

**GENDER ROLES AND COMMUNITY FORMATION IN KURDISH
MIGRANT WOMEN**

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ABSTRACT

GENDER ROLES AND COMMUNITY FORMATION IN KURDISH MIGRANT WOMEN

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The purpose of this study is to examine the effect of the intersecting dynamics of gender and ethnic identities for Kurdish migrant women in Turkey. For this aim it attempts to investigate Kurdish migrant women's everyday lives in their private and public domains, which include in-family, out-family social and economic relations. It is expected that Kurdish women's gender and ethnic identities will intersect in these domains and will be effective in creating a specific ethnic community identity. For this reason, the differences between these women are compared with regard to age, marriage type, whether working outside of the house or not and in terms of their ethnic origins. In this thesis, twenty women living in Zeytinburnu-Istanbul were interviewed in 2002 by using the structured in- depth interview method.

During the migration process, Kurdish migrant women play active roles in keeping the community together and keeping their collective identity. They are active as primary agents of socialization. They are effective agents in transmitting the family and kin values of their ethnic community from one generation to the next. However, women also create their own culture in a new social environment in the

city. New cultural patterns as well as new patterns of social relations have emerged. By manipulating traditional gender roles and their ethnicity and through introducing nuances in translating these to everyday practice, Kurdish women have been able to promote an identity in their family and social life. In this process, however, they have also reproduced some of the social inequalities that lie at the root of gender inequalities. The thesis brings a criticism to those feminist arguments which tend to focus on gender roles only without considering interacting dimensions of ethnicity, age, class and religion.

Keywords: gender, Feminist critic, patriarchy, Kurdish women, migration, ethnicity, family, kinship relation.

ÖZ

GÖÇMEN KÜRT KADINLARINDA TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET ROLLERİ VE TOPLULUK OLUŞUMU

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Yüksek Lisans, Kadın Çalışmaları
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Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye'deki göçmen Kürt kadınlarının toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ve etnik kimliklerinin keşif dinamiklerini incelemektir. Bu amaçla göçmen Kürt kadınlarının gündelik hayatları, özel ve kamusal alandaki aile içi ve aile dışı sosyo-ekonomik ilişkileri açısından sorgulanmıştır. Kürt göçmen kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin ve etnik kimliklerinin bu alanlarda keşifmesi ve etnik topluluk kimliği yaratmada etkili olması beklenmiştir. Bu nedenle, kadınlar arasındaki yaş, evlilik tipi, ev dışında çalışıyor veya çalışmıyor olması etnik kökenlerine göre karşılaştırılmıştır. Bu tezde İstanbul-Zeytinburnu'nda yaşayan 20 kadınla 2002 yılında yapısal derin mülakat yöntemi kullanılarak görüşmeler yapılmıştır.

Göç sürecinde Kürt göçmen kadınlar, topluluğu birarada tutmakta ve ortak kimliğin korunmasında aktif role oynamaktadırlar. Kadınlar, aile ve etnik topluluğun değerlerinin bir kuşaktan diğerine taşınmasında etkili aktörlerdir. Bununla birlikte, şehir ortamında yeni bir çevre ve kendi kültürlerini yaratırlar. Yeni kültürel davranış örüntüleri kadar yeni sosyal ilişkilerde ortaya çıkar. Geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini ve etnik özelliklerini kullanırken, gündelik alışkanlıklarında farklılıklar içeren Kürt göçmen kadınlar, aile ve sosyal hayatlarındaki konumlarını güçlendirirler. Fakat bu süreçte, toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinden kaynaklanan

eşitsizliklere dayanan sosyal eşitsizlikleri de tekrar üretirler. Bu tez, toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin, etnik özellikler, yaş, sınıf ve din boyutları ile olan etkileşimini düşünmeden yalnızca toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine odaklanan feminist tartışmaları da eleştirmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri, Feminist eleştiri, Ataerkillik, Kürt kadınlar, Göç, Etnisite, Aile, Kanbağı ilişkileri.

DEDICATION

To all my interviewees who share their thoughts and feelings with me sincerely.

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and result that arenot original to this work.

Date:

Signature:

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the effect of the intersecting dynamics of gender and ethnic identities for Kurdish migrant women in Turkey. For this aim it attempts to investigate Kurdish migrant women's everyday lives in their private and public domains, which include in-family, out-family social and economic relations. It is expected that their gender and ethnic identities will intersect in these domains and will be effective in creating a specific identity.

Many feminist scholars (Acker, 1999; Oakley, 1989) have attacked traditional social theory for excluding and marginalizing women and excluding their experiences and rendering them legitimate. While placing gender as a primary focus of attention within the theory and practice of the human science, they have also realized gender and feminism as a political movement. Gender, as an analytic framework, helps us to explain the position of women in the society, the limited access of women to economic, social resources and political power, the nature of the sexual division of labor and those social expectations about the behavior of women that limit and inhibit their achievements.

However existing feminist studies have also been accused that their concerns and priorities reflect those of the white middle class women and conceal the variety and diversity of women's experience and subjectivity. Some black feminists are demanding acknowledgement of the differences among women which is neglected in the assumption that "all women have certain interests in common" (Amos and Parmar, 1984; hooks, 1984; Knowles and Mercer, 1991). They have pointed to the

ethnocentric nature of Western feminism in positing certain priorities for struggle, such as abortion and the critique of the family that do not take into account the experiences of the blacks. As hooks (1984) argue that the debate on family has traditionally been seen by white feminists “a site of women’s oppression by men”, however for black women the family is an important place for resisting racism.

Some writers like Ramazanoğlu (1989), Bhopal (1997), Kandiyoti (1988) are also beginning to acknowledge their own limitations and they argue that the problem is not only simply acknowledgement of differences among women but we should also challenge the assumptions that white women represent the norm and the experiences of black and third world women are some kind of an alien problem. For example, the socially constructed image of Asian women as ‘submissive’ and ‘victims of culture’ (arranged marriages, dowries) is regarded as a form of elitist racism (Knowles and Mercer, 1991).

All these discussions in gender studies explore that women are not thought as ‘a unitary category’. Women from different class, religion, sect, language and ethnic background are affected differently from gender oppression (Brah, 1991). After all it became clear that gender divisions are not the only source of social inequality. For many women ethnicity, class, religion, sect, language may be more important in encouraging inequalities. In fact, many immigrant women, women in the Third World, ethnic women are developing various coping strategies to handle these different forms of oppression (Bhopal 1997; Hoodfar 1997; Sinclair 1998).

Recent studies in gender (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1989; Barot, Bradley and Fenton, 1999) have attempted to provide a theoretical account conceptualizing both ethnicity and gender. They examine the relationship between ethnicity and gender as they interplay with each other, both in terms of their conceptual similarities and differences, and also in terms of the ways in which they intermesh in everyday social relations.

A similar trend has emerged in the study of ethnicity as well. In the past ten years there has been an emerging awareness that in the concrete social context, ethnicity and gender are intimately involved. The experience of ethnicity is gendered and gender relations are ethnically distinct. Exploration of exactly how ethnicity and

gender intersect in particular situations has become a popular topic for new research (Manson.D, 1995). Generally, it is thought that although ethnicity was expected to disappear as a force in the 20th century, with the 1990s ethnic and racial identities became an important force in directing the contemporary societies. Ethnic identities became sources of political movements and foundations of new unions and solidarities. This has even led many social scientists to speak of a resurgence of ethnicity in modern politics (Eriksen, 1993; Rex and Guibernau, 1997; Jenkins, 1997).

One of the key intersections of ethnicity and gender takes place in the maintenance of ethnic boundaries. Women are assigned the leading role in ensuring the cultural reproduction which is seen essential to the survival of the ethnic group. This may reflect the role which generally women have or are expected to have in the sustaining of social networks and cultural values (Eriksen, 1993). In Anthias and Yuval-Davis's words, "women are the biological reproducers of ethnic collectivities, and the central participants in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture" (1992, p: 115).

