most angry about was the assimilation of their culture and language. I witnessed families who could not teach their children the Circassian language speak sadly. Additionally, some participants expressed sadness and anger that their villages had no collective activities or solidarity. In addition, some participants were blamed and got angry because of the association's lack of activities and the people in the association not being interested in culture and language. I also had observations about the status of women in Circassian Culture which is the main subject of this thesis.

Mainly, when I asked questions like "Do you do housework?" or "Do you cook?" with some male participants, I witnessed these participants react to me angrily. The reason they are angry is because these jobs are considered women's responsibility. These male participants were bothered by these questions. Because they may perceive these questions as an attack on their masculinity. In short, they don't want their masculine image to be damaged. On the other hand, women answered these questions in a very calm mood. Because women have internalized housework, cooking, and taking care of their children, these tasks are the responsibilities that they carry out every day. All results reveal that men and women in Soğucak village want to act following their gender roles. However, data indicating that these gender roles are changing will be explained in the findings and discussion section.

Moreover, the behavior of the participants towards me also changed over time. When I first went to the field, people approached me more distantly. They asked questions like, "Who are you?", "Where do you come from?" "Where are you from?" "Are you Circassian?" However, as time passed, they started to get to know me, and thus, they started talking to me more comfortably. Some of them even started to call me "Our daughter." Additionally, I noticed that the participants' approach also changed according to their gender. Some female participants were very kind to me and answered all my questions. Male participants also gave candid answers. However, unlike the female participants, they approached me more distantly. For example, female participants preferred to sit closer to me, while male participants chose to sit across from me. As a result of all these observations, thoughts about the field I was working in began to form in my mind. However, my field observations were not sufficient due to time constraints. Since I couldn't stay in Yalova, I had to return to Istanbul. That's why I didn't spend much time on the field. For this reason, the thesis findings are mainly based on in-depth

interview data. Additionally, the origin of my family coming from Circassians may cause me to be evaluated as a researcher from inside the society.

2.3. An Outsider or Insider

Sharing field experiences is one of the fundamental elements of anthropological studies. In ethnographic studies, the place where the researcher positions themselves and the place where the researched group places the researchers can be changed related to conditions. The fact that the researcher is a group member as an "insider" or is already familiar with that group allows them to enter the field quickly. At the same time, the researcher gains the advantage of rapidly penetrating the group's internal structure and capturing some details that an outside researcher cannot see (Balamir , 2023, p. 42). During the fieldwork, one of the most important factors that affected both the people I interviewed in the field and me indirectly is my family roots in Circassian.

Both of my grandmothers (my mother's mother and my father's mother) are Circassian. My mother's mother is an Abzakh, and she is from Konya. My father's mother was a Kabardian, and she was from Kayseri. However, my father's mother was more attached to the Circassian culture than the mother of my mother. When I was little, my grandmother (my father's mother) always told me stories about Circassians. My grandmother was always proud to be a Circassian. She said that Circassians are noble, proud, clean, and good people, and she always prided herself on being a Circassian. My grandmother also gave importance to her own culinary culture.

She used to cook dishes for us on special occasions such as psi haluj (Boiled haluj stuffed with potatoes), Basta, and Circassian chicken, among the famous Circassian dishes. Also, my grandmother (my father's mother) spoke Circassian fluently. Moreover, although my grandmother (the mother of my mother) did not know much about Circassian culture, my grandmother's sister (the sister of my mother's mother), I called her my great-grandmother (Büyükanne in Turkish), also cooked Circassian dishes and spoke Circassian.

She cooked the dishes of Kaçamak and Şıpsı. All my grandmothers loved to cook and feed us. I used always to help my grandmother (my father's mother) cook in the kitchen. Sometimes, she would show me how to fold the ravioli (manti in Turkish) and sometimes how to roll the dough. I owe all the Circassian women in my family for raising me and giving me information about Circassian Culture. Therefore, I determined this thesis's subject to be women's status in the Circassian Culture. However, my family has little connection with Circassian Culture despite all this.

It is because my grandfathers were Turkish, and we live in Istanbul. For this reason, I had the opportunity to learn about Circassian culture in depth through literature research and the data I obtained from the field. For example, I heard concepts like “Kaşenlik” from my family. But all the other information, ideas, traditions, and customs are entirely new to me. Therefore, it cannot be said that I am an insider. I am not exactly an insider or an outsider. On the other hand, while interviewing people in the field, I told them that there are Circassians in my family and the tribes to which they belong.

The main reason why I said there are Circassian people in my family is that they can readily accept me, and I can encourage them to talk to me more comfortably. Especially when I first went to the field, they asked me, "Are you a Circassian?" They also asked questions like “Where are your family from?” and “Which Circassian tribe do they belong to?”. They tried to get to know me better, by asking these questions. Also, as they got to know me, they began to see me as an insider rather than an outsider. There were even aunts who tried to introduce me to their grandchildren. One participant said, “You are our daughter now; you can come and stay with us whenever you want.” As a result, I completed my fieldwork as a researcher who knows minimal information about Circassian Culture and has Circassian family members. In addition, this study has some fundamental limitations. In addition to all these, the theoretical background of this study is given in the following section. Within the academic background, gender theories, gender roles, and feminist anthropology theories are explained.

2.4. Theoretical Background

2.4.1. The Concept of Gender

The word gender was first used in the 5th century BC by Greek sophists to identify names and things as masculine, feminine, or intermediate. (Archer & Lloyd , 2002, p. 17). Psychiatrist Robert Stroller argues that most people form a core idea of gender identity by age 2-3 (Stroller , 1968, pp. 29-30). The concept of gender is socially constructed, and it is variable. For this reason, it can change from one society to another and change over time (Kaypakoğlu , 2003, p. 12). The term gender is a psycho-social concept. It can be expressed as the meaning attributed by society to being a woman and a man. This concept emerges with the cultural interpretation of individuals' psychological and biological characteristics. The reason for the differences between men and women is both biologically and culturally based (Dökmen, 2012, pp. 19-20). People are born into two different sexes, male or female. However, they grow up by learning to be a girl or a boy within the framework of the patterns determined by society. During this period, boys and girls learn to choose various objects, games, occupations, and personality traits according to gender. Behaviors suitable for men are coded as masculine, while those ideal for women are coded as feminine by the society to which they belong (Saraç , 2013, p. 27). However, to understand gender first, it is necessary to distinguish gender from biological sex. It is essential to understand the similarities and distinctions between gender and the term (biological)sex to understand gender as a cultural concept.

Although sex and gender are terms that can be used interchangeably and their meanings can be confused with each other from time to time, they are different from each

other. The term sex is related to the biological functions of our body, like sex organs or hormones. On the other hand, gender is associated with the biological identification of females and males. It is considered a production of culture, and it is changing with time and environment (Oakley , 1985, pp. 156-157), (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127), (Nicholson , 1994, pp. 88-99). British sociologist and feminist Ann Oakley was among the first social scientists to distinguish sex and gender. For her, gender is not only related to biology but also includes society's assessment of masculinity and femininity. Gender is man-made through social interactions (Blackstone, 2003, pp. 335-338). On the other hand, some researchers state that gender and sex cannot be separated from each other because these two concepts affect each other.

Social anthropologist Gayle Rubin argues that the analytical distinction between sex and gender is too simplistic and misleading. For her, sex and gender are not a simple dichotomy. Sex and sex differences are connected to cultural definitions and practices constituting gender (Rubin, 1975, p. 179). Because cultural expectations about men and women are not separate from their physical bodies. In summary, gender is the meanings and values attributed by ideology to the biological differentiation of men and women (Vargel Pehlivan , 2017, p. 498). In addition to these, gender is also explained as a cultural structure.

Gender organizes human social life through cultural structures. She indicates that gender as a social institution fills the all-social procedures of everyday life and social organizations. Gender is a human creation, like language, religion, technology, and kinship. It also cannot be compared with biological or physiological differences between males and females; it is repeatedly created and regenerated by human interactions and culture (Lorber, 1994, pp. 1-13). Moreover, Risman argues that by examining gender as a social structure, we can better analyze the individual, interactional, and institutional dimensions of gender. He explains gender as:

Gender is deeply embedded as a basis for stratification not just in our personalities, our cultural rules, or institutions but in all these, and complicated ways. The gender structure differentiates opportunities and constraints based on sex category and thus has consequences on three dimensions: (1) At the individual level, for the development of gendered selves; (2) during interaction as men and women face

different cultural expectations even when they fill the identical structural positions; and (3) in institutional domains where explicit regulations regarding resource distribution and material goods are gender (Risman, 2004, p. 433).

Additionally, sociologist Erving Goffman produced one of the most consequential theories about gender, which is called gender display. He emphasizes that some human behaviors become formalized through natural selection, and these formalized behaviors simplify the signals about specific messages for receivers to understand. These behaviors are called displays, giving information about an individual's social identity, mood, expectations, and intent. These indicative behaviors (displays), which are performed with a particular routine in every culture, control the role of performance. He also defines gender display as; "If gender be defined as the culturally established correlates of sex (whether in consequence of biology or learning), then gender display refers to conventionalized portrayals of these correlates" (Goffman, 1976, pp. 69-77). We use gestures to convey our gender portraits. As human beings, we can create, learn, and recognize masculine and feminine gender displays. For him, gender is a socially written dramatization of the culture's idealization of feminine and masculine natures, performed for an audience (Goffman, 1976, pp. 69-77). Goffman also observes that our natural sexedness is created through specific societal and institutional frameworks. For instance, In North America public bathrooms have separated each other in terms of sex differences (ladies and gentlemen). This separation in the bathrooms is not a biological issue but an entirely cultural matter (Goffman, 1977, p. 315). Also, standardized social events reveal essential female and male natures. For example, Sport creates a standardized framework for the expression of manliness. Also, heterosexual selection between women and men makes gender displays. For instance, the conditioning of a man should be older and stronger than a woman, which is a gender display (Goffman, 1977, pp. 321-322). In addition to that, Sociologists West, and Zimmerman, who were influenced by Goffman's views about gender, produced a new concept about it, doing gender. While West and Zimmerman were creating the definition of gender, they also mentioned Goffman's idea of Gender display in their article. However, according to them, it is necessary to go beyond the idea of gender display to consider gender as an ongoing activity in everyday interaction.

They argued that "Gender is not a set of traits, nor a variable, nor a role, but the product of social doings of some sort. It is also established through interaction" (West &

Zimmerman, 1987, p. 129). Doing gender is a concept that produces differences between women and men or girls and boys. These differences are not natural and biological. It is not a preexisting phenomenon but is a state and an achievement created through interactions. Briefly, individuals learn how they behave and act upon the gender norms of their society. If they break the rules or gender norms of their society, their society can punish them. Each of us presents a gender appropriate to our sex, both individually and concerning the structure of our society. Our behavior should be compatible with this presentation (West & Zimmerman, 1987, pp. 137-147). In addition to all these, this study's most crucial theoretical research topic is gender roles. Because the gender roles of women are examined in Soğucak village, where the field research is conducted. Therefore, the following paragraphs focus on the gender roles of women.

Roles are defined as the created identities that enable people to behave in specific ways in certain situations, which are undertaken and given up related to specific experiences (Hughes, 1945, pp. 353-359). Individuals integrate with the members of society by learning the appropriate roles and status of the groups to which they belong (Brim & Wheeler, 1966, p. 5). Status is the place of an individual in society. Individuals can have different statuses in society according to their age and sex. The behavioral patterns included in each of these statuses show the role of the individual in society. In other words, a role is the expectations that regulate an individual's behavior in a particular situation (Arslantürk & Amman, 2009, pp. 188-197). The role acts as a bridge between the individual and society. Roles tell the individual what is expected of him in his position. Thus, individuals tend to have the necessary attitudes and behaviors in society (Coştu, 2009, p. 125). In addition to these, the emergence of gender roles based on the physical differences between men and women.

Freeman and Sears argued that gender roles have emerged due to physiological differences between men and women since a long time ago. The process of pregnancy and parenting is one of the reasons for the emergence of gender roles. The fact that women are weaker than men and they must take care of children causes them to spend more time at home (Freedman & Sears, 1989). For this reason, the representation of men and women in the social sphere is different. While the woman is mainly in the private spheres like their home, Men express themselves in every outdoor public sphere. Because of these reasons, work, production, and politics in the public domain are considered men's work; Housework

and private matters related to the family are considered women's work, which many societies accept (Kaypak, 2014, p. 346). Furthermore, gender roles define how to be a woman and how to be a man in different cultures, and these roles start to be learned from childhood.

The culture of the society in which the individual lives determine the characteristics that socially construct men and women, which reveal expectations about how a man and woman will behave, think, and act. These social characteristics of men and women are defined as gender roles (Akın & Demirel, 2003, s. 74), (Dökmen, 2012, p. 28), (Pekel, 2019, p. 31). In other words, people are born a male or female, but they grow up by learning to be a girl or a boy within the framework of the roles that society expects for their gender (Terzioğlu & Taşkın, 2008, p. 63), (Saraç , 2013, p. 28). Also, different societies have different norms of masculinity and femininity. However, in most societies, some norms argue that men should be masculine, and women should be feminine (Bingöl, 2014, p. 109), (Stone , 2015, p. 90). As a result, the categorization of men and women according to gender roles is a phenomenon as old as human history.

This categorization has transformed gender relations by being influenced by social, economic, and political parameters. For example, the economy and religion gave men power; thus, women were put in the background, primarily through religion. In fact, until the age of enlightenment, women were not given the right to live and make decisions. As a result of all these, women and all the characteristics of women have been marginalized (Yıldırım, 2019, p. 146). In addition to these, women are the individuals responsible for the care of the family. This is one of the most critical gender roles of women. They are female and being male is also described by different words in different societies.

Women and men are expected to behave according to their gender roles in different societies. For example, men are expected to be strong, maintain their families, control their environment, and women are expected to be patient and understanding, run the house, and organize human relations (İmamoğlu, 1991, p. 832). According to sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu, being a male is defined with the words of desiring, wanting, possessing, and determining (breadwinner); being a female is defined by the phrase of accepting and submissiveness (one in the private sphere, home). Bourdieu stated

that gender discrimination continues by settling in the “habitus²” of individuals in the socialization and education process from the first years of life. This distinction is reproduced in the flow of daily life with the operation of the division of labor between the sexes (Bourdieu P. , 1993), (Durutürk, 2020, pp. 55-56). According to Güldü and Ersoy Kart, the period when gender roles become most intense is in adulthood. Society expects women to switch to professions where they can do better, such as teachers and nurses, and take care of activities such as housework and childcare. In addition, women are asked to adopt behaviors consistent with their gender roles (Güldü & Kart, 2009, p. 103). Women are responsible for caring for their families and doing household chores because of their traditional gender roles. They must feed their families. At the same time, they are responsible for overall house cleaning. A man must work in the public sector and provide for the financial expenses of his home, wife, and children. Therefore, women should give their husbands rest and comfort at home. Women are also responsible for nurturing relationships with relatives and friends, organizing meetings, and entertaining guests (Urhan , 2016, p. 124). Because the home is historically seen as a female domain. Home is where gender inequality is covered by implicit, private, or, in some cases, social and traditional roles (Özer, 2016, p. 40). However, after women entered business life, the conventional gender roles and responsibilities of women began to change. This process is also affected by urbanization and modernization.

The traditional division of labor in the family often places women in charge of household chores and men responsible for the family's livelihood. However, as the number of women entering the labor force has increased recently, women have begun to play an essential role in the family economy. Women's participation in professional life changes family responsibilities, such as sharing duties. However, despite all this, women still bear a significant portion of the household responsibilities (Bayraktar, 1989, p. 1), The changes in these gender roles are affected mainly by globalization and urbanization (WHO, 1998, p. 11). These changes also emerge in sharing responsibilities at home (Fortin, 2005, p. 419). Furthermore, like other countries, Turkey is undergoing social transformation due to urbanization and modernization.

² Habitus: Habitus, one of the basic concepts of sociology, means sociality that social agents internalize as perception, feeling, thinking, and acting schemes. Accordingly, habitus is the internal structure that include all social practices of social agents from daily life to the field of politics, from cultural tastes to the way of speaking (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2003), (Durutürk, 2020, pp. 55-56).

This change also starts an alteration in the roles of men and women. Although the role of women in urban families today does not seem to have changed, they have become different from before. Housework and motherhood, previously reserved for women, are shared between husband and wife, especially after women get into professional life. This is why family relationships have become more democratic (Günay & Bener, 2011, pp. 159-160). In a nutshell, women's roles in Turkey have undergone some changes. Besides a general summary of gender and gender roles of women is summarized, in the following paragraphs.

Consequently, gender is simply defined as a social identity category. The concept of gender is socially constructed, and it is variable. For this reason, it can change from one society to another and change over time. People are born into two different sexes, male or female. However, they grow up by learning to be a girl or a boy within the framework of the patterns determined by society. Also, the sex and gender are different from each other. The term sex is related to the biological functions of our body, like sex organs or hormones. On the other hand, gender is considered a production of culture, and it is changing with time and environment. Gender is also defined as a social institution. Gender as a social institution fills the all-social procedures of everyday life and social organizations. It is a human creation. Additionally, sociologist Erving Goffman defines gender as a display. For him, gender is a socially written dramatization of the culture's idealization of feminine and masculine natures, performed for an audience. In addition to that, Sociologists West, and Zimmerman, who were influenced by Goffman's views about gender, produced a new concept about it, *Doing Gender*. For them, gender is established through interactions. Therefore, gender is produced, it is not natural or biological. The concept of stereotypes is also another important topic in gender. The gender stereotypes are the generalizations and biases about men and women. Another important topic about gender is the gender roles of men and women.

Roles are simply defined as the created identities that enable people to behave in specific ways in certain situations. Also, gender roles are the expectations of society that individuals are expected to fulfill. According to researchers, the process of pregnancy and parenting is one of the reasons for the emergence of gender roles. Gender stereotypes or roles begin to be learned from childhood, and thus, prejudices about genders are formed. Gender roles of men and women are also different from each other. Women are generally

responsible for taking care of their families and doing household chores because of their traditional gender roles. They must feed their families. At the same time, they are responsible for overall house cleaning. A man must work in the public sector and provide the financial expenses of his home, wife, and children. However, after women entered business life, the traditional gender roles and responsibilities of women began to change. This process is also affected by urbanization and modernization. The understanding of gender roles has replaced the conventional male-female roles based on sharing with the participation of women in business life. However, some studies reveal that women are still responsible for significant household responsibilities. In addition, the position of women in different cultures and gender roles is also examined in feminist anthropology. Feminist anthropology is one of the anthropological movements influenced by feminist views, extending its theory within this framework. To understand women's position and social role, it is necessary to study feminist anthropology and theories of feminist anthropology. But first, it is essential to define the feminism.

2.4.2. The Feminism, Feminist Anthropology, and Gender Roles of Women

Feminism is a system of thought that advocates giving women all the social, economic, and political rights already given to men and seeks to expand women's societal role (Mitchel , 1984, p. 17). Anthropologist Henrietta Moore argued that:

Feminism, like anthropology, is one of those words which everybody thinks they know the meaning of. In a minimalist definition, feminism could be taken to refer to the awareness of women's oppression and exploitation at work, in the home, and in society, as well as to the conscious political action taken by women to change this situation (Moore H. , 1988a, p. 10).

Women's resistance to oppression only started to become visible and spread in the last two or three centuries with the influence of feminist movements. Although there are feminist groups that advocate different views, the common goal of all these groups is to try to improve the condition of women (Jaggar, 1988, pp. 5-8). In other words, feminism is a collection of gender-based activities, theories, assumptions, philosophies, and approaches (Zalewski, 1995, p. 341). According to Bell Hook, to understand feminism, one must first

understand sexism because most of those who misunderstand feminism interpret it as just a man-hater. We are all subject to institutionalized sexism from the moment we are born. Thus, patriarchal structures force women to obey, but men are also stuck in this limited structure. As a result, both women and men are exposed to this sexism. Feminism provides liberation for men from the bondage of patriarchy. In short, according to Hooks, feminism advocates a worldview in which no one dominates anyone, and everyone has equal rights. As a result of all this, hooks argues that feminism is for everybody (Hooks, 2002, pp. 8-11). Feminism not only deals with the problems experienced by women but also resists discrimination between opposite sexes. It also supports all kinds of economic, political, socio-cultural, and social equality between opposite sexes. It combines disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, politics, and ethics. The essence of feminism is based on women's freedom and fundamental rights (Taş , 2016, p. 165). Cameron also divided the meaning of feminism into three parts:

1. Feminism as an idea: As Marie Shear once said, the radical view that women are human.
2. Feminism as a collective political scheme: the movement that aims to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression, in Bell Hook's words.
3. Feminism as a system of thought: As the philosopher Nancy Hartsock explains, a method of inquiry ... a way of seeking answers (Cameron, 2022, p. 10).

The historical process and development of feminism are conveyed with the metaphor of "wave." The first wave started in the 19th century. The second wave began in the last quarter of the 20th century. The third wave started at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. American scholar Josephine Donovan states that the fourth feminist wave began in 2008. However, Donovan emphasizes that using the word wave, especially for the third and fourth feminist eras, which are particularly controversial, can be misleading (Donovan, 1997, pp. 14-15). All four waves have their beginnings and different themes. There are specific reasons for the separation of feminism into waves in the historical process, and these waves were formed because of breaking points.

The feminist movement consists of 3 different phases. Feminist activism started with the first wave and dispersed in Europe, Egypt, Iran, North America, and India between the

late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the first feminist wave was generally the most vigorous in the U.S. and Western Europe. Authors such as Mary Wollstonecraft (*The Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1792) and John Stuart Mill (*The Subjection of Women*, 1869) are the Pioneer names for inspiring the first wave of feminism. First-wave feminists organized social campaigns about women's dissatisfactions with work, education, property, reproduction, marital status, and social pensions. They also use the press as a tool for their activism. As a result, first-wave feminism ended with the recognition of women's right to vote (Malinowska, 2020, pp. 2-3). Thus, the most critical outcomes of 1st wave feminism are to resist the patriarchal social structure and provide a basis for the sexual revolution (Millett, 2000, p. 63). The first-wave feminist movement ended with women gaining the right to vote, and thus, second-wave feminism started to develop.