After the Introduction, in the second chapter, I will provide an overview of the literature on the classical feminist theories and the classical approaches on ethnicity. It will provide a critical analysis of the literature as well as rationale for the present study. I argue that studies on gender and ethnicity have disregarded the position of ethnic women. Therefore, the study of gender can no longer be assumed to be based upon the experiences of white middle class women but it must examine the influence of colour, culture, and religion.

I will examine and critically analyses existing theories of patriarchy. I would argue that patriarchy is a concept which can be used to explain women's position within the society. As Walby (1990) mentions a satisfactory understanding of patriarchy cannot be reduced to examination of any structure, but their relationships between these structures must be explored. So arguments in this chapter will initiate questions like "what are the different forms of patriarchy experienced by Kurdish women?" or "Do existing theories of patriarchy apply to Kurdish women?" which will be explored in this thesis.

In the third part of the chapter, I will focus on how the recent studies will overcome these limitations. I will argue that issues of ethnicity and gender play a significant role in the lives of Kurdish migrant women and may affect their experiences in society. Furthermore, for exploring its effect, firstly, I will mostly concentrate on women's employment opportunities. Researches have shown that women in many ethnic groups are concentrated in clothing industry as home workers which is reproducing the traditional class, gender and ethnic divisions of labor. They are more likely to be unemployed and concentrated in the lowest level jobs. They are likely to work for the entrepreneur of their ethnic groups, who are mostly the men, therefore 'the ethnic economy is a gendered economy'. Secondly, I focus on the relations within the households in which ethnic and sexual divisions are particularly important. Households are not static and insulated units, but are constantly shaped by social changes and processes. The development of capitalism, modernization and urbanization each has its impact on households. It is also crucial to examine the effects of gender and ethnicity on the relations within households. It must not be assumed that women are passive recipients of change or victims of constraints which may be created by these changes. They are social agents who actively resist, struggle and reform their environment, including their own domestic relationships. They develop many coping strategies. Thirdly, I concentrated on the migration process which arises with ethnic solidarity, hence the chain migration process¹. Through this process the definition of ethnic group also changes, since ethnic group should not be understood as given or unchangeable. With urbanization and through the process of migration ethnic groups change their composition and identity. Entering a new social environment leads people to re-define 'Us' and 'Them'. Hence, they enter the new process of re-construction of identity. Based on this new identity family and kin networks as coping strategies are added up strengthening the solidarity in the urban context. In this chapter I will try to tackle the questions of "How does the labor market act as a patriarchal structure in explaining Kurdish migrant women's social and economic position within it? "How in turn, is this related to the relations in their households ? "How their social and economic situation is effected by the process of

¹ Chain migration: new migrant would join a relative or a fellow villager who had already migrated to the town.

migration?” Through exploring such questions I will be able to bring some understanding to the diversity of experiences which exist among Kurdish women. In addition the interrelationship of ethnicity and gender has been studied in terms of its effects upon the position of women in the society.

In the third chapter, I examine various aspects of Kurdish migrant women’s family relations in Zeytinburnu, by putting special emphasis on the diverging social, cultural and economic characteristics of the families. In this analysis, I compare especially the differences between these women with regard to age, occupation and marriage type and the effects of ethnic origins on the family relations. First I take women’s relations with husbands into consideration. In this part, in order to understand the relations of women with their husbands, women’s expectations from husbands, the time they spend together during free time and the type of leisure activities they share, the degree of interactions between husband and wife, are analyzed. Following this, I tried to analyze the sexual division of labor and the decision-making process in the family. Women’s relations with their mothers-in law seemed a particularly significant power behind the decision-making process in the households. Finally, I focus on their relations with their children which is presented under three aspects: their expectations for the future of their children; the socialization of children; and their relations with married children. This part aimed to investigate mother-daughter and mother-son relationships from the point of view of Kurdish migrant women with respect to the type and frequency of contact and support (functional, financial and emotional) in their relationship. In this chapter I tried to find answers to the questions like “How does ethnicity affect forms of patriarchy experienced by Kurdish migrant women?”, “How do gender and ethnicity work against the Kurdish migrant women in the household?”, “Whether class (employed or not) has any effect on Kurdish migrant women in helping them to shape and re-structure their lives and in creating a powerful effect upon their roles as women?”

The forth chapter, is about the relations of women with their neighbors and their kin. To what extent they participate in these powerful informal social support networks? I will mainly focus on three headings: the frequency of contact, mutual aid and wedding and funerals. Participation in this network is seen as a survival strategy

used to alleviate the conditions of poverty. Many Kurdish women participate actively in social support networks because of existing norms about family and cultural values. Women who are affected from such norms and values keep the community together, through informal networks that strengthen the solidarity within the community. In this chapter, I defined particularly the intersection between gender and ethnicity while women participate in those social support networks and argued that it differed according to the age and employment status (employed or not) of women.

In the last chapter, the main themes and issues raised throughout the study will be drawn together and the economic roles and the social roles of women in households and in social life are evaluated in the process of identity formation in the new social environment. How do all these factors come together in the process of identity formation? Women positively embrace some cultural practices while at the same time they reject other aspects of cultural traditions which seem irrelevant in the urban context. I shall demonstrate the importance of women's active involvement in challenging existing gender norms, redefining "gendered ethnicity" and creating a new culture which represents a complex change and adaptation to urban life. This will also enable us to examine the diversity of experiences which exist among Kurdish women and explore the interrelationships of ethnicity and gender and its effects upon the position of women in the family, neighborhood and in the society at large. As a conclusion, I argue that women's experiences do not show a uniform development and since their conditions of life vary widely depending on age, social class, ethnicity, religion and cultural values, women develop different coping strategies through which they gain their new gendered ethnic identities.

CHAPTER II

GENDER AND ETHNICITY

2.1 Gender

2.1.1 Introduction

Since late eighteenth century, women's position in society had been excluded from sociological theory and understanding. Women had seldom appeared in analyses and discussions of who has power in society. The inequalities that existed between men and women were seen practically unimportant and theoretically uninteresting. However, feminist thought considers women and their situation central to academic analysis (Abbot and Wallace, 1990; Oakley, 1989).

Feminist studies attempt to understand the relationship between the sexes as one of inequality, subordination, oppression and difference. They have usually employed the concept of patriarchy as an analytical and explanatory tool (Flax, 1990). Different feminist theorist uses patriarchy in very different ways; different versions of the concept of patriarchy are used to present different accounts of the nature and causes of men's domination of women.

2.1.2 Patriarchy

Patriarchy as a key concept encapsulates the mechanisms, ideology and social structures, which have enabled men throughout much of human history to gain and to maintain their domination over women. There have been problems with the definition of patriarchy and differences as to the causes of patriarchy for feminist theory. Different writers give different reasons for the origins and the causes of patriarchy.

Liberal feminism poses particular problems for general definitions of patriarchy, as there are important differences between liberal understanding of the relations between sexes and the more radical and Marxist feminist views, which will be discussed below. They assume that women suffer injustices because of their sex and call for civic activism for equality and redistribution on issues such as equal pay, equal civil rights, equal access to education, health and welfare, equal access to the democratic political process (Tong, 1998).

Two strands of liberal feminist thought can be found in the literature (Walby, 1990). The first one of them emphasizes the denial of equal rights to women in education as well as in employment. Women's disadvantaged position in society is usually explained with reference to specific details of prejudice against women. The second strand of liberal feminist thought focuses the sexist attitudes that work to sustain this disadvantaged position. Sexist attitudes are regarded as reflecting traditional values, and hence unable to keep up with transformations in gender relations. As Ramazanoğlu (1989) contends, these struggles do not seriously challenge the non-feminist understanding of the causes of inequalities between men and women. Moreover Walby (1990) also criticizes liberal feminism for its failure to deal with the deep-rooted nature of gender inequality and the interconnections between its different forms.

Radical feminism produced a distinct knowledge of women's oppression by challenging conventional assumptions on gender relations. By redefining one of the most intimate human relations as a political issue as opposed to a private one, radical feminism politicized sexuality and exposed men's normal, everyday behavior as a

widespread social problem (Ramazanoğlu, 1989). They rejected liberal strategies of gaining more justice for women within the existing social order, and questioned the legitimacy of any social order that created and maintained the oppression of women by men (Flax, 1990).

Radical feminists, in this respect, argue that men's patriarchal power over women is the primary power relationship in all human societies (Friedan, 1981). Patriarchy is the deepest power relationship in the sense that it is the hardest form of oppression to eradicate, and cannot be removed through other channels of social change such as the abolition of class society. Moreover, it is sometimes argued that women's oppression provides a conceptual model for understanding all other forms of oppression in society (Friedan, 1981).

Patriarchal society manages to convince itself that its cultural constructions are somehow 'natural', and that one's normality depends on one's ability to display the gender identities and attitudes culturally linked with one's biological sex (Tong, 1998). Radical feminists have argued that men's patriarchal power over women is the primary power relationship in human society. It characterizes all relationships between the sexes. Millet argues that in all known societies the relationship between the sexes is based upon power relationships and therefore they are political relationships.

Patriarchy also rests upon economic exploitation and the use or threat of force, for example foot binding and clitorrectomy (Tong, 1998). Firestone (1974) argued for the origin of patriarchy that the original shift to patriarchy was simply a consequence of men's greater strength stemming from women's weakness during pregnancy, childbirth and lactation however Spender (1985) argues that identifying origins of patriarchy is not important but rather to identify the structures an institution that maintain patriarchy in order that these may be overthrown (Spender quoted in Tong, 1998).

Radical feminists have been criticized for being essentialist, reductionist and also for a false universalism which disregards historical change or the divisions between women based upon ethnicity and class (Walby, 1990).

Marxist feminist, differ from radical feminist, see the origins of patriarchy as inextricably bound up with class society (Tong, 1998). Marxist feminists argue that gender inequality derives from capitalism where men's domination of women is a by-product capital's domination over labor. Class relations are the most important features of the social structure, which determine gender relations. Marxist feminists tend to pay their respects directly to Marx and Engels and other nineteenth-century thinkers, they also tend to identify classism rather than sexism as the ultimate cause of women's oppression (Walby, 1990).

There is great variation among Marxist feminist's class analysis as to the explanation of gender relations.

Some Marxist feminist argue that the family is considered to benefit capital by providing the day to day care of the workers and producing the next generation of workers for capitalism. Braverman (1974) had two thesis firstly, that there is a progressive deskilling of jobs in contemporary monopoly capitalism and that women take most of these new skilled jobs; secondly; household tasks shift to the factory, reducing the amount of labor to be done in home and releasing women for waged labor. As a result of these processes, women freed from domestic work are available to take up the new deskilled work in offices and factories (Braverman quoted in Walby, 1990).

Walby argues that the both sides of Braverman's argument have problems. Firstly, there is no tendency to deskilling and secondly, there is no evidence which show a reduction of the amount of time spent by housewives on housework.

The other important theory that developed by Marxist feminist theory is reserve army theory. Braverman defined women as a long-term reserve of labor which is now being brought into employment by the development of capitalism. Marx himself did identify different forms of industrial labor reserve and argued that it was critical to capital accumulation. The function of a reserve was to prevent workers being able to bargain up their wages and conditions of employment in times of increased demand for labor. Many Marxist feminists, in her work, apply Marx's reserve theory to women. Beechey (1978) argue that married women in particular can be used in this way.

They provide a flexible working population which can be brought into production and dispensed with as the conditions of production change.....married women have a world of their very own, the family, into which they can disappear when discarded from production...(quoted in Walby, 1990:35)

They have extended this analyse arguing that part-time workers in particular form a reserve army theory. However Barrett, M and Mackintosh, M. (1985) argue that there are some problems in reserve army theory. Firstly, the evidence does not support the theory and secondly, there is an internal contradiction. If the capital were considered to be the determinant of the process in which women lose their jobs before men, then capital would be acting against its own interest if it were to let women go before men, because women can be employed at lower wages than men.

Milkman (1976) has attempts to solve the problems of theory and she argued that the reserve army effect is merely masked by the effects of job segregation by sex. Women concentrated in services are relatively protected from loss of employment. However, it fails to answer many questions such as why are women not men concentrated these sectors and why are men not substituted for women in the remaining jobs? (Milkman quoted in Barrett, 1980)

Thirdly, some Marxist feminists (Humphries, 1977) argue that women should withdrawal form the labor market and working class demands a family wage (Humphries quoted in Barrett, M and Mackintosh, M.1985). Women's absence in labor market enables the family to raise its standard of living. Since women control the supply of labor to the labor market so as to raise the price of those who enter it. But the family wage theory is criticized since many men who receive a so-called family wage do not support a wife or children. The family wage is an ideology justifying higher wages for men, rather than a reality (Barrett, M and Mackintosh, M.1985).

Other Marxist feminist (Barrett, 1980) has focused on the divisions within the labor market itself. They argue that labor market segmentation can be understood as an outcome of the struggle between capital and labor this prevent the homogenization of the proletariat and their ability to resist collectively the demands of capital. As a result pre-existing divisions based on ethnicity as well as employers in this segmentation strategy utilize gender. The problem with this analysis is that

where these ethnic and gender divisions come from is not explained. Indeed segregation by gender pre-dates capitalism, so capitalism cannot be considered its cause.

There are also other alternative approaches that draw conclusions for women's liberation. Some Marxist feminist (Benston, 1969) claimed that women's liberation is the socialization of domestic work; some (Dalla Costa and James, 1972) have argued that women's domestic work is productive in the Marxist sense of 'creating surplus value'. No woman has to enter the productive workforce because all is ready in it. They advocated of waged housework for liberation of women. But it is criticized since it is only serving keeping a woman isolated in her own home (Benston; Dalla Costa and James quoted in Tong, 1998).

It is criticized being unable to deal with gender inequality in pre and post capitalist society and reducing gender inequality to capitalism, rather than recognizing the independence of the gender dynamic (Bhopal, 1997).

As we state above, Marxist feminist refers to systems of relations around normative structures or around economic class relations. They have deployed the term in a number of ways, but the major tendency has been to talk about the articulation of two systems of oppression or to the development of dual systems models inventing the term 'capitalist patriarchy' (Ramazanoğlu, C.1989). Dual-Systems Theory is a synthesis of Marxist and radical feminist theory. It is argued that both capitalism and patriarchy are present and important in the structuring of contemporary gender relations (Jaggar, 1983).

Eisenstein (1981) considers that two systems are so closely interrelated and symbiotic that they have become one. Patriarchy provides a system of control and law and order while capitalism provides a system of economy in the pursuit of profit. Changes in one part of this capitalist patriarchal system will cause changes in another part, as when the increase in women's paid work, due to capitalist expansion, sets up a pressure for political change as a result of the increasing contradictions in the position of women who are both housewife and wage laborer.

According to Hartman (1981), both housework and wage labor are important occupational segregation that is used by organized men to keep access to the best paid jobs for themselves at the expense of women. Within the household women do more labor than men, even if they also have paid employment (Hartmann, 1981). These two forms of expropriation also act to reinforce each other, since women's disadvantaged position in paid work makes them vulnerable in making marriage arrangements, and their position in the family disadvantages them in paid work. While capitalism changes the nature of employment to some extent, Hartmann argues that patriarchy pre-dates capitalism, and that this expropriation of women's labor is not new and distinctive to capitalist societies and hence cannot be reduced to it. Hartmann supports excluded from the better jobs by organized male workers with, in some cases, the support of the state. It is a powerful and important contribution to the theoretical debate on gender relations.

Walby (1990) however, does not reject the dual systems approach, but has criticized Hartmann's theory and argues that there is more tension between the two systems of capital and patriarchy than is suggested and ethnic variation and inequality need to be taken more fully into account.

The early theories of patriarchy have been criticized on many points. Firstly, the theory is said to be descriptive rather than analytical unable to explain the origins of male power and therefore unable to provide an adequate strategy for ending it.

The theory is based upon a false idea of man as the enemy and is said to be a historical and falsely universalistic. It reflects only the experiences of white middle class women and obscures the very different problems faced by blacks, working class and third world of history and agents of change. (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992:99)

Black feminists have pointed to the ethnocentric nature of western feminism in positing certain priorities for struggle, such as abortion and the critique of the family that do not take into account the experiences of Black or Third World women. (Watt and Cook, 1991; Maynard, 1996; Brah 991; Walby, 1990). hooks (1984) has argued that since the family is a site of resistance and solidarity against racism for women of color.