The second wave of feminists began to focus on women's work and family environment, and it was active between the 1960s and 1980s; gender roles and women's sexuality are some of the major topics of the second feminist movement (Malinowska, 2020, p. 3). They focused on the differences between the sexes. According to second-wave feminists, genders are suppressed by patriarchal culture but not produced. In this period, feminists questioned the power relations of language over the sexes and the male-dominated understanding of the symbolic system (Aydinalp, 2020, p. 468). Moreover, the second wave of feminism was created by the generation of baby boomers who were born after World War II.

Baby boomers did not believe in the liberalization of women in the 1960s. They criticize the first feminist wave. They present themselves as more different and more advanced than the first-wave feminists. For them, first feminists were not radical enough, and they argued that women's right to vote remains only on paper and has not been put into practice in real life. They also evaluate that the first feminist only defended the rights of a limited group, which belongs to the middle-upper class (Van der Tuin, 2010, p. 11). Moreover, one of the most critical feminists who influenced the second and third-wave feminist movements is Simone de Beauvoir. Because she made essential inferences about the definition of women, how they are positioned in society, and the roles of women.

She made significant contributions to the gender debate, which developed in the 1960s with her book "*The Second Sex*". She claims that "one is not born, but, rather,

becomes a woman. “For her, being a woman is not a biological trait; it is acquired culturally and historically. A woman is a cultural entity constructed over and over by men as an incomplete other where men are the subject and superior. Women cannot exist without men. Women's identity in a patriarchal society is inferior to men, and they lose their freedom because of this inferiority. Marriage and motherhood are roles artificially imposed on a woman's identity by the laws, traditions, culture, and thought systems. As a result of these, women are condemned to home, otherness, immanence, and passivity. Women can only be liberated by positioning themselves as subjects in society. Thus, the two sexes will both accept each other as subjects and remain as "other" for themselves (Koç , 2015, pp. 1-15), (Coşkuner Kalın, 2016, pp. 228-233). Moreover, according to Simone de Beauvoir, the main reason for women's subordination is not that the woman is physically weak.

The fact that the man is physically stronger than the woman does not explain why the woman is the second sex and the other (Beauvoir , 1993, pp. 45-46). The main reason for the woman's subordination and their acceptance of this subordination is that she must go through processes such as pregnancy. For this reason, women have approved the power priority of men since ancient nomadic times, while men have kept this position for thousands of years (Beauvoir , 1993, p. 71). For her, there is no evidence that women are inferior to men. Differences in body structure do not give privileges to men (Beauvoir , 1993, p. 143). In summary, the woman's subordination throughout history originated from her internalization of subordination at the conscious level (Koç , 2015, p. 10). In addition, gender is an important research subject for disciplines like sociology, psychology, and anthropology. The field of anthropology also widely discusses gender issues. One of the most important movements of Anthropology discussing the gender and the position of women in society is Feminist Anthropology.

First, it is essential to understand why the rules of feminist and feminist anthropology are explained in this study. The main reason to include theories of feminist anthropology in this study is to determine whether the women of the village of Soğucak occupied a secondary position in society. Because feminist anthropology has put forward theories of female subordination and its reasons.

One of the leading research subjects of feminist anthropology is questioning whether the gender roles and oppression of women are universal or not. This research area is very suitable for anthropology to compare similarities and differences between societies. According to Strathern, there are more parallels between anthropology and feminism than other disciplines, but this affinity can also lead anthropologists to show more sharp resistance (Strathern , 1987, pp. 276-282). Feminist anthropologist Henrietta Moore defines feminist anthropology as:

Feminist anthropology has recognized this insufficiency as it formulates its theoretical questions regarding how economics, kinship, and ritual are experienced and structured through gender, rather than asking how gender is experienced and structured through culture (Moore H. , 1988a, p. 9).

Feminism is rooted in gender roles and gender symbolism. Feminism has started to gain an important place in anthropology in the last 20 years. Among the most fundamental issues of feminism are women and their subordination, power relations, reflexivity, the gender of the ethnographer, and their place in the field. Feminism and feminist anthropologists also closely relate to postmodernism (Barnard , 2004, pp. 209-210). In addition to these, feminist anthropology takes its roots from two leading publications: *Women, Culture and Society* written by Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, and *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, written by Rayna Reiter (Lamphere, 2016b, p. 41) It appeared in anthropology as in other disciplines to explore issues such as gender roles and inequality. It also evolved because of the women's movement that emerged in the 1970s. After revealing the injustices between women and men, the second-wave women's movement appeared in the United States. The main aim of the women's movement is to eliminate the social injustices women are subjected to. Due to the women's movements, disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and history discovered for the first time that there was little interest in women in social sciences (Mascia - Lees & Johnson Black , 2017, pp. 6-7). Feminist anthropology began with the question of the concern of women's neglect within the discipline of anthropology.

Feminist anthropologist Edwin Ardener argued that anthropology is a male-biased discipline that produces a male culture. Also, for him, women are the most muted group in any society. The voices of women are often suppressed by the other dominant group,

which consists of males (Ardener E. , 1989, pp. 127-133). The reasons why women and gender issues in anthropology are limited to certain subjects are the intellectual history of the discipline and the patriarchal structure of Western society (Morgen, 1993, pp. 1-20). All these situations have caused anthropologists to question gender biases in themselves and the society they are researching. Apart from these, to fully understand what feminist anthropology is, it is necessary to know the difference between feminist anthropology and the anthropology of women.

There is a significant difference existing between the anthropology of women and feminist anthropology, for Ardener. The anthropology of women indicates a field while feminist anthropology implies a method of analysis or an approach (Ardener S. , 1985, pp. 24-26). According to Moore, Feminist anthropology derived from the anthropology of women. However, the main difference between these two is that the main topics of feminist anthropology not only consist of things women do but also gender relations (Moore H. , 1988a, p. 186). In addition, more recently, feminist anthropology has studied hierarchical gender relations and their intersection with other hierarchical ties.

The positioning of postmodern and feminist approaches within the discipline has been debated. In summary, the foundation of feminist anthropology is based on women's movements, and the development of feminist anthropology is directly related to the definition of anthropology (Özbudun, Şafak, & Altuntek, 2014, p. 355). In addition to all these, it is important to discuss the theories produced in feminist anthropology and to mention some critical anthropologists to convey the subject correctly. Feminist anthropological theories examine the position of women in culture and the reasons for women's subordination in cultures. Exploring feminist anthropological theories for this study is important to obtain an anthropological perspective on the origin of gender and gender roles. In addition, this study first started by questioning whether women are subordinate in Circassian culture. For this reason, feminist anthropology theories about women's subordination and gender roles are examined in the following paragraphs.

Important names of feminist anthropology are primarily mentioned. These names include both anthropologists who contribute to feminist anthropology with their work on women and gender, and feminist anthropologists. Theories about some of these names will be explained below. Female anthropologists such as Elsie Clews Parsons, Alice Fletcher,

Phyllis Kaberry, and Zora Neale Hurston have provided the birth of feminist anthropology by doing some studies on women (Mascia Lees & Johnson Black , 2017, p. 8). In second-wave feminist anthropology, there are names such as Margared Mead, Ruth Benedict, Elanor Leacock, Michelle Rosaldo, Reine Reiter, and Louise Lamphere. In third-wave feminist anthropology, there are names such as Sherry Ortner and Nancy Shepherd Hughes. Also, Lila Abu-Lughod made important contributions to feminist anthropology (Aggarwal, 2000, pp. 17-20). In addition, feminist anthropology is influenced by the basic movements in anthropology and develops its theories within the framework of these movements.

The views formed by anthropologists about gender and women date back to social evolutionist anthropologists. According to early sociologist, philosopher, and anthropologist Herbert Spencer, matrilineal societies are weak, because men have no control over women and children. On the other hand, institutionalized paternity creates institutionalized male protection, and it leads to the survival and perseverance of the group. In addition to these, saving a woman from productivity allowed her to devote more energy to motherhood, facilitating the continuation of society. Because of all these views, he saw women as inferior (Spencer , 1884, pp. 611-631). Moreover, equality between the sexes was not absolute for him. Also, women are incapable of making political decisions, and they do not need to vote (Gray , 2000, p. 267). Mascia Lees and Johnson Black also criticize the Western-centered perspective of social evolutionists and their thesis that gender relations evolve. They argue that evolutionists cannot provide sufficient evidence for all these generalizations (Mascia Lees & Johnson Black , 2017, pp. 25-26). Moreover, functionalists contribute to gender relations in societies.

British functionalist Evan Pritchard argued that men are in a powerful position in society because of their biology and psychology. In contrast, women are responsible for home and family in all societies. This division of labor between men and women ensures that society functions properly (Evans Pritchard , 1965, p. 55). Beyond these, not only early evolutionists, and functionalists but also modern evolutionist anthropologists, have developed some theories about gender roles and behavior in the 20th century.

Washburn and Lancaster proposed a model for human evolution called “man the hunter.” As a result of bipedalism, our hands are freed, and our hunting skills increase. It

improves cultural development and social organization. “Man, the hunter” model provides a division of labor and food sharing between men as hunters and women as gatherers. Food sharing also supports the basis for the development of family and division of labor (Washburn & Lancaster , 1968, pp. 293-303). On the flip side of the coin, Sally Slocum criticizes the “man the hunter” model and its androcentric viewpoint. According to Slocum, food sharing was not formed by men sharing their meat with women, but by women sharing their gathered food with their children. Also, there is no evidence to suggest sharing of foods creates a sexual division of labor (Slocum , 1975, pp. 36-50). In addition to these, an alternative view of the evolutionary perspective about gender comes from American anthropologist Melvin Konner.

Konner argued that women are biologically superior to men. The reason for this superiority is that women are reliable, trustworthy, and fair, and they have lower levels of violence than men. According to Konner, male supremacy in history developed with the beginning of agriculture. Also, he argued that equality between men and women is not a reality today, but it can even save the planet from destruction (Konner , 2015), (Hernawati, 2016, pp. 233-235). Besides, materialist approaches and theories about gender and women have important contributions to feminist anthropology.

Engels argued that economic factors shape the concept of gender and the relationship between genders. In communal societies, women occupy a high position (Engels , 1972 , p. 735). He did not consider the matrilineal societies as inferior. In these societies, women are equal and productive members of society, and therefore, they can also make critical decisions. According to him, while the emergence of private property empowered men within the family, it had put enslaved women in charge of the home and family, and their domestic labor was no longer seen as a significant contribution. Thus, women lost their status in society (Engels , 1972 , pp. 736-739). Engels also argues that the status of women differs from community to culture and from period to period consistent with the existing economic and political relations in the society (Özbudun, Şafak, & Altuntek, 2014). However, Engels' view of matrilineality has been criticized by some anthropologists.

G. C. Hobhouse suggests that even in matrilineal societies, women are controlled by men, and their position is not better (Mascia Lees & Johnson Black , 2017, p. 49). Another critical point that Engels criticized is that he emphasizes the superiority of women in

matrilineal societies. However, even if the position of women is better in matrilineal societies, there is no evidence to support women's power or superiority (Webster , 1975, pp. 11-19). In addition, Engels' ideas have been criticized for containing some assumptions. For example, for him, it is a 'natural' phenomenon that the woman hates the division of labor and free sexual intercourse, and the man is prone to it (Moore H. , 1988c, p. 47). Moreover, anthropologist Karen Sacks was also influenced by the views of Marx and Engels.

Sacks also supported the view of Engels about women are inferior in class societies. She argued that not all men can have private property, and in many class societies, women also have private property and, therefore, hold domestic power (Sacks , 1974, pp. 207-221). In short, Sacks emphasizes that women did not always have equal and autonomous status before the class societies, thus separating herself from Engels. Moreover, anthropologist Margaret Mead compares personality differences in three different societies in New Guinea in her book "Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies."

She argues that the gender roles of men and women are cultural, not biologically determined. In addition, she argued that the work of men in all societies is seen as more important than that of women, and the need for success of men is found in all societies. On the other hand, her studies on Tchambulli reveal that, unlike Western societies, women dominate men in their societies (Özbudun, Şafak, & Altuntek, 2014, pp. 357-362). Another name that tries to explain gender and women's position in society from a psychoanalytic point of view is Nancy Chodorow.

Freud influenced Chodorow's views while trying to define the personality differences between men and women. Freud proposes two psychological processes called the Oedipus and the Elektra complex. To develop correct male behaviors, boys must reject their attachment to the mother and identify with the father, overcoming the Oedipus complex. Girls, on the other hand, need to overcome the Elektra complex by forgiving the mother, who is inadequate due to the lack of a penis, and re-establishing a relationship with her. Freud also argued that women's subordination is natural, and for this reason, he was highly criticized by feminists (Freud, 1965, p. 589). However, Chodorow differs from Freud by arguing that personality differences between men and women are cultural, not biological.

Nancy Chodorow suggested that universal laws create masculine and feminine personalities and roles. According to her, personality development occurs because of experiences in infancy period. The identification of girls with their mothers as they grow up causes them not to be individualized. This makes them weaker than men. As a result of all these, gender development causes women to be perceived as inferior to men (Chodorow, 1974, pp. 43-66). In addition to these, post-structuralists criticized Chodorow. According to them, Chodorow limited the concept of gender to domestic and family life, and she did not evaluate this concept together with other social systems such as economy and politics. In summary, Chodorow also supports the idea that women's subordination is universal, and this universality is not biologically determined (Özbudun, Şafak, & Altuntek, 2014, p. 376). Structuralists have also made some crucial propositions about gender and women. One of the most important names influencing gender theories in anthropology is Levi Strauss.

He argued that the human mind is based on binary oppositions and that the structures in the mind determine the structure of society. He explains the secondary status of women through the universal cognitive processes. The stereotypes about men and women are based on the need of human beings to mediate the transition from nature to culture. According to Strauss, the universal subordination of women is derived from the roles of women in the system of exchange. Because, for him, the reason for women's subordination was that women were exchanged between men or families in the past. This situation caused the woman to be perceived as an object (Mascia Lees & Johnson Black, 2017, pp. 72-76). As a result, views revealing the universal subordination of women and the reasons for this subordination are dominant in feminist anthropology. Moreover, apart from these traditional approaches, feminist anthropology has also been influenced by the post-structuralist movement.

Foucault revealed the impact of post-structuralism on feminist anthropology. Foucault approaches language as a discourse and a system of production that creates the way people perceive themselves: Discourses create categories of identity so that power relations and patterns of domination can be maintained. According to Foucault, gender does not exist before it is determined in discourses. Therefore, bodies have no gender. Briefly, gender arises from discourses (Mascia Lees & Johnson Black, 2017, pp. 84-87). There are also some current topics discussed in feminist anthropology.

Contemporary feminist anthropologists generally focus on differences among women, not just men and women (McGee & Warms, 1996, p. 392). Current topics in feminist anthropology do not focus only on gender asymmetry. Feminist anthropologists now accept differences such as class, race, and ethnicity. This is why the most focused topics in feminist anthropology begin to be differences. Additionally, such problems as heteronormativity and queer theory begin to be discussed within feminist anthropology (Geller & Stockett, 2006, pp. 1-20). In short, the subjects of feminist anthropology are also changing with the changing world.

In Summary, feminist anthropology reveals theories about the subordination of women, gender roles, the division of labor between men and women, and the foundations of gender. Feminist anthropologists and anthropologists hypothesize gender is influenced by various anthropological streams, such as social evolution, functionalism, structuralism, materialism, psychoanalysis, and post-structuralism. All these theories draw a general framework for the position and gender roles of women in culture. Moreover, another theory that demonstrates the subordination of women in culture is the public and private spheres. Since women spend more time in the private sphere, i.e., at home, they cannot survive in the public sphere, which makes them secondary in the culture. In literature, it is generally accepted that women can exist in the private sphere and men can exist in the public sphere. However, the separation of private and public spheres by gender is a controversial issue. Several researchers from many fields of the social sciences have offered some criticism for the distinction between the private and public spheres.

2.4.2.1. A Critical Approach to Women's Position and Roles in the Public and Private Spheres

The debates on the distinction between private and public spheres began in the 1960s with sociologist Jürgen Habermas. He explains the public sphere as an area independent of the state, shaped within civil society, where citizens can discuss mutual problems and search for solutions as free and equal individuals (Habermas, 2004, pp. 95-102). Besides, the private sphere involves activities in households and family life. This world is also occupied by women, and they generally spend their time with domestic tasks. On the other hand, the public sphere includes activities that take place outside the home. Men typically occupy the public realms; they are the primary leaders of these areas (Post , 1994, p. 36).

However, this idealization of the public sphere by Habermas does not exist. Because not all individuals belonging to different identities can be presented equally and freely in public spheres. Therefore, the public sphere is not homogeneous. Some identities are confined within the private sphere and shut out of the public sphere (Sayın Güran, 2021, s. 10). However, the separation between private and public spaces began with the Industrial Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution and the formation of capitalist society form a distinction between masculine-public and feminine family-household-private space. The goods were no longer produced in homes after the Industrial Revolution. They were produced in factories and workshops. Thus, the work area and the house have become two separate spaces. The formation of private space is directly related to the separation between home and work. Later, gender orders were formed in the public and private spaces, and therefore, these spaces were divided according to gender (Sancar, 2009, pp. 51-54). Gender segregation between the public and private spheres is based on male supremacy and patriarchy. Because the reason women are excluded from the public domain is directly rooted in the nature-culture distinctions of patriarchal ideology. Because women give birth to children, their bodies are identified with nature (Günindi Ersöz, 2015, p. 88). One of the theories of feminist anthropology is that women belong to the private realm because they are identified with nature.

In every culture, a woman is identified with something that the culture renders worthless, and nature is the thing that fits this description best. All cultures perceive nature as something to be overcome, and the reason women are subordinated is the identification of women with nature. The reasons for the symbolic designation of women with nature are the physiology of women, the social role of women, and the spiritual structure of women. The fact that the woman had to act according to the needs of her physiology during the menstruation period and the birth process caused her animal side to be seen as more dominant than the man. Moreover, due to processes such as pregnancy and breastfeeding, women's lives are limited to domestic space, which affects their social role (Ortner, 1996, pp. 21-42). In short, according to Ortner, the identification of a woman with nature has imprisoned her in the private sphere.

Additionally, the work of anthropologists Michelle Rosaldo and Rayna Reiter on the public-private sphere is also valuable in terms of gender studies and feminism. (Rosaldo , 1974). Rosaldo describes the reason for the power difference between men and women as the existence of women in the private sphere. Men's domain is the public sphere; therefore, authority and power belong to men. Rosaldo argued that:

Everywhere, from those societies we might want to call most egalitarian to those in which sexual stratification is most marked, men are the locus of cultural value. Some area of activity is always seen as exclusively or predominantly male, and, therefore, overwhelmingly, and morally significant. This observation has its corollary in the fact that everywhere men have some authority over women, that they have a culturally legitimated right to her subordination and compliance (Rosaldo , 1974, pp. 20-21).

Rosaldo argues that because of the woman's role in childbearing and breastfeeding, that is, in reproduction, she is confined to the private sphere, and therefore, woman is universally secondary (Rosaldo , 1974, pp. 23-24). Rayna Reiter, on the other hand, approaches Rosaldo's distinction of public and private sphere from a different perspective, with her work in a village in Southern France. Reiter finds that there are two areas, public and private, in the village and that women are primarily in the private area. However, churches and some shops are used by women when men are not present. Men and women use the public space in different ways and at times. However, the power attributed to the public sphere is much greater than that of the private sphere (Reiter , 1975, pp. 253-257). In addition to these, Elanor Leacock was a foundational theorist in Marxist feminist anthropology. She also evaluates the gender difference in the public and private spheres from a materialist point of view.

Elanor Leacock rejects the universality of women's subordination, and she argues that those who defend it are androcentric and ethnocentric. Leacock also rejects the arguments that the status of women is determined solely by childbearing and child-rearing functions and that the private-public sphere duality is used to examine gender relations in all societies. For her, men and women had equal value and prestige before the class society. Also, Colonialism and capitalism have spoiled the relations between men and women. (Moore H. , 1988b, pp. 31-32). In short, Leacock claims that the distinction between public

and private did not exist in the hunter-gatherer era and that the reason for women's subordination was the rise of private property (Barnard , 2004, p. 222). On the other hand, some scholars also criticize the public and private dichotomies and their relationship with gender. Some scholars argue that a strict separation of public and private spheres does not exist. Yentsch argued that:

Public space was not wholly public for it also contained a private component; private space was not wholly private for it also included a public component. Within the context of the community, household space was private. [Yet] within the context of the house, some spatial areas were more private than others (Yentsch, 1991, p. 205).

Social historian Sally McMurry also argued that parlors were used for family rituals and social activities in 19th-century America. Women also used the parlors for entertainment and meeting purposes; thus, these places encompassed female hegemony. The works of McMurry also identified men in the private sphere and women in the public sphere (McMurry, 1988, p. 141). Social psychologist Aido Hurtado also reveals that women of color have never benefited from the economic conditions underlying the public/private distinction (Hurtado, 1989, p. 849). Moreover, Sociologist Dahne Spain argued that the public and private dichotomy cannot explain the complexity of gendered social relations, especially women's domestic reform activities. She defined another limited space as:

The world of the neighborhood as opposed to the totally private world of the household and the completely public realm of strangers. The boundaries between domestic, community, and paid work [were] porous, just as they [were] between private, parochial, and public spaces (Spain, 2001, pp. 6-7).

In addition to all these, there are also some anthropologists who criticize the dichotomy of the public and private spheres. Anthropologist Louise Lamphere argued that "as appealing as this dichotomy [between public and private spheres] seemed in the abstract, it turned out to be difficult to apply when looking at examples of women's activities in other cultures." For her, even in societies where men have a strong relationship with the public sphere and women with the private sphere, this duality is never accurately organized, although strong ideologies support these dichotomies (Lamphere , 2016a, p. 82). As a result, the identification of the public sphere with men and the private sphere

with women is controversial in terms of disciplines such as psychology, sociology, history, and anthropology.

Consequently, feminism, feminist anthropology, and theories about feminist anthropology are examined in this chapter. Feminism is defined as a system of thought that advocates giving women all the social, economic, and political rights that are already given to men and seeks to expand the role of women in society. It is a movement that aims to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression. Feminism not only deals with the problems experienced by women but also resists discrimination between opposite sexes. Also, the feminist theories separate three phases in the historical process. These phases are identified as waves. Also, one of the most important feminist thinkers is Simone de Beauvoir. Her theory about women is vital for understanding the subordination of women. For her, being a woman is not a biological trait; it is acquired culturally and historically. A woman is a cultural entity constructed over and over by men as an incomplete other where men are the subject and superior. Women cannot exist without men. Besides, gender, gender roles, and the position of women in culture are also widely discussed in feminist anthropology.

Feminist anthropology examines how economics, kinship, and ritual are experienced and structured through gender. It also appeared in anthropology as in other disciplines to explore issues such as gender roles and inequality. Feminist anthropology began with questioning the concern of women's neglect within anthropology. Because anthropology is considered a biased discipline. Also, Feminist anthropology derived from the anthropology of women. However, the main difference between these two is that the main topics of feminist anthropology consist of things women do and gender relations. More recently, feminist anthropology studies hierarchical gender relations and their intersection with other hierarchical ties. Furthermore, feminist anthropology theories about women's subordination and gender roles are also examined in the theoretical background.

The views formed by anthropologists about gender and women date back to social evolutionist anthropologists. Also, modern social evolutionists criticize the position of women in society and gender inequalities based on the division of labor. Moreover, structuralist functionalist Evan Pritchard also argued that men are influential in society's social institutions because of biological and psychological factors. Besides, materialist approaches and theories about gender and women significantly contribute to feminist

anthropology. Engels argued that economic factors shape the concept of gender and the relationship between genders. G. C. Hobhouse suggests that even in matrilineal societies, men control women, and their position is not better. The feminist anthropologist also criticizes gender and the status of women with the psychoanalytic approach and personality movement. Anthropologist Margared Mead argues that the gender roles of men and women are cultural, not biologically, determined. Nancy Chodorow suggested that universal laws create masculine and feminine personalities and roles. According to her, personality development occurs because of experiences in infancy period. For her, the subordination of women is universal. Structuralists have also made some critical propositions about gender and women. One of the most important names influencing gender theories in anthropology is Levi Strauss. For him, the stereotypes about men and women are based on the need of human beings to mediate the transition from nature to culture. Moreover, another theory that demonstrates the subordination of women in culture is the public and private spheres.

Sociologist Jürgen Habermas explains the public sphere as an area independent of the state, shaped within civil society, where citizens can discuss mutual problems and search for solutions as free and equal individuals. Besides, the private sphere involves activities in households and family life. This world is also occupied by women and their domestic tasks. Also, the separation between private and public spaces began with the Industrial Revolution. Feminist anthropologists also have theories about the public and private spheres. Ortner argued that women's lives were limited to domestic space because they identified with nature. Due to processes such as pregnancy and breastfeeding, women spend more time in the private sphere, and it is affecting their social role. Michelle Rosaldo also describes the reason for the power difference between men and women as the existence of women in the private sphere. Men's domain is the public sphere; therefore, authority and power belong to men. Anthropologist Elanor Leacock also claims that the distinction between public and private did not exist in the hunter-gatherer era and that the reason for women's subordination was the rise of private property. On the other hand, some scholars also criticize the public and private dichotomies and their relationship with gender. Social psychologist Aido Hurtado reveals that women of color have never had the benefit of the economic conditions that underlie the public/private distinction. Besides, Anthropologist Louise Lamphere argued that even in societies where men have a strong

relationship with the public sphere and women with the private sphere, this duality is never accurately organized, although strong ideologies support these dichotomies. In summary, all these theories provide a framework for the status and subordination of women in culture.

All these gender studies reveal controversial theories about the role and status of women in cultures. To specifically observe these theories, it is necessary to conduct field research on women's roles in society. Anthropology has done a lot of research on the role of women in different cultures and groups. However, there is a small quantity of literature on the status of Circassian women living in Turkey. These studies are detailed in the following sections. Therefore, this study is conducted to understand the social gender roles and positions of Circassian women in Soğucak villages. In the next section, the findings obtained by the participants in the Soğucak village are combined with the literature information. Also, it provides general information about the social organization, family structure, marriage, language, religious beliefs, and rituals of Circassians and the role of women in society in the next section. First, it explains the general information about the village of Soğucak in detail.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. The General Information About the Village of Soğucak

Figure 4.

The Village of Soğucak



Source: <https://sogucakkoyu.org/foto-galeri-Koyumuz>

Soğucak Village is a village connected to the central district of Yalova. The village of Soğucak was founded in 1864 by the Circassian people from the Caucasus. The name Soğucak comes from a settlement in the Caucasus (Karaca & Güçlü Nergiz , 2020, p. 56). The population of the village is 441, and the number of digits is 80. Since extensive information about the village is given in the methodology section, details are not included in this section. Therefore, this section focuses more on the information provided by the participants about the village. In addition to these, participants offer pieces of information about the meaning of the word Soğucak.

When the meaning of the name of Soğucak village is asked, different answers come from participants. According to some participants, this name was determined because the region was frigid (Turkish: Soğuk) and blowing. In contrast, according to others, the name of the last area from which the Circassians left the Caucasus was “Soğucak.” However, it is seen that the name Soğucak is mentioned in the literature.

"The first relations of the Ottomans with the Circassians began with Ferruh Ali Pasha's departure to Soğucak in 1782", according to Ayhan Kaya (2011, p. 78). Six participants emphasized that the name of Soğucak comes from the last region that the Circassians left in Russia, or from the castle of Soğucak. A Participant says that:

I am not a Circassian nationalist, but I am inquisitive. I have already wanted to go to the Caucasus. If you examine things in Turkey, you will see that there are 19 Soğucak Villages, all of them are named Soğucak, written with a soft G. I used to go on holidays in the summer, we used to see Soğucak on the way from Kuşadası to Didim, there is a place called Soğucak in Bursa, Kemalpaşa, Balıkesir, Thrace, even Artvin. You know, there are some names in some places, Aydın, Yeniköy, I don't know; while Yeniköy is a general name, Soğucak is not suitable to be a public name. There is also a region called Soğucak, I went there to find Soğucak, and I found it myself; there are curious people and historians as well. So, I said, why are there so many Soğucak Villages in Turkey? Soğucak is the name of the region where Circassians last left during exile. It is the place for trade and the port for ships.

Çerkez milliyetçisi değilim de çok merak ettim, ben zaten Kafkasya'ya gitmek istedim. Türkiye'de bir şeyleri incelersen göreceksin, 19 tane Soğucak Köyü var, hepsinin adı Soğucak, yumuşak G ile yazılan. Yazın tatillere giderdim, Kuşadası'ndan Didim'e geçerken Soğucak görürdük, Bursa'da Kemalpaşa'da var, Balıkesir'de var, Trakya'da var, Artvin'de bile Soğucak diye bir yer var. Hani şey vardır, bazı isimler vardır bazı yerlerde, Aydın, Yeniköy, bilmem ne, Yeniköy genel bir isimken Soğucak çok genel bir isim olmaya müsait değil. Orada da Soğucak diye bir bölge var zaten, oraya Soğucak'ı bulmaya gittim, buldum da kendi çapımda, var orada meraklı insanlar, tarihçilerle de görüştük. Yani dedim Türkiye'de niye bu kadar çok Soğucak Köyü var? Soğucak genelde Çerkezler'in sürgünde son çıktıkları bölgenin adı. Gemilerin yanaştığı, ticaretin yapıldığı yerdir Soğucak (Participant M1, male, 66).

In summary, the information given by the participants about the meaning of the name Soğucak is matched with the literature information. In short, Soğucak is the name of the region in the Caucasus that the Circassians left last. There is still a castle named Soğucak in this region. Additionally, the fact that the compatibility of the information given by the participants about the meaning of the name Soğucak with literature information strengthens the argument that this is a village where Circassians live. Furthermore, the participants defined their villages and talked about the village's culture. Moreover, participants also share their ideas about the village of Soğucak.

The ideas of the participant about the village of Soğucak, where they live, give information on their perceptions of the village and village life and their perceptions about their culture. While some participants describe the village of Soğucak as an entire Circassian village, others emphasize that the village is no longer related to Circassian culture and has been modernized. In addition, the participants also expressed the fact that there is almost no crime rate in the village. Besides, virtually all the participants state that everyone in the village is distantly related to each other. In addition, the participants state that the village is not developed enough for specific reasons.

Moreover, most of the participants also mention two different neighborhoods in the village: the upper and lower neighborhoods. It is stated that these two neighborhoods were culturally different from each other in the past. They describe the upper neighborhood as more traditional and conservative than the lower neighborhood. However, they also say there is no such difference between these neighborhoods. Furthermore, the participants' subjects about the village change are generally shaped around three crucial events. These events are the COVID-19 pandemic, the earthquake in 1999, and the Syrian War. These events not only affect the population but also the cultural and social structure of the village of Soğucak. For example, the meals prepared by women in the village dining hall for weddings and funerals are no longer made due to the effects of the pandemic. However, since it is not related to the main subject of the thesis, the effects of these events and the participants' statements were not emphasized.

Mainly, most of the participants emphasize that Soğucak is a village that reflects all the characteristics of the Circassian culture. A participant says that:

Our village is a village that keeps its traditions alive compared to other villages. People are respectful; they love each other. I mean, Circassian games are played at weddings, meals are prepared, we are trying to keep everything related to Circassian culture alive here, everyone follows the traditions anyway. That's why I say, I'm glad I was born in Soğucak; I'm glad I became a Circassian.

Bizim köy diğer köylere göre geleneklerini yaşatan bir köy. İnsanlar saygılıdır, birbirlerini severler. Ne bileyim düğünlerde falan Çerkes oyunları oynanır, yemekler yapılır, Çerkes kültürü ile ilgili her şeyi yaşatmaya çalışıyoruz biz burada, herkes

geleneklere uyar zaten. O yüzden ben diyorum ki iyi ki Soğucak'ta doğmuşum, iyi ki Çerkes olmuşum (Participant F20, female, 65).

On the other hand, eight participants state that Soğucak does not reflect all the characteristics of Circassian culture, and traditions are gradually forgotten. This participant says that “Our village is not a Circassian village in the strict sense of the word, the traditions are slowly being forgotten” “Bizim köy hani çok böyle Çerkez Çerkez diye bir köy değil gelenekler yavaş yavaş unutuluyor” (Participant F1, female, 54). In addition to these, some participants say that there is almost no crime rate and other important elements in the village.

Participants also state that other people define their village as a Circassian village and there are almost no crime-related incidents in the village with the following words:

If you ask Yalova, "Which is the Circassian village?" they will show you this place in terms of cleanliness and kindness. There has been no incident in our village yet; we have no record in the center. If there is, maybe one can be found, but there isn't. But in other villages, weapons were seized, there were fights, and there is absolutely no such thing in us. Those villagers already say that, “Soğucak Village does not like us, that we do not like them either,” but we do, but we do not have such a thing. Of course, this place seems a little more modern. Really, it is. I like their headmen very much, and the headmen like me very much. I am building this whole network of relations with the headmen.

Yalova'da sorsan "Çerkez köyü hangisi" deseler burayı gösterirler. Temizlik ve iyilik hususunda. Daha bizim köyde hadise olmamıştır, merkezde yoktur kaydımız. Varsa 1 tane belki bulunabilir ama yok. Ama diğer köylerde silah yakalanmıştır, kavga olmuştur, bizde öyle şeyler yok kesinlikle. O köylüler de zaten diyorlar Soğucak Köyü bizi sevmez, biz de onları sevmeyiz diye ama biz severiz öyle bir şeyimiz yok. Tabi burası biraz daha modern gibi gözüküyor. Gerçekten de öyle. Ben muhtarlarını da çok severim, muhtarlar da beni çok sever. Bütün bu ilişki ağını ben yapıyorum muhtarlarla (Participant M5, male, 68).

Additionally, four participants also explained why Soğucak could not develop enough in terms of agriculture and trade. A participant explains the reasons why the village of Soğucak could not be developed as:

Village, our village is like this; it not making much progress such as in agriculture or trade. One, because of human nature, you know, because of character. Two, because the village is small because the village land is also small. Third, because the population of the village is few.

Köy, bizim köy şöyle; mesela tarımda ticarete falan pek gelişme gösteremiyor. Bir, insan yapısı yüzünden, hani karakter yüzünden. İki, köyün küçük olması nedeniyle, köy arazisinin de küçük olması nedeniyle. Üç, köyün insanının da az olması nedeniyle (Participant F4, female, 57).

As a result, Soğucak is defined by most of the participants as a whole Circassian village. In contrast, some participants define it as a modernized village due to the forgetting of traditions. Some participants mentioned that there is almost no crime rate while describing the village, while others explained the village's lack of development and its reasons. In addition, most participants emphasized that everyone in the village was distantly related to each other. In short, the perceptions of the participants about their villages give us clues about the structure of the culture. Additionally, the participants explain the differences between two separate neighborhoods in the village, the upper and lower neighborhoods. Moreover, they also mention the effects of the Earthquake of 1999, the Syrian War, and COVID-19 on the village of Soğucak. In addition to all these, certain cultural features emerged not only through interviews with the participants but also through visits to the participants' homes.

The interviews were conducted at the homes of the participants. It is observed that most participants hang Circassian motifs on the walls of their homes. Besides, musical instruments belonging to the Circassian culture and objects such as the Flag of Adygea or family crest (see Figure 8) are observed in the participants' houses. A traditional Circassian oven, Haku, is also observed in the garden of almost every participant's house (see Figure 9). In the light of all these pieces of information, it can be revealed that these objects may be one of the ways to protect the identity and memory of the participants. The French historian Pierre Nora calls the places that ensure the formation and preservation of social

memory “Realms of Memory.” These places of memory are important meeting places with many dimensions that play a crucial role in maintaining social memory (Nora , 2006, pp. 9-10). The house parts and some rooms of the people in Soğucak village can also be considered realms of memory. People want to preserve their culture and identity by using these objects in their homes. In addition, they want to keep the memories and culture of the homeland alive by hanging objects from the Caucasus on their walls. Furthermore, all these objects reflect the features of Circassian Culture.

Figure 5.

Objects Belonging to Circassian Culture in a Participant's Home.



Source: Photographed by Berika Türker (03/03/2023)

Addedly, Circassian Culture needs to be examined much more deeply. Because this culture contains many elements. Studying the Circassian Culture with all its features opens the way for understanding the place and roles of women in the culture. The following section explains the main features of the Circassian culture and the participants' evaluations about the Circassian culture. Participants shared information similar to the literature about the general characteristics of Circassian culture and the definition of being a Circassian.

3.2. The Circassian Culture and the Perceptions of Participants in Soğucak Village About Circassian Culture

Circassian culture has a national and peasant character. These people produce all their own needs and take part in production. They were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. They are also a warrior. Moreover, according to Ersoy and Kamancı, the Circassian culture is neither entirely Western nor entirely Eastern. This culture has a special and unique structure formed in the Caucasus part of the Near East for centuries (Ersoy & Kamancı , 1992, p. 130). Also, according to Saltık, Circassian culture was formed in village relations. It is not a culture dominated by urban production relations, shopping, and material changes. For this reason, people meet their needs by production (Saltık, 1998, p. 34). Moreover, Circassians are a society that gives significance to their traditions.

These traditions and customs continued under the clan-tribal relations, shamanic customs, Christianity, and Islamic culture, which they later adopted. Then, after the exile, they entered a process of change in Turkey's social and cultural structure, where they lived for 130 years (Eser , 1999, pp. 71-72). Besides, the most fundamental value in traditional Circassian society is the protection of the dignity of individuals and families. It ensures that these values are protected by providing continuous education in social life. Events such as hospitality, feast tables, collective works (imece), weddings, and funerals are the tools of this education in life (Aslan, et al., 2011, p. 24). In addition, in Circassian culture, all individuals in the society, such as old, young, women, men, and children, are valuable (Eser , 1999, pp. 71-72). Moreover, hospitality is critical in Circassian society.

The guest is an honor for the person and the family. This is why Circassians, at least in prominent Circassian families, do not have a guest hall, but an independent guest house (haç'eş/haş'eşş). Also, the host does not ask the guest the reason for the visit until three days have passed (Aslan, et al., 2011, p. 24). In addition, according to Kaya, hospitality and respect are paramount in Circassian culture because they contribute to the construction of Circassian society. These institutions are also considered sacred (Kaya , 2011, p. 86). Besides, the concept of respect is not only mentioned in the literature but also the village of Soğucak.

The most emphasized expression about Circassian culture is the respect for the elderly. A participant state that “The one of the most important elements of Circassian culture are respect for elders and love for younger ones.” “Çerkes kültürü denilince ilk önce büyüklere saygı, ufaklara sevgi ön planda.” (Participant M4, male, 58). Also,

participant F12 says that “It is first thing that comes to my mind is respect about being a Circassian” “Benim ilk saygı aklıma geliyor Çerkezlik ile ilgili.” (Participant F12, female, 59). Another participant also expresses the following words as: “In the past, when we see an older person, we stand up immediately, we cannot sit like this in front of an older person, when we see them, we immediately stand up. I continue this act.” “Şimdi bizim zamanımızda yani büyük gördüğümüz zaman biz hemen kalkarız. yaşlı biri geçerken katiyen böyle oturmayız, gördüğümüz zaman hemen kalkarız. Hala da ben devam ettiririm.” (Participant F3, female, 73). Participants also share some words to define Circassian culture.

The participants use concepts such as respect, hospitality, love, cleanliness, honesty, and cooperation to describe the main characteristics of the Circassian culture. The information given by most of the participants in Soğucak village also supports the importance of hospitality, which is mentioned in the literature. Participant F1 says that:

Now, for example, when a guest comes to our house, he is welcomed on the way and sent off on the way from our home. You couldn't find the path to the house now. I went out, but in fact, we come to the street like this, both when you come and go. For example, you just arrived, we didn't know you, now we know you, we never forget you, we always want you to come. So, you are our daughter now. It is not just us; whichever house you go to here, they will accept you as their daughter.

Şimdi mesela gelirken de giderken de yolda karşılaşılır bizde misafir. Hiç böyle kapıdan karşılamayız. Sen şimdi bulamadın ben çıktım ama aslında böyle sokağa kadar geliriz yani giderken de gelirken de. Mesela sen şimdi geldin biz seni tanımadık şimdi tanıdık ya biz seni hiç unutmayız, hep gelmeni isteriz. Yani sen bizim kızımız oldun artık. Sade biz değil burada hangi eve gidersen git seni kızı gibi benimser (Participant F1, female, 54).

Most female participants also expressed that both men and women host the guests. However, they state that the women can host only female guests, and the men can host only male guests. This is the indication of male and female roles in the house. Besides, both men and women take care of the guests who come to the house as a family. One participant stated that:

I mean, both men and women host the guests. Men host the male guests, but all their friends come to the house as guests. But if the female friends of women come, men do not sit with them.

Yani hem kadınlar hem de erkekler misafirler ile ilgilenir. Erkekler, erkek misafir ile ilgilenir, ama hani kadının arkadaşı geliyorsa misafiliğe erkek onlarla oturmaz (Participant F19, female,46).

Briefly, Circassians have moral laws. For example, absolute obedience to parents, cooperation, diligence, good dressing, hospitality, generosity, protection of honor, and dignity are some of these moral laws (Kalaycı, 2015, p. 92). The safety of grace, the concept of respect, and the notion of hospitality are essential elements in Circassian culture. According to the participants' statements, these concepts are also significant in the village of Soğucak. Apart from these, the participants also explain the different characteristics of being a Circassian.

Participants are asked questions about the definition of being a Circassian. One of the most basic answers the participants gave is that the Circassians are a society that values respect, as explained before. In addition, it is generally emphasized Circassians are honorable, clean, compassionate, and honest, and there is solidarity and cooperation in the society. One of the top concepts stressed by the participants about Circassian Culture is cleanliness. A participant expresses that:

As a society, we attach great importance to cleanliness. I mean, this is the village. A friend of mine came and said how people are so clean when people get up in the morning, they sweep in front of their door, they don't expect anyone, this is the village. You know, if there is a municipality, you can say the municipality came and cleaned the village.

Biz toplum olarak temizliğe çok önem veririz. Burası köy işte yani, bir arkadaşım geldi, insanlar nasıl böyle temiz dedi, insanlar sabah kalkınca kendi kapısının önünü süpürüyor, kimseden beklemiyor, burası köy. Hani belediye olsa belediye geldi hizmet yaptı diyebilirsiniz (Participant M1, male, 66).

Additionally, according to the statements of the participants, being a Circassian is not only defined as an ethnic origin but also it is defined as a nation. A minority of the

participants also represent being a Circassian as ethnic origin and nation. A participant says “Being a Circassian is our ethnic origin, you know, there are many people from different ethnic backgrounds in Turkey. We are one of them. But we are not a nation that causes problems for the state.” “Çerkeslik bizim etnik kökenimiz, biliyorsunuz Türkiye’de bir sürü farklı etnik kökenden halk var. Biz de onlardan biriyiz. Ama öyle devlete sorun çıkaran bir halkta değiliz biz.” (Participant M9, male, 68). Another participant expresses that “I think ethnic origin and nation” “Bence, etnik köken ve millet.” (Participant F4, female, 57). Moreover, participants also generally used positive words like compassionate, respectful, loving, helpful, and farsighted to define their culture.

Another participant states that the Circassians are not only far-sighted but also love, respect, and help each other with the following words:

Circassians are a society that is far-sighted, respectful, and loves each other. Foresightedness is dominant in society. That is, the young, the old, the woman, and the man are like that. Everyone in the community helps each other. At weddings and funerals, our people compete to help each other. We would have meetings with young people. We used to take the neighbor girl. Nobody would ask where you took her, why did you took her, and how you took her. We would take the girls to the wedding, and then drop them home. There was trust between people in society, and it still is.

Çerkesler ileri görüşlü, saygılı, birbirlerine karşı birbirine sevgi duyan bir topluluktur. Toplumda ileri görüşlülük hakim. Yani genci de, yaşlısı da, bayanı da, erkeği de böyledir. Toplumda herkes birbiriyle yardımlaşır. Düğünlerde, cenazelerde insanlarımız birbirleriyle yardımlaşmak için yarışır. Bizim toplantılarımız olurdu gençler arasında. Komşu kızını alır götürürdük. Kimse nereye götürdün, niye götürdün, nasıl götürdün diye sormazdı. Kızları düğüne götürürdük ondan sonra da evine teslim ederdik. Toplumda böyle bir güven vardı, hala da var (Participant M3, male, 74).