Apart from different family experience, Phizacklea and Wolkowitz (1995) and Miles (1980) have argued that the labor market experiences of black women are

different to those of white women due to the racist structure that exist in paid work. Hence there are significant differences between black and white women, which need to be taken into account. As a result of their ethnic identity, the chief sites of oppression for black women may be different to those for white women. Furthermore, the intersection of ethnicity and gender may alter ethnic and gender relations themselves by the particular ways in which ethnic and gender relations have interacted historically (Walby, 1990). For black women, racism is considered to be of significant political concern in which the inequalities between men and women may take different forms.

However, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) critics that there are number of conceptual problems hidden in the formulations of black feminists. Since, 'black' is itself seen as a unifying category mainly because it posits the experience of racism as defining the difference with white women. But as we shown in the following chapter the construction of blacks as the exclusive victims of racism is problematic. Knowles and Mercer (1991) accuse black feminism of equating the struggles of third world women. Besides, hooks explores the existence of competition and distrust of black women to one another in the context of a racist society.

Secondly, existing feminist theory has view of women as more uniform and undivided than is really the case. Post structuralist and postmodernists together with some Marxist and black feminist (Flax, 1990) have assumed that it is legitimate to write of women as a social category distinct from men and have discussed the collective interest of women as opposed to those men. They argue that not only is there no unity to the category of women but that analyses based on a dichotomy between women and men necessarily suffer from the flaw of essentialism. Instead there are considered to be a number of overlapping crosscutting discourse of feminities and masculinities which are historically and culturally variable (Barrett, 1980; Flax, 1990; Acker, 1999).

Western thought has segmented reality by coupling concepts and terms in pairs of polar opposites, one of which is always privileged. Men is associated with all that is active and women is associated all that is passive, natural, dark women exist in man's world on his terms (Grosz, 1986). Grosz claimed that postmodern feminist

also celebrated women's bodied, reproductive rhythms and sexual organs. Women and men are different and women have no right to be the same as men. Rather, women want to the right to be as free as men. So while doing so, they construct themselves apart from men, not in opposition to him.

Thirdly, the notion of women's feminity as a production of patriarchy (or capitalism) marginalizes the active and passive forms of resistance within which women have been historically engaged. Kandiyoti (1988) puts forward the notion of the patriarchal bargain that is gender division and their practice are fluid and negotiable and are the product of both imposition and struggle. Different social forms present different formulations of this bargain. However, Kandiyoti sees the patriarchal bargain as emanating from individual women's strategies without discussing modes by which these become either embodied in collective action or institutionalized (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992). Nevertheless, Anthias (1992) claims the recognition that women can be both individually and collectively active agents in their own subordination as well as in struggle against it is a necessary step in understanding the widely heterogeneous nature of the degrees of this subordination and its specificities. Anthias argues that feminity may indeed be seen as a coping mechanism. We can apply this notion to understanding the different strategies that women from different group in a crises context use to defend their position when they are under threat

Walby (1990) argues that we can develop a theory of patriarchy that uses more than one causal base. According to her, the main structures that make up patriarchy are paid work, housework, sexuality culture, violence and the state and the inter relationships of these create different forms.

She defined patriarchy as a 'systems of social structures and practices in which men dominate oppress and exploit men She has attempted to produce a more sophisticated theory of patriarchy in Western societies. As Walby argued there has been a general shift away from private patriarchy based upon individual control within the household to a more public form of patriarchy based upon structures outside the households. She states that different groups have been affected in different ways. However, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) criticized Walby's

definition of patriarchy. They claim, her definition describes a set of practices in terms of outcomes. Moreover, she sees such practices as articulating with capitalism and racism and thus endows them distinctive modality, as a result she treats patriarchy as a distinctive set of social relations that lie outside capitalism.

Anthias and Yuval-Davis believe that although the discourses of racism and sexism are distinct, both patriarchal or sexist gender relations and racism are not independent but are products of outcomes of social relations of power and subordination along different constructions of difference and identity. They define patriarchy as a descriptive term, which denotes relations between men and women that subordinate women. They argue that the social system can not be divided into these different autonomous but interrelated structures and that patriarchal relations are endemic and integral to social formations with regard to the distribution of material resources and power. From this point of view of class gender and race may be dependent on different existential locations, but they are not manifestations of different types of social relations with distinct causal bases, within distinct systems of domination.

The earliest attempts to posit specificity to women's position saw women enduring a double burden and in the case of blacks or ethnic minority women a notion of a triple burden was used. However this depiction is unsatisfactory because it treats forms of subordination and oppression through race, sex and class as cumulative rather than as articulating or interesting together to produce specific effects. These cannot be mechanistically understood. It is the intersection of subordinations that is important and they cannot be treated as different layers of oppression (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992:15).

I would argue that patriarchy is a concept, which can be used to explain different women's position within different society. New theories and analyses of patriarchy are necessary in order to incorporate difference and diversity to examine different women's position within households and what patriarchy means for them.

2.2 Ethnicity

2.2.1 Introduction

The usage of the concept of ethnicity may be varying in different contexts. Because the meaning of ethnicity be revised along with the changes in the world of experience to which it refers.

Although there is no single, universally accepted definition of ethnicity Hutchinson and Smith, give a definition of the term *ethnie* which refers to ethnic groups and has six main features including a common proper name identifying the essence of the community, a myth of common ancestry that is myth rather than a fact, shared historical memories, one or more elements of common culture, a link with homeland that is not necessarily physical occupation but a symbolic attachment and a sense of solidarity on the ethnic population (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996,p:5).

Sollors (1996) assumes that such definition is only focus on objective and subjective dimensions of ethnicity but it is defined in relation to other concepts and terms; those are race, class gender modernity. Historically ethnic, national or gender categories have been formed in various ways, through capitalism, colonization or the political form of capitalism while each of them require a historically specific analysis, it is not possible to distinguish them in abstract level but we can distinguish their different discourses and projects. Ethnicity crosscuts gender and class divisions but at the same time involves the positing of a similarity (on the inside) and a difference (from the outside) that seeks to transcend these divisions (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992).

There is a widespread argument about whether ethnic ties within ethnic groups are getting weaker or stronger; or ethnicity will incline or decline in importance. Generally it is thought that although ethnicity was expected to disappear as a force in the 20th century, today ethnic and racial identities became an important force in rotating the contemporary societies. Ethnic identities became sources of politic movements and foundation of unity (Eriksen, 1993; Rex and Guibernau, 1997; Jenkins, 1997).

There exist two main approaches to ethnicity, which are related to the construction, maintenance and transformation of identity. These are Primordialism and Circumstantialist approaches. There are also many alternative approaches.

2.2.2 Primordialism

According to Primordialism, ethnicity is fixed, fundamental and rooted in unchangeable circumstances of birth. It survives because it is fixed and “given” by the facts of birth. It is independent of circumstances. It is not a matter of choice but circumstantial inheritance. Primordialism emphasizes the fact that perception and attribution are more important than the presence or absence of a genuine blood connection (Cornell and Hartman, 1994).

This socio-cultural approach that was suggested in 1960s by Clifford Geertz and Edward Shils was affected by Social Darwinism. Afterwards it tends to transform a more radical form called socio-biological view that defended by H.Isaacs, P.Van Berghe and M.Gordon (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996).

Shils has distinguished certain kind of social bond; personal, primordial, sacred and civil ties and he agreed with Geertz (1963) that these are persisted even in modern state. In a dynamic modern state the drive for civil ties interact the drive for personal identity, which is based on the primodial ties.

According to them, these ties are spiritual rather than natural and they are the effects of social interaction. Thus both primordiality of ethnicity and emotional charge of it often lie not in the ‘givens’ of social life but in the significance group members attach to it.