A participant also expresses that Circassians are honest and compassionate, as well as they hold essential positions from past to present in society with the following words:

Circassians are honest, clean, and compassionate people. They are sensitive to all kinds of social events; they are people who love their country and nation. At the same time, for example, most of the pashas have been Circassians since the past, for example, there were many Circassian pashas in the Ottoman Period. Even now it is. There are things, for example, there are Circassian artists who have come to good places in politics and art.

Çerkezler dürüst insan, temiz insan, merhametli insan. Her türlü sosyal olaya duyarlıdır, vatanı milletini seven insanlardır. Aynı zamanda mesela geçmişten bu yana paşaların çoğu çerkezdir mesela, çok çerkez paşa var Osmanlı Dönemi'nde. Şu anda bile öyle. Şeyler de var mesela, siyasetin içinde, sanatın içerisinde bildiğim iyi yerlere gelmiş çerkez sanatçılar da var (Participant M4, male, 58).

On the other hand, four participants stated that the Circassians are lazy people. One of these participants explained Circassians' laziness with the following words: "Circassian communities are lazy. They don't want to go through too much trouble. When they have a bit of a hard time, they can say Oh, my brother, we eat, drink, and enjoy. Thus, we do weddings." "Çerkez toplulukları tembeldir. Çok fazla sıkıntıya girmez yani. Biraz sıkıştığı zaman aman bana ne kardeşim yeriz içeriz keyfimize bakarız türden. Bu yüzden düğünler yaparız." (Participant M1, male, 66). Therefore, laziness is the only negative word that the participants express about being a Circassian.

Additionally, it has been revealed that the people living in Soğucak village generally belong to the Abzakh tribe. A participant expresses that, "We are Abzakhs, we are the mother of the Circassians" "Biz Abzak'ız. Çerkez'in anasıyız." (Participant F2, female, 74). Moreover, participants also stated that people in the village belonged to different Circassian tribes. A participant says, "There are also different tribes in the village. For example, there are Abzakh, Shapsug, and Bzhedug in this neighborhood. I am Abzakh." "Köyde farklı boylar da var. Abzeh, şapsığ, bjeduğ var mesela bu mahallede. Ben Abzeh'im." (Participant F7, female, 67).

Here, it can be concluded that, according to literature information, Circassian culture has a peasant character. Thus, Circassian people engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. Also, this culture is neither fully Western nor thoroughly Eastern. It has a unique structure. Circassians give importance to their customs and traditions. The

protection of dignity, the concept of respect, and the concept of hospitality are essential elements in Circassian culture. Moreover, the results obtained from the participants in the village of Soğucak are matched with the literature information about the features of Circassian culture.

The participants' statements reveal that concepts such as respect, hospitality, love, and solidarity are vital for the village of Soğucak. Besides, most participants expressed that both men and women host the guests. However, they state that the women can host only female guests, and the men can host only male guests. The participants also gave different answers to the question, "Who are the Circassians?". Because they all have different definitions of their culture and society in their minds; moreover, they generally adopted positive thoughts about their own culture and society, except for some participants who thought that Circassians were lazy. Also, it is observed that participants' views about their society are sincere and genuine. Most of the participants are aware of some of the negative aspects of their culture. However, they also think that their culture contains many positive features. Besides, the fact that the basic definitions of the participants about the Circassian culture and being a Circassian are compatible with the literature shows that some elements of the Circassian culture are still being preserved in the village of Soğucak. It is also revealed that the Soğucak village consists of mainly three Circassian tribes: Abzakh, Shapsug, and Bzhedug. Besides, the participants of Soğucak village mentioned essential elements of their culture.

These data are explained in the next section by syncretizing them with the information about the Circassian Culture in the literature. According to the data in the literature and the interviews conducted with the participants, the main topics covered for the cultural background are the social structure of Circassian Culture, the xabze rules, the concept of thamate, and the language. The most essential features of Circassian culture are explained primarily in the next title.

3.3. The Social Structure and Basic Elements of the Circassian Culture in the Village of Soğucak

Social class structure and kinship systems are essential elements that provide information about a culture's social structure. The social structure of the Circassians consisted of Pşı (prince), Vork (noble), Fekol (peasant), Pşıtlı (enslaved person), or landless peasants at the slave level. In the feudal period, differences began in classes between the psi- vorks and the fecole – pşıtlı. As a result of feudalism, the social structure is dominated by the Psi and the Vorks, and the people are tried to be enslaved (Saltık, 1998, pp. 34-47). Besides, to understand the social structure of a culture, it is necessary to examine the kinship system and terminology of this culture.

The traditional kinship system of Circassians is defined as the Circassian-Trobriand model. Their kinship terminology consists of different descriptions like the father of the father, the father's brother, the daughter of the mother's sister, etc. (Colarusso, 1992, p. 5). The two most crucial kinship terms are "wuneques" and "blage". Wuneques refers to relatives of the same paternal descendants with the same surname (Aslan, et al., 2011, p. 25). Also, Circassian kinship terminology is divided into many branches. For example, descriptive kinship terms regarding being male or female are differentiated in Circassian culture (see also Boz , 2010). However, the Circassians' kinship terms and social classes gradually lost their influence due to their settlements in Turkey.

After the Circassians settled in Turkey, especially since the 1980s, they began to assimilate rapidly with the influence of urbanization. Therefore, they began to lose their mother tongue, social structure, and kinship systems (Boz , 2014, pp. 325-326). Thus, the social classes and kinship systems of Circassian culture are not discussed in detail in this section. Because there is no information found about these subjects of the field research in the village of Soğucak. According to the participants in Soğucak, there are no traditional Circassian social classes in the village. In addition, people in the village use Turkish kinship terms instead of kinship terms in Circassian culture. However, apart from these, in the wake of the fieldwork carried out in Soğucak, many traditions belonging to the social structure of the Circassian culture in this village have emerged. One of them is Xabze or Habze Rules.

Xabze is defined as all kinds of rules, manners, procedures, ways, laws, constitutions, customs, and traditions in the Circassian language (Domaniç , 2000, p. 37). Traditional Circassian life was organized through Xabze rules, which are passed down

from generation to generation by living (Aslan, et al., 2011, p. 25). One of the most critical rules in Xabze culture is respect. For example, standing up when someone older or younger enters the location is an essential ritual of respect. Respect for older people is fundamental (Yılmaz Bingöl, 2017, pp. 86-89).

Additionally, the participants of the village of Soğucak also express their ideas about the xabze rules. However, most of the participants state that most of the Xabze rules are forgotten in society. One of the participants answered the question “What are the Kabzeh (Xabze) traditions?” as follows: “That's the reason why I said our traditions are difficult, of course, there is none now. Respect for brother, sibling, sister, mother, and father, what we call "kabze," it certainly continues, there is no disrespect.” “Adetlerimiz ağır dememin sebebi o tabi şimdi hiçbiri yok. Ağabeye, kardeşe, ablaya, anneye, babaya saygı "kabze" dediğimiz o, kesinlikle o devam eder, saygısızlık yapılmaz.” (Participant M4, male, 58). The participants' statements reveal that the rules of Xabze are applied within the family in the Circassian culture. However, the influence of the Xabze rules has reduced over time. Almost all the participants said that behaviors that were once considered shameful according to Xabze, are now freely practiced. For example, the oldest participants noted that their grandchildren sit cross-legged next to older people. This and many other Xabze rules and customs in literature are no longer practiced in the village of Soğucak. This indicates that some traditions of Xabze have been forgotten. Moreover, to define the Circassian Culture correctly, it is necessary to research the Circassian language, which the Circassians speak.

There are many languages in the Caucasus. The languages of the Caucasian peoples belong to the group of Iberian-Caucasian languages. Each Circassian community in the Caucasus speaks a different language, and these languages are identified as the Caucasian language family (Eser , 1999, p. 83). One of these ethnic groups is the Adyghe people, whose language is the Adyghe (Circassian) language. Adyghe languages are a rich language within the North Caucasian language group that forms the Caucasian part of Indo-European (Saltık, 1998, p. 62). As mentioned before, the Caucasian peoples living in the West of the Caucasus and divided into tribes such as Abzakh, Shapsug, Bzhedug, Natukhai, Hatiqwai, Temirgoy, Besleney and Kabardian define themselves as Adyghe. These people call the country they live in Adyghea (Adıgey). Also, the language spoken by these tribes is named the Adyghe or Circassian language (Tavkul, 2009, s. 20-21). The

reason for the research on the Adyghe language in this section is that the group chosen for the thesis is the Adyghe people who are in the Soğucak village of Yalova.

The fieldwork in the village of Soğucak reveals that the Circassian language is primarily unknown to the younger generations. Also, participants state that they do not know how to read and write Circassian, but only learned this language by hearsay. The participants generally understand and speak Circassian, as they belong to the middle-aged and older age groups. Those in the group who can understand but cannot speak Circassian are middle-aged participants. In addition, most participants stated they cannot teach Circassian to their children. A Participant says that:

Unfortunately, the traditions, customs, and rules of the Kabze ended due to generational changes. Our youth under the age of 50 do not know Circassian. I'm even in trouble. I mean, I understand all the languages, but I can't speak some of them. The language is forgotten because it is not said.

Ama maalesef ve maalesef gelenekler görenekler, kabzeler adetler bitiyor yani kuşak değişti. 50 yaşın altındaki gençlerimiz kimse Çerkezce bilmez. Ben bile zorlanıyorum. Yani hepsini anlıyorum, bazılarını konuşamıyorum mesela. Konuşmaya konuşmaya unutuluyor (Participant M4, male, 58).

Furthermore, the status of women in Soğucak village, which is the main subject of this study, is evaluated in the next title. While making this evaluation, firstly, the opinions of male and female participants about the status and position of women and girls in Soğucak culture are expressed. Besides, information about the women's status within the family is also revealed. While the status of women within the family is evaluated, information about their domestic responsibilities is shared. In addition, the role of women in rites of passage is also considered. Finally, the distinction between public and private spheres in Soğucak village is evaluated in the context of women's status in the culture.

3.4. The Status of Women in the Village of Soğucak

Circassian women have a respectable place in the Circassian society. Circassians respect and protect women. Besides, Circassian women play their part in preserving their

position in society. (Ersoy & Kamacı , 1992, p. 151). According to Tavkul, Adyghe people showed great respect to women. The husband would not call his wife by her name but would call her by the name of her lineage. Addressing women by the name of their lineage is a sign of respect among the Adyghe. In addition, all authority in housework belonged to the woman. It was the woman's responsibility to host the guests. Wealthy families held women responsible for only household work, while women in low-income families helped their husbands by dealing with agricultural work (Tavkul, 2007, p. 358). Most participants say that women have a respectable place in the village of Soğucak. A participant describes the place of women in the village of Soğucak as:

The place of women in Circassians is important. Although brides seem worthless according to the customs described, women are valuable in society. At least, I know from my husband. I mean, they didn't even speak louder to us, women. I don't know if this situation has anything to do with being a Circassian, but maybe it's because of our style of upbringing. So, they have never spoken loudly to their children or us. In the village, my surroundings and my village are all like that. So, they are calm people. As I said, I go down the street at midnight without fear.

Kadının Çerkezlikteki yeri bence önemli yani önemli bir yerde. Hani belki anlatılan adetlere göre gelinler falan denildi ama aslında değer de verilen toplumda değer verilen kadınlar. En azından ben eşlerimizden biliyorum. Yani daha yüksek sesle konuşmamışlardır bile biz kadınlara. Bilmiyorum Çerkezlik ile ilgisi var mı bilmiyorum ama belki de yetişmeden dolaydır. Daha yani hiç yüksek sesle ne çocuklarına ne bize konuşmamışlardır yani. Köyde de benim tanıdığım çevrem, köyüm hepsi öyledir. Yani sakin insanlar, öyle şey değiller. Ben dedim ya demin gece yarısı inirim yani hiç korkmadan (Participant F1, female, 54).

This statement revealed that this participant defines women's values as directly related to their husbands' behavior towards them. Moreover, four other female participants define women's values according to their husbands' acts. According to these statements of the participants, male participants of Soğucak village respect and value their wives. This indicates that women have a respectable place in the culture of Soğucak village. Moreover, female participants define Circassian women with different words.

Most of the female participants describe Circassian women as stubborn and diligent. A female participant says that “Circassian women are headstrong. There are those who are so lame, but mostly they are skillful.” “Çerkez kadınları dik başlıdır gerçekten. Öyle ezik olanlar da var ama çoğunlukla beceriklidir.” (Participant F18, female, 40). Another female participant says that “For example, I make hand knitted things. Indeed, our girls are very diligent in every way. Whether it's dexterity, baking, or food. Circassian women are skillful in everything.” “Mesela ben el örgüsü şeyler yapıyorum. Aslında hanımlarımız çok hamarat her şekilde. El becerisi olsun, hamur işi olsun, yemek olsun. Çerkes kadınları her şeyde beceriklidir.” (Participant F25, female, 48). Besides, women use some other words to define their place and role in their culture.

Women often used concepts such as freedom, comfort, and laziness when talking about being a woman in their culture. Participants stated that women are free in the village. More than half of the female participants emphasized women's freedom. One participant says, “Women are very comfortable; I can say that freedom is in the hands of women; they can do whatever they want, and generally, men do not oppose women. There are no restrictions for women in our village currently.” “Kadınlar çok rahatlar, özgürlük kadınların elinde diyebilirim, her istediklerini yaparlar, genelde erkekler de kadınlara karşı çıkmaz. Hiçbir kısıtlama yok bizim köyümüzde şu anda kadınlar açısından.” (Participant F17, female, 44). However, the statements of some participants showed that in the past, women did not have the freedom to do what they wanted. These female participants are usually middle-aged or older. This situation indicates that women in the village of Soğucak previously had less privilege and are gradually gaining this freedom. One female participant expressed that:

For example, I was going to my hometown. My father-in-law and mother-in-law bought fabric for me, and they brought me clothes to sew, so I had them sew for me. I wore it and went to my hometown. You can't tell older adults about your preferences; you wouldn't know I will go somewhere, or I will choose something. They bring it to you. It's not possible, but of course, it's different now.

Mesela ben memleketime gidecektim. Kayınpedirim ile kayınvalidem kumaş almışlar bana, elbise dikilecek getirdiler, ben de diktirdim ben de kendime göre. Giydim gittim memleketime. Öyle eskiler şey yapamaz ben gideceğim, seçeceğim

diyemezsin eskilere. Onlar alır getirir. Öyle mümkün değil ama şimdi tabii farklı (Participant F16, female, 56).

Additionally, some traditions also humiliate women in the Circassian Culture. The statements of Ersoy and Kamancı reveal that contrary to the understandings that respect and glorify women, some approaches humiliate women in this culture. For example, in the past, when a guest came to the house, woman would wash his shoes. (Ersoy & Kamacı , 1992, pp. 151-152). However, data related to this information in the literature could not be reached in Soğucak village. Furthermore, some values and understandings are dedicated to Circassian women in this culture.

Women are seen as a symbol of peace according to Xabze rules. If a man gets into a fight and cannot resolve it, the woman intervenes between the parties to ensure peace (Yener, 2013, p. 10). Moreover, in Circassians, it is important to preserve purity for women. Women can also protect their chastity through the internalization of the traditions of Adyghe. But chastity is not just a concept used for women but also for men (Yüksel, 2020, p. 60). However, these traditions and understandings also cannot be found in the village of Soğucak. Moreover, examining the place of Circassian girls in the family and culture is important to understand the position of Circassian women in society.

Circassian girls have endless freedom in their social life. Any actions against the freedom of Circassian girls by family members are considered a disgrace to them. Because of these freedoms, Circassian girls lead their lives as self-confident, fair-minded individuals who are aware of their societal responsibilities (Merker , 1953, p. 20). A participant explains this freedom as:

We had such a joyful youth, thanks to God. Freedom, for example, if you look at these Turkish girls, they go to weddings with their mothers. Our mother wouldn't come, it was a shame for mothers to come to weddings. We used to listen to whatever the young people of the village said.

Çok neşeli, böyle keyifli bir gençlik yaşadık, çok şükür. Serbestlik, mesela bu Türk kızlarına bakarsanız, düğünlere annelerinin yanında giderler. Bizim annemiz gelmezdi, annelerin düğünlere gelmesi ayıptı. Biz köyün gençleri ne derse onu dinlerdik (Participant F9, female, 59).

On the other hand, Tok also argued that even the girls are free to go to weddings, it is not appropriate that they go to weddings alone. They must go with a relative. The girls would go to the wedding house with the people appointed by the wedding owner and with the girl community (Tok, 2018, pp. 35-36). Besides, some participants in Soğucak also stated that the girls went to weddings with the boys from the village and returned to their homes with them in the past. In short, girls were not sent to weddings alone in the village of Soğucak. In addition to these, most of the female participants in Soğucak state that girls are brought up very freely. Almost all the female participants stated that they grew up freely when they were young. However, these female participants also stated that their lives were restricted, and their freedoms decreased after marriage. Additionally, the boys and girls can communicate and meet freely in the society.

Circassian girls are free to enter society as independent individuals until they get married. Circassian girls can accept men's visits in their homes or give and receive gifts from men. They should be polite and shy when talking to men. In short, Circassian girls and boys could freely communicate in society and spend time together. In addition to these, they are important in the family (Zihni, 2007, pp. 47). Moreover, some female participants in Soğucak also state that they can host their boyfriends at zekes entertainments. It is also said that they go to entertainment in groups with boys and girls, and girls and boys can spend time together in society. A participant explains this situation as:

Also, the relationships between men and women are distant. As my mother told us, the older ones don't go to visit someone together. However, as young people, we are not like that. We can sit and talk for hours with our friends, boys, and girls, without worrying about hours or who we talk to. Besides, it doesn't matter if they are boys or girls, they can all come to my house. There are no such things. But this is not because of the time difference. For example, when my parents were young, they used to go to weddings with males and females or zekes.

Bir de kadın erkek ilişkileri mesafeli. Annemin anlattığı gibi, yaşça büyük olanlar birlikte bir yere ziyarete gitmiyorlar. Ama biz gençler olarak öyle değiliz. Biz arkadaşlarımız ile kızlar ve erkekler ile saat sorulumuz olmadan veya konuştuğumuz kişilerin kim olduğu önemli olmadan, oturup saatlerce konuşabiliyoruz. Ayrıca kız

veya erkek fark etmez hepsi benim evime gelebiliyor. Öyle bir kavram yok. Ama bu zamanın farkından dolayı değil. Mesela annemler de gençken, kızlı erkekli düğünlere giderlermiş veya 'zekes' yaparlarmış (Participant F6, female, 25).

Moreover, girls have some responsibilities regarding housework. The girl helps her mother in everything. Sewing, spinning, and weaving serge are her duties. The value of Circassian girls is not measured by their beauty but by their efforts to become a housewife. Therefore, girls are careful not to be lazy about cleaning. Situations such as the clothes of the people in the family are not clean or torn; the beds are not clean decrease the reputation and value of the girls (Zihni, 2007, pp. 47-49), (Serbes, 2016, pp. 122-123). Also, Circassian girls learned sewing and embroidery from an early age. It was thought that a girl who did not know how to sew would not be able to make her family happy if she married (Tok, 2018, pp. 38-39). However, in the village of Soğucak, the participants often state that the Circassian girls have not done much domestic work in the past and have always been sitting in a room and doing embroidery. A participant explains it as:

Circassian girls were precious; for example, they could not do any work. They had the second floor of such houses; they always embroidered and made dowry in a room there. They would not make them do such a thing; they were precious.

Çerkez kızları kıymetliymiş mesela onlara hiç iş yaptırılmazmış. Onlar böyle evlerin ikinci katları varmış, orada bir odada onlar hep nakış işlermiş, çeyiz yaparmış. Onlara öyle şey yaptırmazlarmış, çok kıymetlilermiş (Participant F1, female, 54).

Furthermore, the participants of the Soğucak village argued that they raise girls and boys equally and that discrimination between genders does not exist in their culture. For example, a participant says that:

Both are one; we don't discriminate against them. In some places, they don't count the girls, when they say, "How many children do you have?" they say they have three children, but they don't count their two daughters. But we don't have anything like that. We treated our girls and boys as equals.

İkisi de bir, bizde ayırım yok. Bazı yerlerde kızları saymıyorlar, kaç tane çocuğun var dediği zaman 3 tane çocuğum, 2 tane kız nereye gitti? Ama biz de öyle bir şey yok. Kız da bir oğlan da bir (Participant F1, female, 54).

Although they state that they treat girls and boys equally, the girls are educated about domestic work like cooking, washing the dishes, or cleaning the house. In contrast, boys are not trained in domestic work. These works are not seen as the responsibility of boys. A participant says, “I never gave duties to my boy, but I was giving duties to my daughter.” “Oğlana hiç görev vermedim ama kıza görevler verdim.” (Participant F5, female, 62). Another participant represents that boys are seen as more valuable in society and that boys and girls are treated differently with the following words:

As in Anatolia, caring for boys is still customary in our society. As I said earlier, this village is very open to the environment, so Turkish traditions are mixed with ours. Boys are treated differently; girls are treated differently. Things would have been different if we hadn't Turkified or assimilated. But we assimilate, now we do not have any difference from them. We have become one of them.

Anadolu'daki gibi erkek çocuğunu önemseyip, değerli görme hala toplumumuzda çok yaygın. İşte dediğim gibi çevreye çok açık olduğu için burası Türk gelenekleri karışıyor yani. Erkek çocuklarına farklı muamele yapılıyor, kızlara farklı muamele yapılıyor. Aslında biz Türkleşmiş olmasaydık, asimile olmamış olsaydık aslında daha farklı olacaktı. Ama çok asimile olunca onlardan farkımız kalmadı. Onlardan biri olduk (Participant F14, female,69).

Additionally, the behaviors of Circassian girls should be moderate and elegant in public spaces. If a young girl behaves loosely, especially at weddings, she could be judged by society. Even if girls are free to enter society, their behavior is restricted (Tok, 2018, pp. 35-36). These customs are not found among girls in the village of Soğucak.