Harold Isaacs and Van Den Berghe have presented a more radical version of primordialism. They regard genetic reproductive capacity as the basis of families, clans and wider kinship based grouping (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996). Harold Isaacs (1975) treats ethnicity as a basic group identity. According to him “ethnic identity is consists of the ready made set of endowments and identifications that every individual shares with others from the moment of birth” (Isaacs, quoted in Sollors, 1996). According to him the basic group identity has to do with two keys, which

affect every individual's life and experience. These are belongingness and the quality of self-esteem. There are various elements, which affect the basic group identity, and each of these elements has a different relationship with another. These are name, body, language, and history.

Van Den Berg (1994) argues that there are three main mechanisms of human sociality. These are kin selection, reciprocity and coercion. Reciprocity is cooperation for mutual benefit; it can operate between kin or between non-kin. Coercion is the use of force for one-sided benefit. According to him, all human societies continue to be organized on the basis of these three principles of sociality. According to Van Den Berg, "human behavior is the product of a long process of adaptive evolution that involved the complex interplay of genotypical, ecological and cultural factors" (Ibid.1994: 97). So both race and ethnicity are extensions of the idiom of kinship.

Primordialism is criticized for its failure to explain people having multiple identities. However its strength is its effort to confront the power of ethnic ties and its focusing on the intense, internal aspects of ethnic group solidarity and on the subjective feeling of belonging that is often associated with racial or ethnic group membership. It has difficulty in interpreting the persons who attach little importance to their ethnicity. Besides, it is difficult to cope with change and variation from a primordialist point of view (Cornell and Hartman, 1994). Hutchinson and Smith (1996) also point out Primordialism was exposed to a good deal of criticism for presenting a static and naturalistic view of ethnicity and for lacking explanatory power.

2.2.3 Circumstantialism

Unlike Primordialists, They focus on the practical uses of ethnic identities rather than their persistence. They define ethnic identities as fluid and contingent. They are emphasised by groups or individuals responding to the needs of the situation or the moment. As a result they serve a number of different function but what they have common is a circumstantially driven utility (Cornell and Hartman, 1994).

As a result many circumstantialist focus on the economic political, social and historical circumstances that form or reproduce ethnic groups, many of them emphasis on the competition and conflict for relatively scarce resources such as jobs, housing, political power or social status with one another (Jenkins, 1997).

Glazer and Moynihan suggest that although shared culture is important in some cases, the members of ethnic groups were linked as well by the ties of interest. Many people change their ethnic identity only if they can profit by doing so. The ignoring or minimalization of ethnic identity is always related in the defense of social or economic interests. They define ethnic groups as pressure groups. In their article *Beyond the Melting Point* (1963) they claim that the economic developments and the political climate in U.S – such an atmosphere politicians acquire more and more power and in a democratic system where leaders are selected by elections –pressure groups become ever more effective. This leads to the recent emergence of ethnic groups in the United States (Rex and Guiberneau, 1997).

Abner Cohen (1974) studied urban ethnic groups in Nigeria. He wrote ‘ethnicity is fundamentally a political phenomenon..... it is a type of informal interest grouping’. He rejected the notion that interaction between ethnic groups was not likely to lead to the disappearance of ethnicity. On the contrary, he claims, taxation, funds for development, education; political positions are the new sources of power in modern world, the struggle for the possibilities of capturing these sources lead to cleavages that based on tribal lines. But he also points out that tribalism is not outcome of cultural conservatism. ‘The continuities of customs and social formations are certainly there, but their functions have changed’. Ethnic ties can be used as the basis of collective political mobilization or claims to certain resources. Ethnicity is not a form of identity as a strategy for corporate action.

These competition and conflict-oriented approaches indicate that modern societies can easily as generate and reinforce such boundaries as dissolve them. Secondly, the power that some groups have is very important to make such boundaries effective bases of social stratification and collective action. Thirdly, the group’s relative position in the economy or market -a class dimension-is very crucial also. However, according to Jenkins (1997) they fail to explain the flexibility of

ethnic attachments that appear to be economically and politically disadvantageous. There is in some cases no particular need in economic and political terms for ethnicity to assert itself.

Some circumstantialists follow Weberian tradition by emphasizing the political aspect of communities that is based on an imagined structure. He assumes that nationality and nationalism are cultural artifacts of particular kind (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996).

Williams (1989) notes that ethnicity can only be understood in relation to state and to questions of nationhood. Ethnic groups in a society do not exist as isomorphs, each structurally similar. Instead, there are overlapping sets, groupings that encompass other groupings. The relationship between these groupings is defined not by their relative power or status in comparison to one another, but their position within the state (Williams, quoted in Banks, 1996). There is a competition between groups is a competition over defining the rules of the game nation building, is less over resources. Unsuccessful groups that are marginalized and disadvantaged are perceived not to make any contribution to the building of the nation. As a consequence, ethnic is label that is given to groups that are denied a place in nationalist rhetoric by the ruling elite, who refuses to acknowledge their own ethnicity.

Schermerhorn (1970) argues that ethnicity defined as a shared culture with shared history and presented practices. According to him, there are symbolic elements, which are emblems of peoplehood such as kinship patterns, geographical concentration, religious affiliation, language and physical differences. Moreover, he claims that ethnic groups are self-conscious populations. They see themselves as distinct but their self-consciousness often has its source in outsiders. According to him ethnic group is a subpopulation within the larger group and it is a matter of contrast. It draws a boundary between 'us' and 'them' (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996).

Brass (1991) focuses on to what extent and in what ways the pre existing values, institutions and practices of cultural groups constitute primordial attachments and to what extent elites can manipulate the symbols of group identity for political practices. According to him, the relationship among elites, symbols and primordial

attachments can be summarized as: i) 'givens' of human existence and of long persisting cultural communities may limit the manipulation of cultural symbols by elites only to a certain extent, ii) when primordial symbols are brought to the political arena, it is likely that a particular elite will gain from their use, iii) the political importance attributed to the cultural 'givens' may change in time depending on the expected returns for the relevant groups, iv) the existence of primordial attachments does not mean that bargains cannot be achieved based on agreements to respect each others' feelings and to keep them out of politics.

According to (Cornell and Hartman, 1994) circumstantialist have not adequately dialed with ethnicity in and of itself as independent phenomena. Ethnicity and race are by-products of other, more basic interest or process. It attributes the flexibility of ethnicity to political or economic interest. They rely on largely contextual factors and they ignore the sentiments and experiences of many ethnic groups themselves and its distinctive power that exercise in people's life (Rex and Guiberneau, 1997).

2.2.4 Alternative Approaches to Ethnicity

There are other alternative traditions of inquiry into ethnicity. These are 'Constructionism', which is a way synthesizes the Primordial and Circumstantial approaches, De Vos and Epstein's 'social psychological' approach, Barth's 'transactionalist' approach, and Smith's 'ethno-symbolic' approach (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996).

Constructionist conception of ethnicity is a type of Circumstantialist approach that uses pieces of both Primordialist and Circumstantialist approaches to explain the power and persistence of ethnic and racial identities. Its contribution to these two approaches is the idea that groups participate in the construction of their own and other's identities. It accepts the fundamental validity of Circumstantialism while retaining the key insights of Primordialism, but it adds to them the contribution that groups make to create and shaping their own identities. Therefore, ethnic and racial identities are constructed through situational events, particular events, relationships and processes (Cornell and Hartman, 1994).

Cornell and Hartman remark that the analysis of ethnicity should pay attention to how their forms and functions vary and how they change over time. Identity continually changes at the intersection of the claims a person makes about himself and claims others make about him. It is a reciprocal fluxion, however, Circumstantialism that conceives ethnic and racial identities as largely exposed to be shaped by external forces and conditions that assign interests and identities to groups, missed this reciprocity. They put forward that ethnic and racial groups may be influenced by circumstantial factors such as others make about them but they also use raw materials of history, cultural practice and preexisting identities so shape their own distinctive notions of who they are (Cornell and Hartman, 1994).