In a nutshell, Circassian women occupy a respectable place in Soğucak culture, according to the accounts of the participants. They emphasized that their husbands appreciated them very much. Participants also described their female status with words such as diligent, freedom, comfort, and laziness. Most of the female participants said that the women in the village are quite free and can do what they want. However, the participants' accounts revealed that women were not free and had to obey their elders about the decisions they would have made in the past. This situation shows that the position of women in culture and gender roles has changed. In addition, customs described in the

literature, such as women acting as mediators between men, are not found in the village of Soğucak. This is another indication of the changing of women's roles in the village.

Circassian girls are also considered precious members of the family. They are bred quite freely. Participants from the village of Soğucak say that the Circassian girls are pretty liberal, they go to weddings before they get married and often go to zekes meetings. It also turns out that even in the past, boys and girls always spent time together and had fun. They also said that Circassian girls never had to do housework in the past. It is also one of the most frequently expressed phrases that there is no distinction between boys and girls in the Circassian culture. However, although the participants say that they behave equally to their boys and girls, the housework is done with the help of their daughters. Women reported relying more on their daughters than their sons to help with housework and cooking. However, girls' freedom begins to change after marriage. They are responsible for many matters related to the home and family after they get married. Women usually undertake responsibilities such as housework, cooking, caring for, and raising children. In addition, women's status, and duties within the family in Soğucak village are also examined.

3.4.1. The Status of Women in Family in the Village of Soğucak

The concept of respect is an essential element for Circassian families. All family members have specific responsibilities. Formality, courtesy, and respect are the core values of Circassian family life (Zihni, 2007, p. 25). Kalaycı states, "Circassian family life is based on formality. Everyone knows their place; neither populist patriarchal norms nor artificial matriarchal rules are dominant in the society" (Kalaycı, 2015, p. 94). Serbes also defines the family in Circassian culture as follows: "Family is a unit that has the primary responsibility of transferring the basic knowledge and behavior of the xabze culture from generation to generation, it also has mutual relations which are tied to rules, and it has material and moral values." In addition, respect for women, loyalty, and honor, and being truthful are the basic principles in the family. Xabze rules teach family members to respect each other, be fair, and rule (Serbes, 2016, pp. 108-109). Moreover, there are also different types of families in Circassian culture.

Circassians' family type generally comprises extended families consisting of a mother, father, children, and grandchildren (Eser , 1999, p. 76). According to Serbes, there are three types of families in Circassian culture: nuclear family, extended family, and lineage family. The nuclear family consists only of a mother, father, and children. In an extended family, more than one generation lives together. On the other hand, the lineage (soy) family describes people of the same lineage, called "wunekoş" There are leaders who represent the family in these three family groups, and that person represents the family in every environment. All family members are in solidarity with each other (Serbes, 2016, p. 109). In addition to these, the statements of the participants reveal that there are no extended families in the village anymore. Also, according to field observations, it is determined that there are more nuclear families in the village. The change in the family structure in the village may be one of the factors in the shift of the culture in the village. In the past, grandparents, mothers, fathers, children, and sometimes the brothers of the father and their wives and children lived together in the same house in the village of Soğucak. The coexistence of all members of the family ensures the transfer of culture to the younger generations. Grandparents can spend time with their grandchildren and pass on historical elements about culture to them. In addition, since the grandparents speak Circassian, the children of the house can also learn Circassian. However, after the nuclear family structure became widespread in the Soğucak village society, the elements of the Circassian culture may have started to be forgotten due to the decrease in the communication of the younger family members with their grandparents. Also, the family's decision-maker reflects women's status in the culture of Soğucak village.

In Circassians, a special value is given to the elderly in the family. According to Merker, in the Circassian family structure, the father is a more severe and distant person than other family members. He is seen as the head of the family. The head of the family is the absolute chief (Merker , 1953, p. 20). Also, for Tuna, the father makes the decisions, and the other family members follow these decisions. The man's authority in the family increases as he gets older, and he begins to be influential in the tribe and become the chief of the tribe (Tuna, 1977, p. 102). Besides, according to Argun, after marriage, the Circassian women and men do not stop their relationship with their father's house which is called "büyük ev" or "Ana ev." All these family members are managed by the "ata-baba," which holds the family together. Also, all family members should ask him about all the

decisions. The ata-baba used his authority not only over their children but also over their younger siblings and their families (Argun, 1990, pp. 53-54). Moreover, according to Saltık, obedience to the father's rules is mandatory. Only his wife and daughter can sit in front of the father. Other members of the family stand with respect. Also, the other family members cannot sit with their father for dinner. Only after a woman/wife has children can she sit at the dinner table with her husband (Saltık, 1998, p. 42).

On the flip side of the coin, according to Zihni, the father never uses his authority to pressure his family. Family members have personal freedoms. For example, leaving the father's house or owning a property is left to the family member's choices. In addition to these, the man treats his wife with respect. Women are very respectful in Circassian society. The mother is considered the second head of the family. Decisions about the home are made by mothers. The father does not interfere in domestic affairs because this is considered disrespectful to the mother (Zihni, 2007, pp. 24-25). Moreover, similarly to the statements of Zihni, it has been revealed that the prominent decision makers in the family are women in the village of Soğucak.

Most participants state that although fathers seem to be the decision makers, the family's decision makers, and authority are women. Also, most female participants noted that they made joint decisions with their husbands on some issues related to the family. In some decisions, they are emphasizing that women are more dominant. A female participant says, "Men cannot make decisions without asking their wives. But the man reflects on the society as if he made his own decision. At home, it's usually everyone making decisions together. However, women's voices are more listened to." "Erkekler eşlerine sormadan bir karar veremezler. Ama erkek topluma kendi kararını vermiş gibi yansıtır. Evde herkes ortak karar alır genelde. Yine de kadınların daha çok sözü dinleniyor." (Participant F19, female, 46). Another participant says, "I think it looks like a father who is the decision maker from the outside, but inside the house, the mother's word is more valid." "Bence dışarıdan baba gibi duruyor ama evin içinde annenin sözü daha geçerli" (Participant F6, female, 25).

Additionally, all male participants agree that women are the managers of the house and family. A male participant expresses the following words about the decision-maker at home:

Generally, in our society, we do what women say. The peace of the house should not be disturbed. But there is a situation like this: our women do not reveal that they govern the man outside, in any community, they respect the man. But in the house, the management is in the hands of the woman. We always do what the woman says; it is also logical because she does all the work in the house, but she also shows the necessary respect outside. She waits for the man to speak first if she must. But men also don't say my words should be the last decision while talking there; he says, "Let's ask my wife." The women make the final decision again.

Genelde bizim toplumda kadınların dediği olur. Evin huzuru bozulmaması lazım. Ama şöyle bir durum vardır: bizim kadınlarımız dışarda, herhangi bir toplulukta erkeği yönettiğini hissettirmez, erkeğe saygı duyar. Ama evin içerisinde de yönetim kadındadır. Bizde kadının dediği olur hep, mantıklıdır da aslında çünkü evin bütün işini o yapıyor, ama dışarıda da gerekli saygıyı gösterir. Önce erkeğin konuşmasını bekler, konuşması gerekiyorsa. Ama erkek de orada konuşurken benim söylediğim olur demez, hanıma bir soralım der. En son kararı yine hanım verir. (Participant M1, male, 66).

Other male participants also express similar statements about the ruler of the house. A male participant expresses that "Women are the rulers of the family. We will have to obey them, we must." "Ailenin içerisinde kadınlar yöneticidir. Mecburen uyacağız onlara, uymak zorundayız." (Participant M5, male, 68). Another male participant says that "Women generally rule the family. After all, women can get what they want. No matter how many times I say I am a man, my masculinity will eventually come to an end." "Genelde kadınların sözü geçer, nihayetinde onların dediği olur bir şekilde, ben ne kadar herifim desem de, benim herifliğim eninde sonunda gider." (Participant M8, male, 70). The participant M9 also says that "It can also be said that my wife wanted something, even if I say no, in the end, what she says will happen. In the end, what the woman says comes true." "Şöyle de denebilir, hanımım bir şey istedi ben olmaz desem de eninde sonunda onun dediği olur. Eninde sonunda kadının dediği olur." (Participant M9, male, 68).

Female participants express similar statements. One female participant said that:

The women are the decision makers at home. But it is not announced to the society that women are making decisions. In other words, the decisions made by women are

implicit and not explicit. If a woman can make her husband listen to her, she already makes the decisions herself; it's up to that person. The men seem to make the decisions, but the woman also has a role. I mean, some people do it, some people don't.

Aslında evde karar verici kadındır. Ama topluma kadın karar alıyor diye duyurulmaz. Yani üstü örtülüdür açık değildir kadınların aldığı kararlar. Bir kadın sözünü kocasına dinletebiliyorsa zaten kararları kendi alır, o kişiye kalmış bir şey. Kararları erkek vermiş gibi görünür ama kadının da rolü vardır. Yani yapan da vardır yapmayan da vardır (Participant F14, female,69).

Another participant says that:

When you look at it, men are not listened to. In the house, the woman initially dominates the man, but from the outside, it appears that the man rules; in the house, the woman first directs the man, and then the man seems to have made his own decision.

Baktığın zaman erkeklerin geçmiyor. Ama evin içinde ilk önce kadınlar erkekleri yönetir, dışarıda da erkek konuşur yani dışarıdan baktığın zaman erkek konuşuyor ama içeride kadın ilk önce erkeği yönlendirir ondan sonra erkek konuşur (Participant F16, female, 50).

The question of "why men are presented as decision makers in society" is answered by most male and female participants not to damage men's dignity in society's eyes. This situation emphasizes that the decision-makers in the family should be men according to social roles. While the decisions made by men are approved in society, the decisions made by women are kept. Because according to the norms of society, men are required to make decisions to manage their families, while women are expected to comply with these decisions. One participant expressed this situation as:

Men must have a presence in society; they must have a serious look. The situations in the family should not be revealed. Even though it's not that much now, men still have a societal reputation. The dignity of men is protected by not saying everything in the family. Even if women decide in the family, it is shown as men's decision.

Erkeklerin toplumda bir duruşu olmalı, bir ağırlığı olmalı. Öyle ailedeki her şey açık edilmemeli zaten. Her ne kadar şimdi o kadar kalmadıysa da erkeklerin bir saygınlığı var toplumda. O saygınlığı korumak için öyle her şey söylenmez aile içindeki. Yani, kadın da karar verse erkek verdi gibi gösterilir (Participant M4, male, 58).

In addition, some female participants said that women were not heard and consulted in the past, but today, this is no longer the case. One participant says that:

They looked at women as if they knew nothing. They say you don't know anything, shut up. They would never ask the woman for her opinion. Now of course they are asking; I am talking about the past. Now, women can make whatever decision they want. It wasn't like this before.

Kadınlara hiçbir şey bilmiyor gözüyle bakarlardı. Bir şey bilmiyorsun sen, sus derlerdi. Kadına görüşünü kesinlikle sormazlardı. Şimdi tabii soruyorlar, öncekini anlatıyorum. Şimdi kadınlar istediği kararı verebiliyor. Önceden böyle değildi (Participant F18, female,40).

Additionally, some participants also point out that past generations lived together in village houses; in these houses, the mother-in-laws are the main decision-makers. After marriage, the bride moves to her husband's house and has previously lived with her father-in-law and mother-in-law. Participants say they would no longer live with their father or mother after marriage, but only as a nuclear family. However, it is said that in the old days when families lived together and were overcrowded, the decision-maker in the family was the mother-in-law. A participant explains this situation: “Also, after getting married here, the husband's words are never listened to, always the mother-in-law. So, it was always the word mother-in-law in those times..” “Bir de burada evlendikten sonra hiç kocanın sözü geçmiyor hep kayınvalide. Öyleymiş yani o zamanlar hep kayınvalide sözü.” (Participant F12, female, 59). She also adds, “No complaints from the father-in-law. Very few people say they do not like their father-in-law, but the mothers-in-law were very dominant in those times.” “Kayınpederden şikayet yok. Hiç kayınpederini sevmeyen sevmiyorum diyen çok azdır, o zaman da ama kayınvalideler çok baskınmış yani.” (Participant F12, female, 59). Another male participant expressed that:

When women reach a certain age, and they reach the age of a grandmother, they begin to have a voice in the family; that is, they are listened to more than men. The innocent, sweet, and gentle Circassian girls start to lead the family after marriage and when they reach a certain age, and all family members respectfully consult them.

Kadınlar belli bir yaşa geldikten sonra anneanne yaşına geldiği zaman, ailede onun sözü geçer yani erkekten de daha fazla sözü dinlenir, dediğim dedik hale gelmeye başlıyor. O işte naif, mülayim, yumuşak başlı Çerkez kızları evlendikten sonra ve belli bir yaşa geldikten sonra artık aileyi yönetmeye başlarlar ve bütün ev halkı da saygıyla kendilerine danışırlar (Participant M7, male, 43).

In addition to all these, there are also changes that occurred in terms of the status of women in Circassians after marriage. In Circassian culture, married women are considered superior to single girls in status regardless of age difference. After marriage, Circassian women not only do the housework but also work with men, guide men through decision times, and attend meetings (Serbes, 2016, p. 124). Although women are free in matters such as meeting with their friends and being able to enter gatherings easily before marriage, after marriage restrictions occur in their lives. Because after marriage, women take on the responsibilities of family life (Narcı , 2018, p. 74). For example, married women cannot dance at weddings (Tok, 2018, p. 34). In addition, the married woman is subject to certain restrictions in her husband's home. For instance, she cannot sit in the same room with her mother-in-law, talk to relatives and guests coming home for a while, and address family members by name (Tok, 2018, pp. 58-59). However, according to Demir, these restrictions are not related to being a woman or a man but stem from the understanding of respect in the culture. Because, just like a woman, a man is subject to certain restrictions after marriage. For example, A man may sit next to his father-in-law after obtaining his permission, and he should speak very little and concisely when he is near his father-in-law. However, apart from all these rules, women and men are always side by side in Circassian culture. There is no such thing as men and women sitting separately (Demir , 2014, p. 217). Moreover, the participants of Soğucak village also express that changes are occurring in women's roles after marriage.

Participants gave explanations about being a Circassian bride and their responsibilities. One participant stated that all household responsibilities were expected

from the bride: “Being a bride of the Circassians is very difficult. Mother-in-laws expected everything from the bride.” “Çerkezlerin gelini olmak çok zor. Her şeyi elinden beklerdi kaynanalar” (Participant F2, female, 74). Through this statement, the participant explains that after marriage, a Circassian woman does all kinds of housework and is responsible for caring for everyone in the house. In addition to these, female participants stated that the Circassian brides always waited to stand to serve her father-in-law, mother-in-law, and husband and could not sit with them. One participant expressed this situation in the following words:

You will wait behind the door; I lived it, we had an aunt upstairs who was a Circassian and came from another village. I was 6-7 years old then. For a week she waited behind the door. Even when I got there, she stood up. I'm 6-7 years old. I remember very well that my aunt Nuran, then I was very enthusiastic about this village, my uncle, my aunt, my relatives, I go in and out of every house. Even when I go, she immediately stands behind the door, literally standing behind the door like a slave.

Kapının arkasında bekleyeceksin ben yaşadım bunu yukarıda bir yengemiz vardı Çerkez başka köyden geldi. Ben de o zaman 6-7 yaşlarındayım. Bir hafta kadın kapının arkasında bekledi. Ben gidince bile ayağa kalktı kadın. Ben 6-7 yaşındayım düşün. Nuran yengem çok iyi hatırlıyorum o zaman ben böyle diyorum ya çok hevesliyim bu köye, böyle bütün herkes dayım teyzem akrabam her eve girip çıkıyorum. Kadın ben gidince bile hemen ayağa kapının arkasına dikiliyor, resmen köle gibi kapının arkasında dikildi (Participant F4, female, 57).

Most female participants in Soğucak village stated that women were exposed to some restrictions after marriage. However, according to them, there is no longer any restriction on women's freedom after marriage. Brides are quite free nowadays. A participant says that:

Women cannot entirely participate in society after marriage. For example, I did not join the zekes, and I didn't dance at weddings after I got married. So, the woman starts to avoid herself. Because you are married now. You have a responsibility. You can't be as free as when you were a girl.

Kadınlar evlendikten sonra öyle toplumun içine çok giremezler. Mesela ben evlendikten sonra zekeslere katılmadım ya da düğünlerde dans etmedim. Kadın kendini sakınmaya başlar yani. Çünkü artık evlisin. Bir sorumluk var, bir şey var. Genç kızlığındaki gibi rahat olamazsın (Participant F5, female, 62).

Another male participant explains this situation as:

In our culture, Circassian girls are raised very liberally. But after marriage, wives follow a somewhat strict hierarchy. For example, a bride cannot call her husband by name. In other words, the young Circassian girl who was originally very accessible entered a more demanding environment after marrying and moving into her mother-in-law's house. That's why there is a saying like You should be the wife of the Turks; you should be the daughter of the Circassians. Unfortunately, we have such traditions.”

Bizde Çerkes kızları çok özgür yetiştirilir. Ama evlendikten sonra gelinler biraz katı bir hiyerarşinin içine girerler. Mesela eşine ismi ile hitap edemez. Yani çok özgür olan Çerkez kızı, evlendikten sonra kayınvalidesinin evine gittikten sonra biraz daha çizgileri sert çizilmiş bir ortamın içine girer. Bu yüzden şöyle bir laf vardır hatta Türklerde gelin olacaksın, Çerkezlerde kız olacaksın diye, böyle geleneklerimiz var maalesef. (Participant M7, male, 43).

In addition to these, a married woman had to get permission from the people at home to go to her own family's house in the village of Soğucak. She had to share this request with the people at home at least one year ago. A participant describes this situation as: “If a bride wanted to go to her own mother's house, she had to start asking her wish to go 1 month in advance” “Bir gelin eğer kendi annesinin evine gitmek istiyorsa, gitme isteğini 1 ay öncesinden sormaya başlaması gerekiyormuş” (Participant F1, female, 54). Another participant also says, "Bride cannot go to her mother's house immediately after marriage. It is appropriate for her to go to her parents' house after a year. It is considered rude if this situation happens quickly”. “Bir de evlendikten sonra hemen anne evine gelinmez. Bir sene sonra Anne evine baba evine geleceksin. Hani hemen gelince o bu ne terbiyesizlik” (Participant F4, female, 57). Moreover, another participant states that married or widowed women should avoid men.

This situation is one of the examples of restrictions on women's freedom after marriage. The participant expresses this custom in the following words: “All married women, not just widows, should protect themselves from men. If a man is coming, the woman waits for him after a certain distance so that he can pass. But all women are like that” “Hani dul kadın daha kendini sakınacak ama o sırf dul kadın diye değil, bütün kadınlar evli kadınlar daha doğrusu erkeklere karşı. Hani bir erkek geliyorsa kadın belli bir mesafeden sonra onu bekler geçsin diye ama o bütün kadınlarda öyledir.” (Participant F4, female, 57). Besides, some female participants also explained that it would be a shame for women to do certain behaviors in front of men. A participant gives an example of this situation as:

The customs have completely changed; they have almost disappeared. For example, no one has heard my voice. I wouldn't yell out the door; it is a shame. I couldn't yell like "Come home" when my son was playing in the park. It was shameful. It is also considered a shame in our religion for a man to hear a woman's voice; in fact, it is also considered a shame for our Circassians. The women spoke very slowly and quietly. I am upset about changing these customs.

Adetler tamamen değişti, neredeyse hiç kalmadı artık. Benim sesimi mesela kimse duymamıştır. Kapının önüne çıkıp bağırılmazdım, çok ayıptı. Oğlum parkta oynarken, gel diye bağırılmazdım. Ayıp karşılanıyordu. Bir erkeğin kadının sesini duyması dinimizde de ayıptır aslında, bizim Çerkezlerde de ayıptır. Kadınlar çok yavaş ve sessiz konuşurlardı. Bu adetlerin değişmesine ben üzülüyorum (Participant F11, female, 52).

In summary, the participant mentions that some behaviors of women are considered shameful in society. However, she underlines that these customs about the behaviors of women no longer exist. According to the statements of other participants in Soğucak, women can now express themselves in society as they wish. All these customs about the restrictions of the life and behaviors of women are no longer valid. Brides in the Circassian culture have experienced many difficulties in the past. They were asked to abide by many rules and fulfill many customs out of respect. However, this situation changed over time. These strict rules that brides must comply with have decreased considerably over time.

As a summary of this chapter, it is revealed that there are changes in the position and roles of women in Soğucak village. According to the literature, the father is the head of the house in the Circassian culture (Merker , 1953, p. 20). In addition, the father makes the decisions, and the other family members follow these decisions (Tuna, 1977, p. 102). Also, the literature review about gender roles reveals that in terms of traditional gender roles, men are expected to be strong, maintain their families, control their environment, and women are expected to be patient and understanding, run the house, and organize human relations (İmamoğlu, 1991, p. 832). On the other hand, Zihni also argued that mothers make decisions about the home in Circassian culture. The father does not interfere in domestic affairs because this is considered disrespectful to the mother (Zihni, 2007, pp. 24-25). However, according to the participants, there is a change in the decision-making power of the women in Soğucak village. Because in the past, women were not the ones to decide everything in the family, but today, women have the power to make decisions.

Although the authority figure and decision maker are expressed as the father in Circassian culture in the literature, it is revealed that the primary decision maker in Soğucak village is the mother. This may be the case to preserve the traditional roles of men and women in the eyes of society. Alternatively, the authority of men may be prevented from being devalued in front of society. Besides, some female participants also say that women were not heard or consulted in the past. This situation shows that the power of women in the family has changed from the past to the present. On the other hand, the statements of some male and female participants reveal that not only today but also in the past, women are in the position of authority and decision-making in the home. According to the participants' explanations, the mother-in-law made all the decisions about the house in the past. All these data reveal that women have a decisive role in the family in Soğucak village. These results also show that the gender roles and place of women in the family have changed from past to present in the village of Soğucak.

In this case, the position of Circassian women in the Soğucak village contradicts the views of anthropologists who argue for the universality of female subordination in culture. For example, materialist anthropologists state that women are inferior in class society (Sacks, 1974, pp. 207-221). Also, according to Nancy Chodorow, who was influenced by Freud's views on psychoanalysis, personality, and gender development begins in infancy. According to Chodorow, the subordination of women is universal (Chodorow, 1974, pp.