On the other hand, Stephen Van Evera (2001) stated it is correct that ethnic identities are socially constructed but the assumption that 'ethnic identities are not fixed' is a false opinion because when an identity is constructed it is hard to reconstruct it. Ethnic identities harden when mass literacy is achieved by violent conflict with other non-immigrant ethnic group's identity also hard to construct. Only immigrant group's identities could be transformed into new identities. Contrary to Constructivist, he claims that individuals have multiple identities and ethnic identity are permeable, in modern times, ethnic identities continue to be preserved at an highest level and interaction between different communities through intermarriages could not be a solution for ethnic conflicts (Cornell and Hartman, 1994).

De Vos and Epstein have devoted particular attention to the noneconomic, psychosocial dimension of ethnic identity.

For De Vos and Epstein, the concept of identity is an internal, intrapsychic dimension can be identified in it, in addition to a social dimension referring to the others. Every person experiences the sense of belonging to one or another social category, network or group and knows that he or she is partially determined by it. Each individual always belongs to several units: a nation, a profession, a family, a political party, ethnic groups, and a religious organization and belongs to all of them at the same time. Generally the individual prefers one or the other identity so that there is a hierarchy of identities for each person. This hierarchy can be inverted or

changed in time or one can be more relevant than others in a given context. But Epstein endorses the view that ethnic identity is a ‘terminal identity’ that embraces and integrates a whole series of statuses, roles and lesser identities (De Vos and Epstein quoted in Banks, 1996). According to Rex and Guiberneau (1997), he is not clear why the ethnic identity rather than class or gender identity should be so important. For Epstein, people find psychological security, in this identification, a feeling of belonging, and a certainty that one knows one’s origin. One can commit oneself to a cause, fulfill oneself, and realize oneself to be unique, original, irreplaceable as a member of an ethnic group and irreducible from the outside to something else.

As another alternative theory, according to Barth’s ‘transaction list’ approach, self-ascription and ascription by others are the critical factors that make ethnic groups and identities. This interaction is ongoing and dynamic. It is reciprocal function. According to him,

The nature of continuity of ethnic units depends on the maintenance of a boundary. The cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed, even the organizational form of the group may change-yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content (Barth, 1969: 14).

According to Barth not the cultural content enclosed by the boundary, but the boundary itself and symbolic border guards (language, dress, food, etc.) perpetuate the community. He opposes the categorization that identify a race with a culture, a language and a society due to the fact that such categorization prevents us from understanding the phenomenon of ethnic groups and their place in human society and culture. He stated that it makes us to assume that boundary maintenance is unproblematic and itemized characteristics including racial difference, social separation and language barriers are spontaneous. According to him, this approach limits the range of factors that we use to explain cultural diversity and directs us to imagine each group developing its cultural and social form in relative isolation related with local ecological factors and history of adaptation. According to Barth, we should regard these characteristics as an implication or result rather than primary characteristics of ethnic group organizations to be able to investigate the non-ecological cultural and social components creating diversity.

He argues that boundaries change also according to social contact between persons of different cultures. The greater the differences between value orientations are, the more constraint on inter-ethnic interaction they have. Ethnic groups only persist if it shows marked difference in behavior and persisting cultural differences. However, it would be expected that these differences to be reduced where persons of different cultures interact since interaction require a similarity or community of culture. According to him the boundary is permeable, and transactions across the boundary help to make the boundary more resistant. However, as Furnivall (1969) put forward, poly-ethnic social system is “a poly-ethnic society integrated in the market place, under the control of a state system dominated by one of the groups, but leaving large areas of cultural diversity in the religious and domestic sectors of activity” (Furnivall, quoted in Barth, 1969:16). So the constraint on a person’s behavior because of his ethnic identity made further resistance to change and helps the boundary to be more resistant.

According to Hutchinson and Smith, Barth has been criticized for assuming the fixity of bounded ethnic identities and he could not differentiate the resources open to various ethnic groups, and their individual subjective dimensions (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996: 8). However, Cornell and Hartman introduce him as one of the leading Circumstantialist scholars whose approach is similar to Constructivist approach.

In the last two decades that theoretical change has promoted the exploration of the way ethnicity and gender mutually interact (Fenton, 1999). Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) claim that the conditions of reproduction of ethnic groups as well as their transformation are centrally linked to the other prime social divisions of class and gender. Ethnicity crosscuts gender and class divisions, but at the same time involves the positing of a similarity and a difference that seeks to transcend these divisions. As a result any effective analysis should take attention the intersection between class, ethnicity and gender.

2.3 The Intersection of Gender and Ethnicity

There are many common aspects of gender and ethnicity. Both have in recent years been the basis of political mobilization. In addition, both have been the focus of actions within institutional frameworks against discrimination and disadvantage in areas such as employment, education, and politics. Besides, as analytical frameworks, gender and ethnicity challenged class as the prime social identity, and hence opened ways to reconceptualize social divisions (Barot, Bradley and Fenton, 1999).

This theoretical change has promoted the exploration of the various ways in which ethnic and gender identities interacted in society. Within feminist studies, ethnicity was not a totally novel subject. It had already attracted attention, as a source of difference among women, thanks to the critique mounted by black feminists against early feminist research in the early 1980s. Later on, postmodern feminist scholars rebrought the issue of ethnicity to the fore through their critique of essentialism mentioned earlier (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992).

Within any ethnic group women can be seen as having an important role as carriers of ethnicity both in terms of ancestry (some communities have strict rules about intermarriage) and culture. Yuval-Davis (1989) stresses that this role of symbolic boundary maintenance is enacted in very concrete ways as women simultaneously embody ethnic culture and gender. Women in their proper behavior in their proper clothing embody the line, which signifies the collectivity's boundaries.

She points to the centrality of the home in this process and thus of women's responsibility as homemaker. It is in the home that cultural rules and practices are transmitted to the next generation through the switchboard of the home that networks of ancestry and kinship are maintained. These female tasks are very important for ethnicity maintenance in the line with the sexual division of labor,

We can be sure that women and men will be ascribed different economic roles within ethnic communities. When ethnic relations are played out in a minority context as a result of migration, women often may contribute to ethnicity

maintenance in a more material way, even though initially economic opportunities for men may appear more promising (Yuval-Davis 1989).

While all this indicates the important position of women within many urban ethnic communities, the responsibility involved in maintaining ethnic purity and the status and honor of the community may place a heavier burden on women and constraints upon their actions, rules about clothing, drinking eating and so forth are often enforced more vigorously for women (Afshar, 1994). The gender divisions of the dominant ethnic group will also affect ethnic minority women since there are two sets of relations around gender that affect them (Arat, 1993).

Moreover, we should aware that the new sociology of ethnicities has been to view as something to be celebrated. This switch to a celebratory concept of ethnicity and the affirmation of difference has caused serious problems in terms of gender division (Fenton, 1999). In turn this may encourage the legitimating of inequalities of gender, especially in the name of community solidarity. The desire to preserve the integrity of culture may lead women as well as men to deny the fact that cultural practices may promote gender inequalities. Some third world feminist like Afshar (1994) and Ramazanoğlu (1989) criticized some forms of gendering associated with cultural practices in non-western societies such as arranged marriages or clothing customs such as wearing the veil were read by western feminist as backward and oppressive

2.3.1 Intersection Between Gender, Ethnicity and Employment

There is plenty of research showing how gender and ethnicity come together to disadvantage women materially. For instance, Annie Phizacklea (1983) has explored employment hierarchies in the textile industry and the experience of home working in an attempt to show how minority women were pushed into the least desirable and lowest paid jobs. Such forms of labor generally do not attract attention because of their links with the sphere of domesticity. Examples include family labor within the ethnic enterprise or the housework that takes place within the domestic sphere.

At a more general level, Phizacklea (1983) explores the crucial role of class identity among ethnic women. In very simple terms, the experience of upper and lower class women within the same ethnic group show considerable dissimilarities. For instance, women from the upper class can buy out of some of the constraints of gender and ethnicity i.e. by employing women of a less privileged class origin to perform domestic tasks. At the same time, well-off women can gain access to elite forms of employment, unavailable to lower class female members of the same ethnic group, by utilizing material and cultural forms of capital. To put it differently, class privilege allows women of the elite to float above the cultural restrictions imposed by gender ideologies or ethnic cultural rules.