43-66). Structural anthropologist Levi Strauss argued that women's universal subordination is derived from women's roles in the system of exchange. Because, according to him, the reason for women's subordination was that women were exchanged between men or families in the past. This situation caused the woman to be perceived as an object (Mascia Lees & Johnson Black, 2017, pp. 72-76). In addition, cultural anthropologist Sherry Ortner attributes the reason for the universality of women's subordination to women's identification with nature (Ortner, 1996, pp. 21-42). Besides, according to feminist anthropologist Michelle Rosaldo, the reason for women's subordination is that women are limited to the private sphere because of their duties, such as childbirth and childcare (Rosaldo, 1974, pp. 23-24). Therefore, the subordination of women's universality is a controversial situation, according to the findings of this study. However, to better understand the position and roles of women in culture, it is necessary to look at their roles in the home and other responsibilities in their families.

Moreover, it is revealed that a Circassian woman experiences some difficulties after marriage in their family. Circassian girls are pretty free. But after marriage, they face some restrictions in their husband's houses. They were asked to abide by many rules and fulfill many customs out of respect. However, according to the participants' statements, this situation changed over time in the village of Soğucak. These strict rules that brides must comply with have decreased considerably over time. In addition to all these, women's responsibilities and roles in the family are vital to defining their status in the culture. For this reason, the questions are asked to participants about the women's domestic responsibilities, such as cooking and kitchen work in Soğucak village. Additionally, childcare is among the topics researched in Soğucak to reveal women's family duties.

3.4.1.1. The Responsibilities of Women in the Family

Women have a lot of responsibilities in their daily lives. The cleaning of the house and garden is vital for Circassian women. One of the most significant housework of these women is cooking. The kitchen is the domain of women in Circassians, as in most cultures (Tok, 2018, pp. 61-63). Additionally, in the Circassian society, women were responsible for housework and doing the same work as men. Cooking, tidying the house, cleaning the garden, doing the laundry, and taking care of the children are among the daily tasks of women. Also, women prepare the food for the guests who come to the house, and while the

meal is being eaten, women cannot sit at the table, they must stand to serve the guests (Ersoy & Kamacı , 1992, pp. 151-152). Soğucak village participants are also asked questions about the responsibilities of women and men. All female and most male participants in Soğucak stated that women do housework. One female participant says, "Household work usually belongs to women, and work outside the home belongs to men. Men do the work of cutting and transporting timber. Women do housework, and men help with it." "Evde yapılan işler genelde kadına ait oluyor, dışarı işleri erkeklere. Odun kesme işleri, odun taşıma işlerini erkekler yapıyor. Kadınlar da ev işlerini yapar, erkekler de yardım eder onlara." (Participant F17, female, 44). Another participant expressed that:

Housework is generally the responsibility of women. I mean, what is housework? Washing the dishes, washing the clothes, cooking, cleaning the house, and when you get up in the morning, you clean your street, because this is a Circassian village, it must be clean.

Ev işleri bayanların sorumluluğunda genelde. Yani ev işi dediğin nedir? Bulaşığı yıkarsın, çamaşırını yıkarsın, yemeğini yaparsın, evini temizlersin, sabah mutlaka kalkınca sokağını süpürürsün, çünkü Çerkes köyü burası temiz olması lazım (Participant F20, female, 65).

Moreover, some female participants in Soğucak expressed that women used to go to the fields and work. However, they state that women are only responsible for housework since agriculture is no longer practiced in the village. A participant says that:

Men work outside to earn money. As we all know, women do housework. For example, women used to go to the fields, and so did my mother. They were also doing household chores at home too. But men still had jobs that required strength. Of course, because farm work is finished, women only do household chores such as cooking and cleaning.

Erkek dışarıda çalışır, para kazanır. Kadında evinin işini yürütür yani öyle bilinir. Eskiden kadınlar tarlaya gidermiş, annem de giderdi mesela. Evlerinde ev işini de yaparlarmış. Ama güç gerektiren işleri yine erkekler yapıyormuş. Tabii sonra, tarım bittiği için kadın sadece ev işi ile ilgilenmeye başlıyor. Yemeğini, temizliğini bilmem nesini o kadar (Participant F14, female,69).

In addition to all these, most participants say that men in younger generations help their wives with housework. However, the people that the participants give as examples in this regard are usually their sons, brothers, or an acquaintance. These people generally live in cities. Therefore, inferring the change in women's domestic roles may not be correct. However, the fact that the young population is dividing labor at home indicates that traditional gender roles are changing. Most of the participants also state that there are no strict differences between the works of women and men in domestic space compared to the past in new generations. A participant explains his son is not only responsible for domestic work but also for the nurse of his child, with the following words:

My daughter-in-law is working. My son not only cooks at home but also washes the dishes and changes the child's diapers. I mean, even if he comes to this village, he continues to do these works. It is not because no one sees him in Istanbul either. Ok, he is Circassian, but he must make these works. We cannot consider this situation as a custom or a shame.

Gelin çalışıyor. Oğlan evde yemeği de yapıyor, bulaşığı da yıkıyor, çocuğun bezini de değiştiriyor. Yani o bu köyde olsaydı da yapacaktı. İstanbul'da da onu kimse görmediği için yapıyor değil. Tamam Çerkez ama mecbur yani onları yapmaya bir yerde. Bu durumu adet veya ayıp olarak değerlendiremeyiz (Participant F5, female, 62).

Another young female participant also says the following about the division of labor in the house after marriage:

I guess there is no such expectation for now. Housework is no longer separated like women's work and men's work. But because I learned from my family, I do the cleaning or the cooking. Or, for example, both I can do the housework, and he can also do it. It is not something I would pay much attention to right now.

Sanırım şu an için öyle bir beklenti yok. Evin içindeki işler kadın işi erkek işi olarak artık pek ayrılmıyor. Ama ailemden öyle gördüğüm için temizliği veya yemeği yaparım. Ya da mesela hem ben yaparım hem de karşı taraf yapabilir. Çok dikkat edeceğim bir şey değil şuan (Participant F6, female, 25).

The participant F6 also says that:

We do not separate the work we do as women's work or men's work. For example, I plant something in the garden with my father or help my father cut wood. My mom wants me to learn these things anyway. Because she wants me to do these jobs wherever I go. But for example, my brother also comes here and cooks. There is no distinction between the work done by women and the work done by men, so there is no division of labor as women do this and men do that.

Yaptığımız işleri, kadın işi veya erkek işi olarak ayırmıyoruz. Mesela ben babamla bahçede bir şeyler ekiyorum ya da babam odun keserken ona yardım ediyorum. Annem bu işleri öğrenmemi istiyor zaten. Çünkü gittiğim yerlerde de bu işleri yapmamı istiyor. Ama mesela abimin de buraya gelip yemek yaptığı oluyor. Kadınların yaptığı işler ve erkeklerin yaptığı işler gibi bir ayırım yok, yani kadın şunu yapar ve erkek bunu yapar gibi bir işbölümü yok (Participant F6, female, 25).

These statements reveal that there is a transformation in women's gender roles and their domestic responsibilities in the village of Soğucak. Besides, most female participants state that now-married men also help their spouses in the house. As a result, all the participants' statements differ from the literature in revealing some changes in women's gender roles through the changes in their responsibilities in the domestic field.

Additionally, one of the most essential parts of women's gender roles is cooking and caring for their families. The feeding and nurturance of the family by women is a common concept in different societies. The eating and cooking process has different meanings for both genders, which vary from culture to culture. According to D'Andrade, in all societies from rural communities to industrial cities, women are always responsible for preparing food and serving it to others (D'Andrade, 1974, p. 18). Feminist sociologist Marjorie DeVault argued that the feeding and caring of the family is the principal responsibility of women, and foods that are prepared and served by women not only provide food but also must satisfy the family (DeVault, 1991, p. 40). DeVault also argues that a woman can feel womanly through cooking and caring for the family, which is the form of "doing gender" (DeVault, 1991, p. 118). Besides, for her, "giving service is part of being a woman, and receiving it fundamentally part of being a man" (DeVault, 1991, p. 234). Pollock's work also revealed that cooking was identified as a female task among the Culina of Western Amazonia. If a woman cannot cook well, she is considered worthless in Culina society

(Pollock, 1998, p. 16). Food and culture researcher Sherry Inness also says, "Food and its preparation are strongly coded as feminine" (Inness, 2001, p. 1). According to sociologists Patricia Allen and Carolyn Sachs, women are still responsible for food provision not only manually but also mentally in most societies (Allen & Sachs, 2007, p. 1). According to research, women still do the majority of cooking (Aarseth & Olsen, 2008, pp. 277-287), (Hook , 2010, pp. 1509-1513). American journalist and writer Emily Matchar says that, "Women cook 78 percent of all home dinners, spend nearly three times as many hours on food-related tasks as men, and make 93 percent of the food purchases" (Matchar, 2013, p. 26). Moreover, since women generally cannot exist in public spheres, they have tried to show themselves in the private spheres. One of the areas where women reveal their gender roles and reflect their identities is the kitchen.

Feminist anthropologist Michelle Rosaldo stated that women are not occupying authority in the public sphere in different societies (Rosaldo , 1974). It is mentioned before that, according to the study's findings, women can spend more time in the private spheres. One of the critical private spheres that women spend time in is the kitchen. Women who have trouble expressing themselves freely in the public sphere use the facilities provided by the part of the home, especially the kitchen, to express themselves and establish their identities (İnce , 2015, p. 138). The woman stays away from social life and is even kept away from it and, therefore, cannot participate in the production processes. Therefore, the most tremendous power in the hands of women is domestic knowledge. Women use this knowledge to reproduce household practices without interruption, provide themselves a space of power, give themselves a share of pride, and gain a place in a community or in a society (İnce , 2015, p. 139). Briefly, women can hear their voices and earn a place in the community through cooking. According to the research findings, the women of Soğucak village are responsible for cooking in the kitchen.

Primarily, all Circassian dishes mentioned in the literature and participants' statements are listed and explained in the appendix section to understand this culinary tradition correctly. The questions asked were to understand the Circassian Cuisine and women's relationship with the kitchen. All 25 female participants say they are responsible for kitchen and cooking tasks. For example, a female participant says that:

The kitchen is a place of women. Sometimes, I prepare something in the kitchen. For example, my mother can't fold the dough, but I can while we prepare 'psi haluj.' Sometimes I go there to make a cake. One of my favorite places is the kitchen.

Mutfak kadının alanıdır. Mutfakta ben de bazen bir şeyler yapıyorum. Mesela "psi haluj" yaparken annem kapatamıyor, ben kapatabiliyorum. Bazen de kek yapmak için giriyorum. Sevdiğim bir yer mutfak (Participant F6, female, 25).

In addition, all the women state that the responsibility of cooking in the kitchen belongs to them. A female participant says, "I cook the meals because the responsibility is mine. But my children also cook, just like me; they got used to it." "Yemekleri ben yapıyorum sorumluluk benim üzerimde olduğu için. Ama çocuklarım da yemek yapar aynı benim gibi onlar da alıştı" (Participant F7, female, 67). Another female participant explains her duties in cooking as follows:

Honestly, I've been married for 25 years. I mean, I've always done housework until now. Let me say that I dedicate myself to my children in terms of kitchen work. So, I made them their favorite foods. I always put their favorite food in front of my son, daughter, and husband. I've always been in the kitchen for 25 years.

Ben vallahi, 25 senelik evliyim. Yani bu zamana kadar hep ev işi yaptım. Kendim mutfakta çocuklarıma adadım diyeyim. Yani onlara sevdikleri yemekleri yaptım. Hep önlerine en sevdikleri yemekleri koyarım. Yani oğlumun da kızımın da eşimin de diyeyim hep ben kendimi mutfakta biliyorum 25 senedir (Participant F15, female, 45).

Another participant states that the Circassian woman is the ruler of all areas, not just the kitchen. She says that:

But among the Circassians, everywhere is dominated by women, not just in the kitchen. In other words, we are a matriarchal society; what the woman says is valid. But the woman does not throw herself forward just because 'what I said is valid,' she is one step behind the man, but in the end, women have all the power (or work). In the kitchen, in social development, and the development of children, there is usually something like this... Circassian women are never sent for agricultural labor, gardening, or anything like that; they never go; their housework is gardening, so they

must get up at 6 in the morning and sweep the front of the door and the road they can see. For example, my grandmother gets up every morning and shows me the example of the neighbor's daughter sweeping in front of their door and says to me, 'Why are you sleeping?' and I say, 'I don't care,' 'why would I sweep?' My grandmother used to get up in the morning and sweep in front of our door herself to show them (people) that there was a young girl in the house.

Ama Çerkeslerde her yer kadın hakimiyetinde sadece mutfak değil. Yani anaerkil bir toplumuz biz, kadının değidiği geçerlidir. Ama kadın da benim dediğim geçerli diye öne atmaz kendisini, erkeğin bir adım arkasındadır, ama sonuçta kadındadır yani bütün işler. Mutfakta, sosyal gelişimde, çocukların gelişiminde,... genelde bir de bizde şöyle bir şey... Çerkes kadınları tarlaya bahçeye filan asla gönderilmezler, gitmezler, evin işi bahçe işi, yani sabah 6'da kalkıp kapısının önü ve görebildiği yolu Çerkes kadını süpürmek zorunda, yani çok isterlerdi, mesela babaannem her sabah kalkıp oradaki komşunun kızı kapının önlerini süpürdü kızım, haydi sen neden yatıyorsun falan, bana ne be, ben niye süpüreceğim derdim, yani evde genç kız olduğu için, benim süpürdüğümü düşünsünler diye kendisi sabahın köründe kalkar süpürürdü babaannem (Participant F8, female, 60).

Additionally, female participants assert that they spend most of their time in the kitchen. Besides, female participants say they go to the kitchen at noon or afternoon to cook dinner and spend approximately 2 to 4 hours there. A participant says that, "I finish my work in the morning. I prepare the meals in the morning. It should be ready for the evening because my husband and daughter come in the evening." "Sabahtan bitiririm işimi. Yemekleri sabahtan hazırlarım. Akşama hazır olması lazım. Eşimle kızım akşam geleceği için." (Participant F15, female, 45). Another participant says that:

I will cook in the morning in case someone comes. Sometimes, if I am going to make cheese in the kitchen, I spend 2-3 hours; sometimes, I just spend an hour. So, it is changing. I even prepare the meal we will eat for the evening in the morning. That is why I am done with the kitchen work in a couple of hours in the morning.

Ben bir gelen olur diye sabah mutlaka yemek pişiririm. Bazen mutfakta peynir falan yapacaksam, 2-3 saat harcarım, bazen de sadece 1 saat geçiririm. Değişiyor yani.

Akşam için yiyeceğimiz yemeği bile sabahtan hazırlarım. Onun için sabahtan bir iki saatte işim biter mutfakta (Participant F5, female, 62).

Moreover, field studies conducted in Soğucak showed that the female participants took their kitchen layout very seriously. Most female participants expressed that they would be upset if their kitchen layout changed. A female participant explains this situation as:

I don't want too many changes in my kitchen. Everyone has an order. For example, if someone walks into the kitchen and changes the position of plates and glasses, I put these items in their place; after those people leave my kitchen, I say they ruined my living space. I have a hard time finding things that I am looking for.

Ben istemem mutfağımda çok fazla değişiklik. Herkesin bir düzeni vardır. Mesela mutfağa birileri girip tabakların ve bardakların yerini değiştirirse ben onları arkalarından düzeltiyorum, yaşam alanımı bozdular diyorum, aradığım eşyaları bulamayınca sıkıntı yaşıyorum (Participant F19, female, 46).

Another female participant says that:

I'm a bit obsessed with order in the kitchen. You know, in general, I want everyone at home to replace what they're taking, not just my husband. I even talk a little too much; they say I talk too much about it.

Mutfakta biraz düzen takıntım var. Hani genel olarak sadece eşim değil, evde herkesin aldığı şeyi yerine koymasını isterim. Hatta biraz fazla da konuşurum, çok konuştuğumu söylerler bu konuda (Participant F25, female, 48).

In Conclusion, it is revealed that the kitchen is the domain of women in the village of Soğucak. Also, all the female and male participants stated that women are responsible for the kitchen work. Female participants also say they spend approximately 2 to 4 hours daily in the kitchen. The women expressed that they created their order in the kitchen. In addition, female participants stated that they are uncomfortable with the disruption of this order and, therefore, they do not let other people into their kitchens. The fact that the kitchen layout belongs to women is one of the results showing that the kitchen is the domain of women. In addition, it turns out that grocery shopping is also related to gender.

Anthropologist Daniel Miller argues that men don't want to identify themselves with the act of shopping. On the other hand, for a female, it is considered a norm (Miller, 1998, p. 39). In addition, the bad shopping activity of a man confirms his masculinity (Miller, 1998, p. 25). As nurturing figures, women select and bring nutritious foods to their families. However, consumption and femininity are identified with some negative terms like irrational; in contrast, male consumption is identified as rational (Zukin & Maguire, 2004, p. 175). According to the researchers, women do most of the food work at home, especially grocery shopping (Beagan, & et al., 2008), (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010, pp. 767-780). In addition to these, it is revealed that grocery shopping and the selection of food products for the kitchen in Soğucak village are generally practiced by women.

The participants answer the question of where they go for their home shopping. They are generally go to the city center of Yalova for grocery shopping. Participants also do their shopping from the vendors who come to the village. The participants state they shop from Yalova's street market (Bazaar). A participant says that:

Our village is not considered a traditional village; thus, we use the center of the Yalova for shopping. We use the supermarket. Also, our transportation is effortless now. After the Paşakent earthquake, houses were built above; the minibusses are working because they are much more crowded due to the earthquake, and we have frequent minibusses. So, there is no problem.

Şimdi bizimki pek şu an için artık köy gibi sayılmayacağı için Yalova merkezi kullanıyoruz. Market kullanıyoruz. Bir de ulaşımımız bizim çok kolay artık. Yukarıda da paşakent depremi evleri yapıldıktan sonra deprem nedeniyle minibüsler çok daha kalabalık olduğu için çalışıyor, çok sık minibüsümüz var. O yüzden bir sorun olmuyor (Participant F20, female, 60).

Participants also do their shopping from the vendors who come to the village. These sellers bring food products such as vegetables and fish to the village with their cars. Also, these vegetable sellers coming to the village were observed during the field research. Briefly, villagers buy food from these vendors as well as the markets in Yalova. In addition

to these, the statements of the female participants reveal that, generally, women purchase food products and other products for their homes. These female participants say they usually shop with their husbands driving their cars.

A participant says that: “Usually, women do. Men don't know much about shopping. Even women pay the bills. I mean, men work and count the money in women's hands; that is, it is always the case with my family, my close relatives, etc.” “Genelde kadınlar yapar. Erkekler pek anlamaz alışverişten. Faturaları bile kadınlar öder. Yani adamlar çalışır getirir parayı kadının eline sayar, yani çevremde benim ailemde yakın akrabalarım da falan hep öyle.” (Participant F21, female, 55). Some female participants also say that they go shopping with their husbands. One participant says, “My husband and I do all the shopping for the house together.” “Beraber yaparız eşim ile biz hep beraber evin bütün alışverişini.” (Participant F17, female, 44). Some participants also state that their husbands have no ability or talent to shop for their home. However, one participant says that men used to shop alone in the past; women now go shopping with their husbands with the following words: “In the past, women didn't go shopping, and men bought everything. Now men and women go shopping together. Most of them already have cars, and the men take their wives to shop at the market and return.” “Eskiden kadınlar alışverişe gitmezdi, erkekler her şeyi alırdı. Şimdi kadın erkek beraber gidiyorlar alışverişe. Çoğunun zaten arabası var, erkekler araba ile eşini götürüyor, pazar alışverişini yapıyorlar sonra geri dönüyorlar.” (Participant F14, female, 69). As a result, it turns out that the shopping habits of the families in Soğucak village have also changed over the years. Addedly, the statements of the participants in Soğucak reveal that women have an essential role in transferring culinary culture to the next generations.

Cooking is an activity that women have taught each other for generations (İnce , 2015, pp. 146-147). A study about the food culture of Circassians in New Jersey found that they preserved their food culture. It is found that “şıpsi” and “pasta” are dishes eaten for three generations. This study is critical regarding Circassian women and their relationship with food. According to the survey results, women regularly cook traditional dishes. Besides, it is found that the preparation of Circassian meals in the family passed from old women to young women, and the “şıpsi” is the most well-known dish among women (Dweik & Omar, 2016). Additionally, according to the results of the research conducted by Usta and Yaman in Sakarya province, it is found that the role of Circassian mothers is

important for transferring traditional dishes to future generations. Participants also teach the culinary culture first to their children and then to their brides (Usta & Yaman, 2020, p. 1009). Moreover, the field research in Soğucak village reveals similar results in the literature.

Participants said they learned to cook from their mother, mother-in-law, and some other female relatives and neighbors. According to the participants, they first learned to cook by watching their mother's kitchen before getting married. After the wedding, their mother-in-law taught them to cook. In addition, some of the participants said they learned recipes from their husband's sister and brother's wife. Most of the female participants said they specialize in cooking after getting married. Women participants also say they learned how to cook dishes such as Şıpsi, Kaçamak, and haluj in Circassian cuisine from their mothers and mothers-in-law. Also, some female participants stated that they taught their daughters to cook traditional Circassian dishes and homemade foods. One participant says, "Now I am teaching my daughter Circassian food; we made haluj together, and sometimes we made kaçamak together." "Ben şimdi kızıma öğretiyorum Çerkes yemeklerini, geçen birlikte haluj yaptık, bazen kaçamak yapıyoruz birlikte." (Participant F15, female, 45). The female participants in the village of Soğucak also explain that they learned how to cook from their mothers or mothers-in-law. A participant expresses that:

For example, if my mother makes şıpsi, I ask, "How do you do it?". But I still haven't done it alone. But cooking is something I want to know and learn about and transfer this knowledge to the future. For example, I know how to make haluj; it's about kneading and shaping the dough. But, if my mother cannot do it, I can light the oven outside and make the haluj, and I would like to make it. I will continue those habits. Let's say on the morning of the religious festivals, if my mother is very old, if she can't do it, I will.