From a cross-ethnic perspective, ethnic minority women are concentrated in the most arduous and poorly paid work. In addition, they are subject to the highest levels of unemployment, the exigencies of unregistered work and the deprivations associated with home working (Allen and Wolkowitz, 1987).

Different feminist researchers have given different explanations for women's position in the labor market. Some Liberal feminists have argued that women get paid less than men because they have less skill and labor market experience as well as fewer qualifications. Marxist feminists such as Myrdal and Klein (1970), on the other hand, stress the dual roles performed by women. Still other Marxists (Braverman, 1974; Beechey, 1977) have argued that women constitute a reserve army of labor. An attempt has also been made to combine class analysis with the theorization of patriarchy to explain women's position in the labor market (Walby 1990; Hartmann, 1979).

It has been argued that most analyses on gender and paid employment treat women as if they are a unitary category, which neglects divisions based upon race and ethnicity. It has been shown that migrant female labor force constitutes a preferred source of labor. Migrant female workers meet the demand for labor in certain low-wage sectors of the economy, and they are confined to these sectors, often by specific policies and practices which are partially justified by the assumption of inferior characteristics (Phizacklea, 1983; Phizacklea and Wolkowitz 1995).

In the case of women, that inferiority is justified through the fact that their primary role is not defined as a wage laborer, but as an actual or potential wife and mother who is dependent upon a male breadwinner. This definition of women's role has far reaching consequences for the conditions under which they sell their labor power. As Phillips and Taylor have commented:

Capital is concerned not just with a logic of surplus extraction but with an assertion of command. It is necessarily sensitive to those social relations which make some workers already more subordinated than others (1980:86).

According to Phillips and Taylor, we can understand how the demand for the family wage was consistent with these exclusionary practices, and could be justified as providing the material preconditions for conformity to the bourgeois family from of male breadwinner and dependent wife.

Many researches have shown that many ethnic minorities are concentrated in the clothing industry as home workers, a situation which reproduces the traditional class gender and racial divisions of labor. Hakim (1991) has argued that home workers have higher job satisfaction because they have more freedom and flexibility in fitting their jobs into their lifestyles and daily routines. However, they are subject to the exigencies of unregistered work, and the deprivations associated with home working.

Another economic trend among migrant groups is a high level of preference for self-employment, particularly among men. There are a number of factors for the migrants to choose self-employment. First, self-employment is largely structured by the lack of opportunities in paid employment as a result of limited educational or other skills in relation to the requirements of the labor market. The second factor is the kinds of networks and familial relations that make small businesses at least an option when other opportunities are limited. Labor networks in employment are extremely important. Recruitment in many firms is handled through such networks, given the time and expense involved in hiring labor in the formal way and with so many people applying. Many firms hire workers who are friends or relatives of those who already work there. In cases where there are workers of ethnic origin already working, entry for others is much easier (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992).

At the same time, these businesses are dependent on family labor. Therefore, women as well as children are an important labor source. However, their working conditions are poor and they work for long hours (Anthias, 1983).

The ethnic economy is also a gendered economy. The proportion of minority women working is higher than those belonging to the dominant ethnic group. The main reason for this situation is financial necessity caused by higher rates of male unemployment, larger family size, and lower household incomes (Phizacklea and Wolkowitz, 1995; Phizacklea, 1983).

Anthias (1983) contends that ethnic commonality between the employer and the employee can act to curb participation in trade union activity although small firms in any case are under-unionized. This commonality usually acts to undermine class action. In simpler terms, it is much more difficult to see your employer in class terms when he is a co-villager or a member of your own family. At times, ethnic entrepreneurs may use women from other ethnic groups. In this case, ethnic solidarity between the employer and the employee does not emerge, but a hierarchy in the work force occurs. This further strengthens ethnic solidarity at the expense of class solidarity amongst women workers (Anthias, 1983).

2.3.2 Intersection Between Gender, Ethnicity and Household

The household has often been taken as a unit to be approached for obtaining information about individuals in a population. It has also been viewed as the basic entity whilst it is difficult to arrive at a minimal or universal accepted definition of the household (Roschelle, 1997; Hoodfar, 1996).

According to Parsons, he conceptualized gender relations in terms of sex one. The family itself existed as a social institution because it performed essential functions for society; those of the socialization of children and of the stabilization of adult personalities. One important part of the functionalist thinking which is still commonplace in modern society is that of the households as a consensual unit with a fair division of duties. That is, conceptions of the households as a unit in which decisions are taken in an egalitarian way in the interest of all members. This is a notion of the gender as different but equal. Pahl (1984) considers the division of

labor in the household to be the result of a household's work strategy, collectively agreed upon, in the interest of the households as a whole. Walby (1989) criticizes the conceptualization of family as one of consensus by functionalist as a refusal to allow conceptual space to theorize gender inequality.

Radical feminists argue that the reproduction is the basis of women's subordination by men. The biological hazards surrounding reproduction such as pregnancy, menstruation, childbirth, breast-feeding, and child rearing make women vulnerable and dependent on men. This creates two classes based on sex, men, and women. She sees only solution to lie in the eradication of the basic problem: women's vulnerability in reproduction. Firestone (1974) believes that developing forms of technology provide the possibility that human society may escape the limitations of biology, but only if the means of reproduction can be seized and controlled in the interests of women. Radical feminists have been criticized for having a reductionist, biologist, universalistic and a historic analysis as well as being essentialist (Walby, 1990). Radical feminist analysis of the household does examine the relationship of power and inequality between the sexes. It does not however examine the relationships of power and inequality between the sexes and it does not however examine the relationship between issues of gender and race in the family (Ramazanoğlu, 1989).

Hooks (1984) have argued that both that there are significant differences in family forms between ethnic groups and that the family is less a source of oppression for black women than it is for white women. Walby argued that although the points of Hooks indicates how the household has a different place in the experience of women of different ethnic groups in a patriarchal society. However, it is not clear that Hooks has also refuted the notion that the family is simultaneously a source of oppression of women.

Delphy (1984) has produced a striking materialist feminist analysis for the expropriation of women's labor by their husbands in the household. She argues that the exploration of women's labor in the home is the cornerstone of their oppression by men unlike the Marxist feminist analysis in the domestic labor debate. Delphy conceptualizes this as patriarchal exploitation. Since men, not capital are seen to be

the beneficiaries. Delphy identifies two classes: the producing class –housewives and the expropriating class-husbands. She argues for the distinctiveness of the relations of production in the domestic mode; showing how different are theories relations through which men expropriate the labor of their wives. Unlike Marxist who made a distinction between the work of men and women on the ground of different tasks, she differentiates on the basis of relations of production. That is domestic work is not defined in terms of a set of tasks (cooking, cleaning, birthing) but in terms of the social relations under which it is performed. She is criticized that most of her analysis is about patriarchal domination and only a small part about the intersection with capitalism.

The studies of survival strategies, including migration demonstrated that a household's control over domestic resources and the choice of alternatives are shaped by the external socioeconomic environment. An understanding of households requires an examination of domestic factors such as age structure, gender composition and availability of material and nonmaterial resources, along with external factors, such as labor market conditions, the socially accepted minimum standard of living. These findings explore the coping strategies of women and the changing role of women in the household economies (Chant, 1991; de la Rocha, 1994; Hoodfar, 1996).

Migration patterns have drawn attention to the fact that most people, particularly in the developing world, go through rather than as autonomous individuals (Hoodfar, 1996; Chant, 1992). This is especially true in Turkey, where individuals rarely live in a single person household and where the interdependence of family and households is emphasized. As a result the choices and decisions of individuals are affected by the roles the wider society ascribes to her or him as a member of a household. Existing literature underscores the role of household structure and family relations, including the sexual division of labor, in determining how different members of a household participate in economic activity or benefit from it. However much as economic concerns are taken into account, the historical and cultural structural diversities that exist in the way households responsibilities are divided according to age and gender hierarchies were also taken into account (Thomas, 1991; Hoodfar, 1996; Sinclair, 1998).