Mesela ben anneme 'şıpsi' yaparsaksa "nasıl yapıyorsun?" diye sorarım. Ama hala tek başıma yapmadım. Ama yemekleri bilmek ve öğrenmek ve ileriye aktarmak istediğim bir şey. Mesela haluj yapmayı biliyorum, zaten hamur yoğurmak ve şekillendirmekle alakalı. Ama mesela annemin yapamayacağı durumda da mesela dışarıdaki fırını yakıp, o haluş'u ben yaparım yani biliyorum ve yapmak da isterim. O

alışkanlıklarımı devam ettiririm. Bayram sabahı diyelim ki annem çok yaşlandı, yapamayacaksa ben yaparım (Participant F6, female, 25).

Another participant expressed that:

We are three sisters, and we have no brothers. As three sisters, we put our children in the kitchen. So, no matter what they do, it doesn't matter. For example, we make pasta in the summer; we make tarhana; we make yufka. We do these with the girls.

Biz üç kız kardeş de erkek yok bizde. 3 kız kardeşti biz çocuklarımızı mutfağa soktuk. Yani yapsın yapamasın, döksün hiç önemli değil. Mesela yazın makarna yaparız, tarhana yaparız, yufka yaparız. Bunları kızlarla beraber yaparız (Participant F5, female, 62).

These results show that the responsibility of transferring the culinary culture is primarily identified with women. The female participants explained they learned how to cook traditional Circassian dishes such as şıpsi, Kaçamak, haluj, Cennet Künkü, şelame, and cevizli lokum from their mothers and mothers-in-law. Some female participants also say they teach their daughters traditional Circassian foods like şıpsi, haluj, and homemade foods. In this way, the Circassian culinary culture is transmitted between generations, and the continuity of this culinary culture is ensured. Another primary responsibility of women is raising children.

Circassians are taught discipline within the family. Families take extra care in raising children. For this reason, the family is the structure that undertakes the most significant task for the continuity of the culture. Besides, the first person to teach the child manners, love, and compassion is the mother (Merker , 1953, p. 20). On the other hand, the father cannot openly express his love for his children. He establishes a distant relationship, especially with his boys (Saltık, 1998, p. 42). Raising children is not only the duty of parents but also the duty of society. Families teach their children to love of humanity, honesty, hard work, love of country or nation, and respect for elders. They see raising a child as a debt that must be paid to society (Eser , 1999, p. 77). A participant in Soğucak expressed, "Also, children are precious for Circassians; they treat their children with respect and love." "Bir de çocuklarına çok değer verir Çerkezler, çocuklarına saygı ve sevgi ile yaklaşırlar." (Participant F4, Female, 57).

In Circassians, the life purpose of a woman's birth is to become a mother. The mother is responsible for meeting all the needs of the baby. As the baby grows up slowly, the mother begins to teach them the Adyghe behavior-habit codes and thought patterns (Şeo, 2005, p. 198). Participants of the village of Soğucak generally express that fathers have more distant relations with their children in the past. Most male and female participants describe that mothers care for children more and meet their needs from birth. However, it has changed for them; now, fathers also take care of their children. A participant expresses that:

For example, the relationship between my brother and my father is very different, the relationship between me and my father is very different. There are 15 years between me and my brother. Because now, when my brother was born, there was my grandfather, and there were grown-ups. Of course, it was there when I was born, but it was like they were old, and my father had grown up. But, for example, when my grandfather was alive, there was no such thing as my father holding me in his arms and loving me.

Yani mesela abim ile babamın ilişkisi çok farklı, benim ile babamın ilişkisi çok farklı. Abimle benim aramda 15 yaş var. Çünkü biraz da şöyle şimdi abim doğduğu zaman dedem vardı, büyükler vardı. Tabii ben doğduğumda da vardı ama hem onlar yaşlanmıştı hem babam da artık büyümüştü falan gibi bir durum söz konusuydu. Ama öyle hani mesela dedem yaşarken babamın hani öyle beni kucağına almaksı, sevmeksi hani o tarz şeyler yoktu (Participant F6, female, 25).

Another participant says that:

Mothers take care of children from the moment they are born. Because the father works, he cannot take care of the children. But as the children get older, fathers become more interested. For example, my children have grown up. One is 21 years old; one is 20 years old. Since they are both boys, they communicate better with their father.

Doğduğu andan itibaren çocuklarla anne ilgileniyor. Baba çalıştığı için ilgilenemiyor çocuklarla. Ama çocuklar büyüdükleri zaman babalar daha çok ilgilenmeye başlıyor

tabii. Mesela benim çocuklarım büyüdüler. Biri 21 yaşında, biri 20 yaşında. İkisi de erkek olduğu için babaları ile iletişimleri daha iyi (Participant F25, female, 48).

Another participant expressed that childcare is the responsibility of the grandmother rather than the mother and father with the following words:

We do not have such traditions. We are not a nation that cares about the birth of a baby as a Circassian nation. Birth is considered normal. Whoever is the elder of the house, not the bride, takes care of the baby, such as the grandmother or mother-in-law. Mother and father are secondary in baby care. They say you can work in the field; we will care for the child. Do your daily work. We don't have a party when the child is born. We became Turkish; we left our customs there and followed the customs of Turks from abroad. For example, when a child is born, we perform the mawlid of the child.

Bizim şeyimizde yok. İlk doğmuş falan önem veren bir millet de değiliz Çerkez milleti. Doğdu mu doğdu işte zaten ona gelinler bakmıyor, orada evin büyüğü kim, babaanne mi, kaynana mı, direk onun üzerinde zaten. Anne baba ikinci planda. Sen tarlaya git çalış, biz çocuğa bakarız. Günlük işlerini yap. Çocuk doğmuş, şey partisi falan yok. Biz türkleştik, oradaki adetlerimizi bıraktık, dışarıdan gelen Türkler'in adetlerini yapıyoruz biz. Mesela çocuk doğunca çocuğun mevlidini yaparız (Participant F11, Female, 52).

These statements of the participants match the information in the literature. In the village of Soğucak, the distance between father and children is more obvious. The responsibility of raising children belongs to women in the village of Soğucak. Besides, it is revealed that father and mother cannot love their children when they are with their parents in the past. However, the participants state that these rules are not practiced and that the children can be loved easily by their parents in front of the family's elders.

Consequently, the field research in Soğucak reveals that housework is women's responsibility. On the other hand, there is also a transformation of women's gender roles. Most of the participants state that there are no strict differences between the works of women and men in domestic space compared to the past. Participants' comments indicate that housework is no longer divided into women's and men's work. Some participants say

that gender discrimination in housework has disappeared because men also do housework. However, it is revealed that women still do most of the domestic work, such as kitchen work.

The participants' statements revealed that the kitchen is the domain of women in the village of Soğucak. Most of the female participants say that they are responsible not only for housework but also for kitchen work and especially cooking. All these results also match the literature about housework, especially cooking, which is the responsibility of women. Female participants also say they spend approximately 2 to 4 hours daily in the kitchen. In addition, female participants stated that they are uncomfortable with the disruption of this order and, therefore, do not let other people into their kitchens. Also, according to the literature review, one of the gender roles of women is the responsibility of cooking. Therefore, all these results match the information in the literature about the gender roles of women in the kitchen. Addedly, the statements of the participants in Soğucak reveal that women have an essential role in transferring culinary culture to the next generations.

The female participants explained that they learned how to cook traditional Circassian dishes such as şıpsi, Kaçamak, haluj, Cennet Künkü, şelame, and cevizli lokum from their mothers and mothers-in-law. Some female participants also say they teach their daughters traditional Circassian foods like şıpsi, haluj, and homemade foods. Moreover, male participants were also asked questions about cooking and kitchen work. In addition to these, brides in the Circassian culture have experienced many difficulties in the past.

They were asked to abide by many rules and fulfill many customs out of respect. However, according to the participants' statements, this situation changed over time. These strict rules that brides must comply with have decreased considerably over time. Besides, most female participants in Soğucak village expressed that they also take full responsibility for caring for their children. In addition, marriage, and religious practices in Circassian culture are examined in the following title, and women's roles in these practices are questioned. Thus, more information is obtained about the status of women in culture.

3.4.2. The Roles of Women in Marriage and Religious Practices

As in other societies, marriage is an institution that is respected and a reason for happiness in Circassians. Also, according to Saltık, in Circassians, men and women have the right to choose a spouse for marriage. Circassian elders such as mothers, fathers, uncles, and aunts tell the children about their experiences, and thus, they can guide their children (Saltık, 1998, p. 39). This information is also matched with the participants' explanations about marriage in the village of Soğucak. Most of the participants in Soğucak village stated that they could marry the people they wanted, and their children could marry the people they wanted. A participant says, "Now, for example, I have been married for 40 years. In my time, we were getting married voluntarily. Before me, my parents got married of their own will." "Şimdi mesela ben 40 senelik evliyim. Benim zamanımda kendi isteğimiz ile evleniyorduk. Benden önce annem babam kendi isteği ile evlenmiş." (Participant F12, Female, 59). Another participant says, "We are modern people; men and women are together in society. Anyone can marry whomever they want, so families have no objection to marriage." "Biz modern insanlarız toplumda erkek bayan birliktedirler. İsteyen istediği ile evlenebilir öyle ailelerin evliliğe karşı çıkma gibi bir durumu yoktur." (Participant F22, female, 58). This freedom given to women in choosing a partner also reveals the status of women in Circassian culture. Women can make their own decisions in choosing a spouse, as in other matters. The freedom given to women is not limited to whom they choose as their spouses. In some practices related to marriage, men and women act pretty freely.

Young girls and young boys meet each other at meetings called zekes. These meetings can be organized after weddings, or they can be managed simultaneously by young people who are of similar ages. In these meetings, men and women can become Kaşen for each other and thus take their first steps in marriage if they want (Tanrıverdi & Öz , 2018, pp. 149-162). Kaşenlik is a period in which young girls and boys get to know each other before marriage. In short, it can be identified as the dating period (Gergin , 2016, p. 143). Although the tradition of "kaşen" is defined as the tradition of starting a family, people who become kaşen with each other do not necessarily have to get married. A person can have more than one kaşen so that they can choose the person most suitable for him or her. The tradition of Kaşen or kaşenlik is defined with the Circassian identity, indicating belonging to this identity (Kantemur , 2018, pp. 46-47).

The participants' statements in Soğucak Village revealed that kaşenlik means the friendship and dating period of a young girl and boy before marriage. A girl or boy can have 15-20 kaşen. However, they can only marry one of them. These young people can be met at weddings or entertainments called Zekes. Everyone in society knows that a girl or boy is kaşen. However, the two kaşen keep their relationship within certain limits in front of society. They live their relationships within certain boundaries of decency. A participant explains the kaşenlik as: “Kaşen means girl or boyfriend. In our culture, having a girl or boyfriend is not considered a sin.” “Kaşen dediğin kız ve erkek arkadaştır. Bizde kız ve erkek arkadaşın bir ayıbı günahı yok.” (Participant M1, Male, 66). Kaşenlik and Zekes' traditions also reveal that boys and girls in Circassian society are pretty free to spend time with each other. The period of kashenlik, which can be described as a period of dating, once again reveals that women are free in this culture. However, the kaşenlik and zekes meetings do not continue in the village of Soğucak. In addition, while some marriage traditions have lost their influence in Soğucak, some continue.

Circassians generally marry late (Saltık, 1998, p. 39), (Eser , 1999, pp. 77-78) Addedly, consanguineous marriage is strictly prohibited in this culture. Even if the neighbor's child is seen as a sibling, they do not marry them (Ersoy & Kamacı , 1992, p. 130). Circassians also do not welcome giving daughters to other nations or taking daughters from other nations. But Circassian youth are free to choose wives between each other (Zihni, 2007, pp. 50-51). The field research conducted in Soğucak village reveals that the traditions of prohibitions of relative marriages and late marriages continue. However, the rule of marrying daughters only to Circassians is no longer practiced in the village. Circassian girls are marrying Turks in the village.

Additionally, the participants are asked questions about the characteristics of the ideal bride and groom in the culture of Soğucak village. The ideal type of bride is described with words like skilled, clean, and obedient. But they say that this type of description about brides does not exist anymore. They state that people now marry whomever they want. The disappearance of ideal bride characteristics reveals that the status of women in Soğucak village is changing. One participant describes the ideal characteristics of bride and groom in the past in their village as follows:

In the past, they wanted a skilled, obedient, docile bride. For example, some families wanted a Circassian bride or an acquaintance. But these customs no longer exist; they can marry whoever they want. It is also evaluated whether the grooms also have a good job. They gave girls to men with good jobs for their daughter's future.

Eskiden becerikli, söz dinleyen, uysal gelin isterlerdi. Mesela bazı aileler Çerkes gelin isterdi veya tanıdık olsun isterlerdi. Ama artık bu adetler kalmadı, isteyen istediği kişi ile evlenebiliyor. Damatların da iyi bir işi olup olmadığı da değerlendirilir. İyi işlerde çalışan erkeklere kız verirlerdi. Kızlarının geleceği için yani (Participant F24, female, 50).

Furthermore, Circassians are a nation that attaches great importance to weddings. There are not only family members and relatives but also the surrounding villagers who are invited to the wedding ceremony (Eser , 1999, pp. 78-79). Traditional Circassian weddings are held for seven days and seven nights. The wedding thamate is at the head of the team that directs the wedding, and everyone listens to his word. Before the wedding begins, thamate gives a well-wishes speech to the young people about to get married (Serbes, 2016, p. 154). Moreover, traditional Circassian weddings are held in an open area. Folk performers use harmonica(mızık) and musical instruments in the wedding area. Young girls and boys always dance (Serbes, 2016, pp. 154-158). Participants stated that people in the village usually hold their weddings in Yalova or the village square. A participant says that:

They also hold weddings in the village or the halls of Yalova. We do weddings in the village, there is an area with trees behind the headman's office. Many people from the village attend the wedding. Even our relatives and acquaintances in the cities come. But there are no more weddings that last a few days as before. Our weddings are now like Turkish weddings.

Düğünleri köyde de yaparlar, veya Yalova'da salonlarda yaparlar. Köyde yapılan düğünleri bu bizim muhtarlığın arkasında ağaçlı bir alan var orada yaparız. Düğüne köyden baya katılan olur. Hatta şehirlerdeki akrabalarımız tanıdıklarımız da gelir. Ama artık eskisi gibi bir kaç gün süren düğünler kalmadı. Türk düğünlerine benzedi bizimkilerde (Participant F7, female, 67).

In addition to all these, women have essential functions in weddings. Sağır and Erek Ülgen reveal that special-day meal rituals are critical for Circassians. Circassians continue to preserve the food culture they brought from the past by continuing the rites of passage such as weddings and funerals. For example, the tradition of bringing food to funeral homes continues (Sağır & Erek Ülgen, 2022, pp. 129-137).

The women of Soğucak village state that they gather for weddings and funerals and cooperatively make Haluj (imece usulü). Women gather in the village cafeteria to prepare haluj. In the cafeteria, they roll out and fry the dough in the style of collaboration. This event is the only event in the village where women gather and cook together. A participant says, “The only food which is made collectively for the wedding dinners is haluj. You cook haluj at wedding dinners, you know, haluj in oil”. “Düğün yemeklerinde şimdi ilk ortak yapılan tek şey halujdur. Düğün yemeklerinde haluj yaparsın, hani yağda haluj”. (Participant F4, female, 57). Another participant says, “Haluj is a staple in our culture's gatherings. I mean, we usually do it at religious holidays, weddings, and funerals. The whole village gathers, whomever the community belongs to, and Haluj is made collectively all day.” “Haluj cemiyetlerimizde bizim olmazsa olmazımız. Yani bayramlarda, düğünlerde, cenazelerde yaparız genelde. Mesela şimdi bütün köy toplanır, o cemiyet kimin ise. Bütün gün haluj yapılır imece usulü yapılır.” (Participant F9, female, 59). Participant F1 also says that: “The Whole village gathers, whole women, then they prepare it with one or two sacks of flour, we have a dining hall up there, and everyone prepares it there”. “Mesela bir çuval 2 çuval undan bütün köy toplanıyor kadınlar böyle, yukarıda yemekhanemiz var, orada herkes yapıyor”. (Participant F1, female, 54). Besides, it is stated that women cook together at funerals, just like at weddings.

Participants also state that food is taken to the funeral home for seven nights when there is a funeral. Also, they say the fried dough called Şelame is made for seven nights and taken to the funeral home. Besides, cooking Şelame for seven nights is now challenging and troublesome for women, and that's why they don't do it anymore. Also, they say the custom of roasting halva for the deceased person does not exist in their culture. However, the participants state that these customs disappeared with the pandemic. A participant says: “They were very interested in funerals. Neighbors would gather at the funeral home for seven days, and they would also take food. They would never leave the funeral owner alone like that.” “Cenaze törenlerine çok ilgi gösterirlerdi. Cenaze evinde 7

gün komşular toplardı 7 güne kadar. Bir de yemek götürürlerdi. Hiç öyle yalnız bırakmazlardı cenaze sahibini.” (Participant F10, female, 87). Another participant expressed that:

Neighbors usually bring food to the funeral home so the owner does not have to worry. Mevlit is read in 7 evenings. It has not been done much after the pandemic, but it was done before. Mevlit was read on seven evenings, and everyone would bring food to the funeral home. They got things like börek, pastry, cake. Those obtained were distributed throughout the 7 evenings. On the day of the funeral, my mother and other neighbors would cook together so that the people who came to the funeral could eat in the dining hall and go.

Komşular genelde cenaze evine yemek götürüyorlar, cenaze sahibi uğraşmasın diye. 7 akşam mevlit okunur. Şu anda, pandemiden sonra çok yapılmıyor ama önceden yapılıyordu. 7 akşam mevlit okunurdu ve herkes cenaze evine yiyecek getirirdi. Börek, poğaç, kek gibi şeyler getirirlerdi. Getirilenler 7 akşam boyunca dağıtılırdı. Cenaze günü de cenazeye gelen insanlar yemekhanede yiyip gitsinler diye annem ve diğer komşular birlikte yemek yaparlardı (Participant F6, female, 25).

In Summary, according to information from the literature and the participants' statements, the Circassian women cook for weddings, funerals, and special occasions. The fact that women gather and prepare wedding and funeral meals reveals their role in important transition rituals such as weddings and funerals. According to these results, women are responsible not only for feeding the family but also for society. Moreover, meals are prepared on special days and events to build solidarity among community members. In addition, the preparation of traditional Circassian dishes at events ensures the preservation of culinary culture. Because the most traditional Circassian dishes are served on special days like weddings, funerals, and religious holidays. Field research conducted in Soğucak shows that Circassian dishes are not often prepared, except on special days, because they are difficult to prepare. In addition, participants are asked about their beliefs and the content of the funeral ceremonies.

First, most of the participants in Soğucak village said that weddings and funerals are significant. Many people attend weddings and funerals. Most of the participants also noted that women do not attend funerals. One female participant says, “Women in our village

never go to the cemetery. Men go, women go to the funeral home.” “Bizim köyde kadınlar hiç mezarlığa gitmez. Erkekler gider, kadınlar cenaze evine giderler.” (Participant F17, female, 44). Other participants say that women gather in the mosque while men are at the funeral. One participant said:

Women don't go to the cemetery in this village. They don't attend funerals. Because we respect men, maybe that's why. They still don't go to the village cemetery. But now, people don't get too involved in women; if they want to go, they can go. For example, foreign brides who come to the village from abroad go to the cemetery.

Bunlarda kadınlar gitmez mezarlığa, cenaze törenine katılmazlar. Çünkü bizde erkeklere saygı duyulur. Belki o yüzdendir. Hala gitmiyor kadınlar köyde. Ama şimdi o kadar karışmıyorlar, giden gidiyor. Köye dışardan gelen yabancı gelinler falan gidiyor mesela (Participant F14, 69).

Consequently, in Circassian culture, people can marry whomever they want. However, they do not marry at an early age. In addition, consanguineous marriage is prohibited in this culture. Even if the neighbor's child is seen as a sibling, they do not marry them. Young girls and young boys meet each other at meetings called zekes. Then, boys and girls become kaşen with each other. Kaşenlik is when young girls and boys get to know each other before marriage. In short, it can be identified as the dating period. These customs and traditions reveal that Circassian women were relatively free in their Society. However, according to the information obtained from Soğucak Village, the practices of kaşenlik and zekes have disappeared. This may be because these traditions have lost their function today. Moreover, an ideal type of bride is described with words like skilled, clean, and obedient. However, it is revealed that this type of description of brides does not exist anymore in the village of Soğucak. Therefore, these results demonstrate that women's roles in Circassian culture are changing.

Besides, Circassians are a nation that attaches great importance to weddings. Weddings are big and crowded. Traditional Circassian weddings are held for 7 days and 7 nights. Participants stated that people living in the village usually have their weddings in Yalova or the village square. It is revealed that the women of Soğucak village gather for weddings and funerals and make Haluj cooperatively. Participants also state that when there is a funeral, women of the village take food to the funeral home for seven nights.

These results reveal their role in essential transition rituals such as weddings and funerals. According to these results, women are responsible not only for feeding the family but also for society.

Moreover, most of the participants state that women do not go to the cemetery for the funeral. The reason for this situation is expressed as the respect for men. The fact that women do not attend funerals and go to the funeral home may be one reason why women were not wanted in the public sphere in the past. However, participants now state that young women in the village go to the village cemetery. This is again an indication that the traditions and roles of women in the village are changing. Additionally, in the section on gender, literature information is shared about the private and public spheres and theories on this subject in anthropology. Michel Rosaldo is an anthropologist who studies the private and public spheres through gender. In the next section, the distinction between the private and public spheres in Soğucak Village is expressed through the fusion of Micelle Rosaldo's theory of the private-public sphere and the subordination of women.

3.4.3. A Controversial Perspective on the Separation of Public and Private Spheres Based on Gender in the Village of Soğucak

The usage of public and private spheres by men and women is one of the cultural factors observed in the village. As a result of the interviews and observations, it can be said that the village coffee house and the headman's office are primarily male-dominated fields. According to the report of the female participants, it is considered very shameful for a woman to enter the coffee shop. Most of the female participants in the village expressed that they avoid entering the coffee shop. A participant says, “Women do not go to coffeehouse. In this village, women do not go to coffeehouse easily.” “Kadınlar kahveye gitmiyor. Bu köyde kadınlar kolayca kahveye gitmiyorlar.” (Participant F5, female 62). Another young female participant states that she hesitates to pass in front of the village coffeehouse because everyone sitting in the cafe is men. She says that:

Well, I am still trying to pay attention. It is something from my childhood. I always walked in front of the coffeehouse, not on the main road, but on the backside. I mean, when I was walking with my mother, maybe because she was older, I could

pass there when I was little. Because in front of the coffeehouse, everyone is male. You know, I'm still hesitant when I'm passing by; I wonder if I should have passed by, I wonder if I should have walked around from behind. It is something that persists as a feeling. Apart from that, they should be given priority as a sign of respect for elders. Apart from that, I have friends who continue these customs. There are people like me. There are also those who have adapted to the current life. Of course, many people ignore this. For example, now I do it when it is essential. For instance, women do not enter coffeehouses at all.

Şöyle ben hala dikkat etmeye çalışıyorum. Bu küçüklükten gelen bir şey. Kahvenin önünden o ana yol olan değil de hep arka taraftan yürüyordum. Yani annem ile birlikte yürürken belki de o büyük olduğu için hani ben küçükken geçebilirdim oradan. Çünkü kahvenin önünde herkes erkek. Hani oradan geçerken hala çekiniyorum, geçmese miydim buradan acaba, arkadan mı dolansaydım diye düşünüyorum. Hani o his olarak hala devam eden bir şey. Onun dışında büyüklere saygı göstergesi olarak onlara öncelik verilmesi gerekir. Onun dışında bu adetlere hala devam eden arkadaşlarım da var. Benim gibi olanlar da var. Şu anki hayata uyum sağlamış olanlar da var. Tabii ki buna dikkat etmeyen de çok insan var. Mesela şu an artık ben de çok zorunlu kalınca yapıyorum. Mesela kahveye kadınlar hiç girmiyor (Participant F6, female, 25).

On the other hand, the declarations of some female participants reveal that women can now go to village coffee shops. A participant says, “It was considered a shameful act in the past, but now there are women going to the coffee shop.” “Eskiden çok ayıp karşılanıyordu, ama şimdi kahveye giden kadınlar var” (Participant F1, female, 54). Another participant states that Turkish brides who come to the village after marriage enter the coffee house of the village and that the traditions have changed because of these brides with the following words:

Well, now some women go to the coffee shops. For example, when foreign Turkish brides came to the village, everyone used to marry Circassians. Circassians do not marry their daughters to foreigners, and they also cannot accept foreign brides; they wouldn't even sell the plot; when our children go to college, they marry foreign

brides and bring them to the village. Thus, the population of the village grows. Because of these reasons, our traditions are no longer practiced.

Şöyle artık kahvehaneye gidenler kadınlar var, köye yabancı türk gelinler gelen, mesela herkes eskiden Çerkezler Çerkezlerle evlenirmiş, dışarıya kız vermezler, dışarıdan da kız almazlarmış ki arsa bile satmazlarmış yabancıya ondan sonra tabi bizim çocuklar okul mokul üniversiteye gidince yabancı gelin, oradan tanıştıklarını getirdiler, çoğaldı yani köy. Öyle olunca da bizim adetler kaldı şeyde, yapan olmadı tabi (Participant F11, female, 52).

Additionally, the male participants of the village also state that they usually spend time in the coffeehouse. A participant says, "Well, most of the men in this village are retired. They cannot spend time at their home. Time passes quickly there. We play rummy cube, drink tea, chat; that's how time passes." "Şimdi bu köydeki erkeklerin çoğu emekli zaten. Evde vakit geçiremiyor. O yüzden kahve'ye gidiyorlar. Hem orda zaman hızlı geçiyor. Okey oynuyoruz, çay içiyoruz, sohbet ediyoruz zaman öyle geçiyor işte." (Participant M8, male, 70). In addition to all these, it is observed that women mostly meet at home and rarely spend time together in public places as a consequence of the field research.

It has been observed that women mostly meet in private areas, usually at their homes. Female participants refer to an activity called "gün," where they gather at their homes to spend time together. During this event, women come together in a house by eating various meals, and thus, they can spend time together. This activity is also mentioned in the previous sections. The activity of "gün" was also held in a room above the village coffeehouse and headman's office before the pandemic. It has also been stated that women gather in the village dining hall to cook for weddings and funerals. These acts indicate that women also use the public sphere. However, men are still more active in the public sphere.

The interviews with male participants revealed that six male participants are members of Circassian associations, especially in Yalova, and they collaborate in some activities in these associations. Some male interviewees stated they had been managers in Caucasian associations for a long time. However, only one female participant is found to be actively working in Circassian associations. According to the testimonies of the participants, women in the village of Soğucak do not play an active role in the Circassian

and Caucasian associations in the city center of Yalova. They said they only go to associations when there is an activity like Caucasian Dance shows. A participant explains this situation as:

My father was the director of the North Caucasus Association for many years. The association's president is Uncle Mehmet, but 70% of the people who help Uncle Mehmet are women. Women have duties in the association, such as taking care of children clothes and communicating with people. But for example, none of the women in our village joined the associations. So, there are women too, but men are a bit more sociable. Because men can contact associations more easily than women.

Babam yıllarca Kuzey Kafkas derneğinde yöneticilik yaptı. Dernek başkanı Mehmet amca fakat Mehmet amcaya yardım eden kişilerin %70'i kadındı. Çünkü kadınların dernekte çocuklarla ilgilenmek, kıyafetler ile ilgilenmek, insanlarla iletişim kurmak gibi görevleri vardı. Ama mesela bizim köyden hiçbir kadın yok derneklerde. Yani kadınlar da var ama erkekler biraz daha sosyal. Çünkü erkekler kadınlara kıyasla derneklere daha rahat gidebiliyor (Participant F6, female, 25).

All these findings lead to the idea that the main reason women spend more time in private or domestic areas is the identification of women with nature. According to cultural anthropologist Sherry Ortner, women are defined as subordinate or worthless in every culture because of the title of women with nature. Because nature is an event that must be overcome, just like women. Women are identified with nature because of their physiology, social role, and spiritual structure. The fact that the woman had to act under the needs of her physiology during the menstruation period and the birth process caused her animal side to be seen as more dominant than the man. Moreover, due to processes such as pregnancy and breastfeeding, women's lives are limited to domestic space, which affects their social role (Ortner , 1996, pp. 21-42). As a result, the restriction of women in the domestic sphere is also observed in the village of Soğucak. The women in the village of Soğucak still pay attention when passing in front of the coffee house of the village and pay attention to meeting at home more with other women in the village. Moreover, the fact that women spend more time in the private and men in the public sphere in the village of Soğucak also matches the theory of anthropologists Michelle Rosaldo and Rayna Reiter about the private and public sphere.

Michelle Rosaldo and Rayna Reiter are other influential anthropologists who produce theories on the relationship between the private-public sphere and gender. According to Rosaldo, the reason for the power difference between men and women comes from the existence of women in the private spheres (Rosaldo , 1974, pp. 23-24). The following sentence of Participant M1 shows the position of women in the private sphere in the village of Soğucak; “My wife takes care of the housework; I take care of the outside work. I also take care of gardening. I cut the grass, water the flowers, plant tomatoes and peppers.” “Karım ev işleri ile ilgileniyor ben dışarı işleri ile ilgileniyorum. Bahçe işleriyle de ben ilgileniyorum. Çimenleri kesiyorum, çiçekleri suluyorum, domates ekiyorum, biber ekiyorum.” For Rosaldo, the women’s role in childbearing and breastfeeding confine them in private spheres, and thus, women become universally secondary (Rosaldo , 1974, pp. 23-24). Also, according to her, “But what is perhaps most striking and surprising is the fact that male as opposed to female, activities are always recognized as predominantly important, and cultural systems give authority and value to the roles and activities of men.” (Rosaldo , 1974, p. 19). She emphasized that:

Everywhere from those societies we might want to call most egalitarian to those in which sexual stratification is most marked, men are the locus of cultural value. Some areas of activity are always seen as exclusively or predominantly male and, therefore, overwhelmingly, and morally important (Rosaldo , 1974, pp. 20-21).

In Summary, it is observed that men spend more time in the public sphere, and women spend more time in private spheres in the village of Soğucak. The village coffeehouse is the domain of men; women are prohibited from entering the coffeehouse, and even their walking in front of the coffeehouse is considered shameful. This situation shows that areas such as coffeehouses where men gather and social activities performed by men are seen as more respectable and valuable by society. Besides, participants also expressed that a new generation of young girls can now enter the village's coffeehouse. Moreover, some social activities are practiced by women called “gün.”

Women gather in a room above the village coffeehouse and headman's office before the pandemic for this activity. They also cook food together in the village's dining hall. Women also spend their time in some public spheres in the village. Apart from these, it has been observed that women do not exist in some public spaces of the village. As stated in

the section on religion and belief systems, women in Soğucak village do not go to the cemetery for funerals or do not go to the village mosque for worship. According to all these data, it can be said that in Soğucak village, men belong to the public sphere, and women belong to the private sphere. However, the boundaries of this distinction are not very sharp. Because both men and women can spend time together or separately in both private and public spheres. Therefore, the distinction between private and public spheres in the village of Soğucak does not show the secondary status of women. Because women in Soğucak do not see themselves as secondary to men, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Most female participants state that women are the people who manage the house and family. Most of the male participants also say that their wives manage the house.

As a result of all these, this study aims to determine the status of women in the Circassian culture in Soğucak village, the status, and responsibilities of women in the family, the roles of women in marriage and religious practices, and the roles of women in public and private spaces are evaluated. All data obtained from the village of Soğucak reveal that women have important functions in society and are the prominent decision-makers in the family in the village of Soğucak. Furthermore, household chores such as cooking and childcare, defined as women's traditional gender roles in the literature, are also described as women's responsibilities in this village. Moreover, according to another study result, the gender roles and status of women in Soğucak village have changed from the past to the present. In the conclusion section, the results obtained from this study are explained more clearly.

4. CONCLUSION

This dissertation aims to explore the status of women in Circassian Culture from an anthropological perspective. The field research of the thesis is carried out in Soğucak village, which is one of the Circassian villages in the city of Yalova. The field research revealed that this village was founded by Circassians who settled in the Yalova region due to the Circassian exile in 1864. Moreover, the field research revealed some essential characteristics of Circassian Culture in the village of Soğucak.

The data obtained from Soğucak revealed that while some basic traditions of Circassian cultures, such as respect for elders and hospitality, are preserved, some have been forgotten. It is also observed that some elements of Circassian culture are still being held in the village. Nevertheless, all the aspects of this village obtained in the findings reveal that the village has a high representation of Circassian culture. Additionally, since the general purpose of this study is to examine the status of women, evaluations have been made regarding the position and roles of women in culture.

My main argument in studying the status of women was, first, to find out whether women played a subordinate role in Circassian culture. When I first examined the literature, I perceived that women might be in a secondary position in Circassian culture. For example, according to information in the literature, women face many difficulties, especially after marriage. Circassian brides must serve their mother-in-law, father-in-law, husband, and others in the house by standing and waiting in front of the room door. In addition, it is stated that after all family members have finished eating, women are the last to sit at the table with their children. Because of all this knowledge expressed in the literature about Circassian culture and women, I perceive women to be in a secondary position in Circassian culture. Nevertheless, after doing field research in Soğucak village, I concluded that women do not occupy a secondary position in Soğucak culture. I observed that the main reason for this is women's roles in the family and society.

Primarily, women have an essential status within the family in Soğucak village. According to the results of the field research, prominent decision-makers at home are women. Also, mothers are the most listened to persons in the family by both their children and their husbands. It is also revealed that women have important roles in rites of passage, such as weddings and funerals. Additionally, according to field findings, it is revealed that

women have responsibilities such as housework, childcare, and kitchen shopping. Further, none of the women I interviewed identified themselves as subordinate in their culture. These results also match those described in the literature as women's traditional gender roles. In addition to these, it was discovered that women have an essential role in transmitting Circassian Culture, especially Circassian Culinary Culture, to new generations. All these results reveal that women are not secondary in culture and that they are individuals with important functions within the culture.

To understand the status of women, standard cultural features, marriage traditions, religious rituals, and family relationships are examined in Soğucak village. Also, the role of women in culture, the role of women in the family, the presence of women in the public and private sphere, and their domestic responsibilities, especially in the kitchen, are considered. The results of all these findings clearly show that the gender roles and status of women in society have changed from the past to the present. Furthermore, it states that this change is still underway. Moreover, the limitations of the study are expressed in this section.

4.1. Limitations of the Study

Primarily, selecting the study area as Soğucak village brings some limitations to the study. The Circassian population living in Turkey is dispersed throughout Turkey; therefore, the representation of Circassian culture by people who live in Soğucak village is minimal. Because Circassians live in different regions of Turkey, their culture may have been shaped according to their area. Also, this research does not cover other Circassian villages in Yalova. Because apart from Soğucak village, there are other Circassian villages such as Tefikiye, Karadere, Çavuşköy, Örencik, Aktoprak, and Fevziye in Yalova. If a more extensive field study, including these villages, had been conducted, more detailed information about Circassians and Circassian women in Yalova would have been obtained.

Another limitation of the thesis is that it does not include Circassians from different tribes. The statement of the participants reveals that only families belonging to the Abzakh, Shapsug, and Bzhedug tribes live in Soğucak village. These tribes do not represent the entire Circassian or Adyghe society. Apart from these tribes, there are other Circassian tribes in Turkey. For this reason, more accurate information about Circassian culture and the status of women in this culture can only be obtained if all tribes are studied. Another

limitation of the study is that the participants generally belonged to the middle-aged and older age groups.

Since no young population lives in Soğucak, interviews with young participants could not be conducted. If I could interview younger participants, I could obtain more data about the changing status of Circassian women. This is why I believe that in future studies, it is necessary to choose areas where old and young people coexist. Thus, cultural changes can be revealed more clearly.

In addition, the fact that I never stayed in the village during the fieldwork process can be considered a limitation. When I started fieldwork, I could only go to Soğucak one day a week because I was working. Also, I had to return to my home in Istanbul, Kartal, in the evening. This situation caused I cannot spend enough time on the field. Later, I tried to increase the time I spent on the field by staying in a hotel in Yalova. However, since I could not spend long periods on the field, I had difficulty adapting every time I went to and back from the field. This situation affected the participant observation process in the field. I could have obtained more data about this culture if I had spent more time in the field. Also, maybe this way, I would increase the number of participants even more. Additionally, I would like to talk about the contributions of the thesis to me as a researcher and the contributions it will bring to other researchers in the future. Besides, based on my practical experience, I would like to offer some recommendations to researchers who will research Circassian women and culture in the future.

4.2. Contributions and Recommendations

First, I would like to talk about the contributions of the thesis to me. The thesis writing process and field research were extraordinarily progressive and informative for me. Through experience, I learned how to communicate with people and manage human relationships during this process. The process I enjoyed most in this research was the fieldwork process, in which I interacted directly with people and listened to their life stories. I also gained experience in how the anthropological field research process should be carried out, how questions should be asked of participants, and how to create a conversational atmosphere when asking questions of the participants. As a result, the

writing process of the dissertation enabled me to develop not only in terms of knowledge but also in terms of anthropological fieldwork. Moreover, in consequence of all this, while I was a stranger to the Soğucak village participants, I became like one of them as the study progressed. Some participants even stated that they saw me as their family's daughter. In addition, I believe that this study will make significant contributions to the literature.

I aimed to contribute to the feminist anthropological perspective through the example of Soğucak village. I believe that this contribution is essential. At first glance, when I evaluate the culture from an ethical standpoint, it can be inferred that women are in a subordinate status compared to men. However, when I examined the culture and women in detail, it became clear that this was not the case. In short, the secondary status of women in Soğucak Circassian culture is not actual. Because, as I heard on the field, even though men appeared strong, generally they were not. For these reasons, I believe this study is vital in encouraging more research on women and women's subordination. Because there are very few publications documenting the status of women in ethnic groups such as the Circassians, especially in Turkey, I hope this study will increase the number of researchers focusing on feminist anthropology perspectives in Anthropological research. I also desire that this study is essential for the literature of Circassian Culture.

As a result of the study, many elements of the Circassian culture emerge, and at the same time, it is revealed that many traditions of the culture have been forgotten and changed. Therefore, this study can be a reference source for researchers studying Circassian culture, assimilation, and change in Yalova. In addition, I would like to give some recommendations to researchers who will study similar topics in the future.

First, to get more accurate data about a society's culture, spending much time with that society, especially in anthropology studies, is necessary. Because to learn how to communicate with people, decipher cultural norms, and ask people the right questions, you must share with people in the field for a long time or even spend six months or a year in an area if possible. In addition, studies focusing on these issues can be carried out in the future to preserve the Circassian culture and language better.

During my fieldwork, I revealed that Circassian and Caucasian associations are places where only Circassian dances are taught. Studies on cultural activities that can be carried out in these associations to keep traditions alive can be a step to prevent forgetting

this culture. In addition to these, studies can be carried out to keep the language alive. Additionally, studies can be conducted to record all dialects in the Circassian language. In this way, an academic contribution can be made to preserve Circassian culture and language. Moreover, studies can be carried out about the roles of women in cultural transmission and how these duties can be improved to prevent the forgetting of the traditions.

There is also not enough research on Circassian cuisine in the literature. For this reason, carrying out a study describing the standard features of Circassian cuisine, especially the forgotten Circassian dishes belonging to the Caucasia, could open the way to remembering Circassian culinary culture. Additionally, researchers working from an anthropological perspective can also study food memory with Circassians in Turkey.

In addition, studies can be conducted on the rites of passage in Circassian Culture. Rites of passage in Circassian culture are a subject that has yet to be studied in the literature. For this reason, the cultural characteristics of the Circassians in Turkey can be further explored by studying transition rituals such as weddings, funerals, and circumcision. Women's roles in rites of passage are also among the topics that can be explored. In summary, there are many topics regarding Circassian Culture that have not yet been studied but need to be researched.

As a Final word, I believe that women's studies should be developed in the social sciences. I'm not at all convinced that the secondary universal status of women is valid for every society and every group. I believe that more research needs to be done on women to prove that women are now vital in society and have the right to express themselves. In short, this study believes and focuses on these subjects.

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APPENDIX

Table 2.

The Name of the Circassian Foods in Soğucak Village

The Name of the Dish	The Explanation
Abısta (Pasta)	It is a kind of bread considered a national food for Circassians. Abısta is consumed as bread with dishes, and it is made from roasted corn flour. It is put upside down on the serving plate and then shaped with a spoon. This bread can be served by putting dry cheese, Şıpsi, or butter on it. (Uğurkan, Alyakut ve Üzümcü, 2017, p.1822; Uğurkan ve Alyakut, 2020, p.65).
Şıpsi Pasta, Aktui- Akdu Sızbal (Circassian Chicken)	This dish consists of a ‘pasta’ made with chicken and cornmeal. Chicken and pasta are cooked separately. Ingredients such as wheat flour, chicken broth, olive oil, garlic, onion, ground red pepper, and coriander seeds (Houben) are used in it. While Şıpsi was usually served as a wedding meal in the past, it is served on all special occasions and invitations today (Karaca & Güçlü Nergiz, 2020, p. 58-59).

Psi Haluj (Psihalive)	Haluj is a ravioli-like pastry usually stuffed with cheese, meat, potatoes, and walnuts. Boran Art calls the cheese stuffed haluj 'Kuaye Haluj,' the meat haluj as 'Kabın,' and the potato haluj as 'Kantuf haluj' (Boran Art, 2016, p. 113-119). Kabardinians call this dish psihalive, Abazas psihaluj, and Chechens as kurzunuş. The oldest and most original recipe for this dish is made with the combination of a creamy (kaymak) dish called Kojapha and haluj (Yolkolu Öksüz, 2016, p. 139).
Şelame	A kind of fried dough. It is known as a pastry that Circassians distribute at weddings, feast mornings, or religious days (Usta, 2020, p. 39)
Cennet Künkü	<p>A participant explained the desserts in Circassian cuisine: "I don't know about desserts. There is a wrap called 'Cennet Künkü,' and sometimes I prepare it for my daughter." "Tatlıları bilmiyorum, Cennet Künkü diye bir sarma var, kızıma yaptırırım bazen" (Participant F3, female, 73).</p> <p>Another participant also gives information about the dessert of cennet künkü as: "They wrap the dough on a fork and fry it, then throw it into a syrup, Cennet Künkü." "Hamuru çatala sarıp kızartıyorlar sonra şekerli suya atıyorlar. Cennet Künkü". (Participant F1, female, 54).</p>
Kaçamak	<p>Kaçamak is a dish made with corn flour cooked with water. It is also served with cheese, roasted meat, and butter (Yıldırım Saçılık, Çevik, & Toptaş , 2018).</p> <p>The participant M4 explains the preparation of Kaçamak as:</p> <p>The other name of the pasta is kaçamak. It is made by opening it in the middle, and then they put a piece of cheese or dried cheese in it. They also put fried sausage. It can also be consumed that way.</p> <p>O pasta dediğimiz onun içerisi açılır, kaçamak onun gerçekte şeyi. O kaçamağın içini böyle açarlar içine Çerkez peyniri, o</p>

	kurutulmuş peyniri parça parça koyarlar, sucuk kızartıp koyarlar. O şekilde de yine tüketilebiliyor (Participant M4, male, 58).
Cevizli Lokum	“There is also a pastry called Cevizli Lokum (Pastry with Walnuts), they mix onions and walnuts and wrap them in yeast dough.” “Bir de cevizli lokum var gene böyle soğan ile cevizi karıştırıp mayalı hamura sarıyorlar.” (Participant F1, female, 54).



Figure 6.

The Village of Soğucak – Old Circassian Stone Houses



Source: Photographed by Berika Türker (30/12/2022)

Figure 7.

The Village of Soğucak's Central Mosque



Source: Photographed by Berika Türker (03/03/2023)

Figure 8.

The Crest of a Circassian Family



Source: Photographed by Berika Türker (30/12/2022)

Figure 9.

The Haku Oven of Circassians



Source: Photographed by Berika Türker (03/03/2023)

Figure 10.

Vegetable Trolley Coming to the Village



Figure 11.

Haluj (Yağda Haluj – Haluj fried in Oil)



Source: Photographed by Berika Türker (19/01/2023)

Figure 12.

Psı Haluj (Suda Haluj – Boiled Haluj – Stuffed with Walnuts or Potatoes)



Source: Photographed by Berika Türker (30/12/2022)

Figure 13.

The Kitchen of a Participant



Source: Photographed by Berika Türker (12/07/2023)