A household with its marked gender divisions, actual and ideological, is not an egalitarian unit. In the process of assessing and adopting economic and social strategies to cope with increasingly commercialized urban life, many existing gender inequalities may be reproduced or intensified while others become less pronounced. Moreover, household is an arena in which its members struggle to enhance their own positions of power and access to resources (Chant, 1991; delaRocha, 1994). According to Sen, structural gender inequalities, conflict interest of different members and social and economic interest make the household a 'cooperative conflictive' unit (Sen quoted in Hoodfar, 1996).

While it is important to take into account the structural constraints, it must not be assumed that individuals are passive recipients of change or victims of cultural constraints. Men and women are social agents who actively resist, struggle and reform their environment, including their own domestic relationships (Sinclair, 1998).

2.3.3 Intersection Between Gender, Ethnicity and Migration

There are several different types of population movement in the developing world. It can be classified; destination, duration and form. Migrant dominant destinations for migrants in developing countries are urban areas within national territories, other countries either in the developing or developed world and rural locations within national territories (Gilbert and Gugler, 1982).

Urbanward migration is generally from rural areas. In the past 40-50 years, urban population growth rates have been consistently higher than rural growth rates in most parts of the developing world while natural increase has been a major factor in population increase in certain cities, especially metropolitan areas it is almost agreed that migration has been a critical element in this growth (Flanagan, 1993). Migrants have moved to urban areas as a result of rural impoverishment, landlessness, loss of labor opportunities and the comparative advantages of towns or cities. The reasons vary from country to country depending on many factors such as land tenure systems, degrees of inequality between countryside and town in respect of income, employment, investment in public services (William, 1989).

Migration is highly differentiated on the basis of gender. Existing studies have clearly shown that the causes as well as the effects of migration on different sections of the migrant community vary according to gender roles (Chant, 1992). Since men and women are differentially constrained through economic and cultural aspects of societies to which they belong (Chant, 1992). In other words, the roots of these differences should be sought in the division of labor in the family, and in the particular cultural traditions and values. Therefore, women's migration to cities is not only governed by differential labor opportunities between countryside and town. It must be taken into account in which extent female population mobility is constrained by social and cultural constructions of gender. I.e. in South Asia cultural factors such as seclusion often prohibit ant independent movement at all when women do move in South Asia, they either move on marriage to their husbands homes or together with their children follow spouses to the cities (Chant, 1991).

The duration of migrant movement in developing countries has much a permanent nature. People stay in the areas they move to, even if they continue to maintain links with their places of origin. This is especially true for rural-urban migration. However a considerable proportion of Third World migrants also move on a temporary basis. Women customary cultural and social practices surrounding marriage, birth and death may prompt movement between places on temporary. While men usually dominate rural seasonal migration, certain seasonal agricultural activities make us of both male and female labor. For example in Central America men, women and children are recruited for coffee and cotton picking (William, 1989; Afshar, 1989).

The reasons for individual migration are numerous and diverse. It is widely observed that young people migrate as individuals because they are freer to migrate and for them it is easier to cope the initial stages of their entry into urban life, because they only have their own survival needs to consider. In addition, they have a better education than older people so they have greater access to jobs (William, 1989; Erman, 1998c; 1998b).

As far as gender differences are concerned independent movements is more likely among men than women. There is strong cultural pressure for women to

remain under the surveillance and protection of men folk. As Chant (1992) points out even in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and many parts of South East Asia where there is tendency for women to migrate as individuals, it is important that men may still have more freedom to move than women and be better equipped in respect of education, training and access to work.

Many independent movements of women still related to marriage and family factors. Marriage itself may be a primary goal of migration process for women move to cities with their husbands and or families. It is also important that while women migrate as individuals decisions on their movements may be depends on their family members or kin group. They move to relatives in the city (Chant, 1992; İlkaracan, 1998)

Family migration is occurred when families move as complete units. It usually takes the form of men moving the city first in order to find work and shelter then women and child join him. Gender is extremely important in this context. Men are often the first to move within the family unit because in the light of cultural expectations he should fill the main breadwinning role and he may have more privileged access to work in destinations areas and because women generally have to care for children so she less mobile and because of socio-cultural restrictions on the independent movements of women. As a result women stay at village but in some cases women join her husbands and she leave their children to parents (Chant, 1992; Afshar, 1989).

Generally, it assumed that Women in rural areas generally face greater family related social and economic constraints than male counterparts and they see mobility as a way out. Whether Migration is undertaken alone or together with family, kin or friends. It is not independent even if only one person moves to external labor market, other individuals are involved providing money to help the migrants at the point of departure or hosting migrant relatives besides this the ties between kin are often maintained over long distances and over long periods in the form of visits, remittances, exchanges of information. From the point of gender it is useful to emphasis this ties because women have active role on this part of migration process (Erman, 1998c; Chant, 1991; Afshar, 1989).

Migration is much related with ethnicity. Many scholars point out ethnicity arise after coming to city. First of all, actually cities today, especially metropolitan cities change in the sense of social polarization, differentiation and segregation. This process of change assumed by some thinkers as the results of changing nature of capitalist production that is the end of organized capitalism called post-Fordism or post-Modernism. This socially and spatially fragmented society can be examined in two dimensions; firstly, urban society is socially fragmented and is composed of a heterogeneous population with different income levels, ethnicities, skills and levels of education. Secondly, this population is spatially fragmented and disconnected (Marcuse & Van Kempen 2000).

The upper classes and suburbs of middle, lower middle and working classes are residentially segregated in the different cities of the world. Furthermore, segregation depends on the level of income, occupation and ethnic background of the urban people. The social differences and heterogeneity of the residents who are mainly established working class and lower middle class people can be seen in social life in this neighborhood and it is based on the neighborhood relations and family networks. The role of women is extremely crucial as a reproductive agent of social networks in these, two spheres (Güvenç and Isık, 2000; Marcuse and Van Kempen 2000)

There has been a growth in the theorization of social issues such as race, racism and ethnicity that has run in parallel with these developments. It is argued that any understanding of ethnicity is closely related of the concept of identity and migration, both national and international (Erbaş, 1997a). The study of the nature of the ethnicity and the development of ethnic groups and migrant groups leads us to discuss the psychological question of how and why individuals come to attach themselves to a group, that is to say, to discuss the question of identity. Because, the most important thing is that ethnicity only has meaning when two or more groups are interacting. When migration, from sending country take place, migrants find themselves confronted with the problems of living in a different sphere. They are between old and new culture (Erbaş, 1997b). They confronted with different lifestyles in many ways, social, cultural, political as well as economic environment. They re-define 'our' or 'ourselves' and 'they' or 'themselves' in their new

environment. They have to cope with all the problems they have come across. The most important problems are to find a suitable job and shelter. This cheap labor is willing to work with discarded, obsolete equipment and low wages. He /she is a mobile worker ready to move from one sector to another. Besides these most important problems the migrants faced other problems. For example especially women since they didn't allowed to go to school, are not able to speak Turkish so, they have no direct contact to the new society for long years (Güneş-Ayata, 1993; Erbas, 1997; Güneş-Ayata, 1996; 2000).

To solve the many problems migrants have developed coping strategies and the ways of solutions as well as develop a kind of social network that has a solidarity function for the group. This social networks/ethnic solidarity includes family relations as well as kinship. As we know that many cross-cultural studies prove that women are more involved in kin affairs. They are active agents for keeping kin interaction alive. This interaction serves solving their main problems after coming to city (Erbas, 1997; Güneş-Ayata, 1993, 1996; 2000). Furthermore, chain migration articulates ethnic solidarity also. It has played a major role in the incorporation of kin and fellow villagers into the migration process at the stage of decision to migrate .the chain migration is high for some groups, for example there are some villages where all young people have migrated by using their family and kin's network. As we stated above those who arrive first help in any way they can their relatives or fellow villagers for their migration. In all this process family and kin networks are important. Erbaş (1997) suggest that the kin networks articulate ethnic separatism of migrants from the older migrants and natives and even sub-separatism among themselves.

CHAPTER III

THE RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

The main question of the thesis is to examine the effect of the intersecting dynamics of gender and ethnic identities for Kurdish migrant women in Turkey. The research attempts to investigate Kurdish migrant women's everyday lives in their private and public domains, with a focus on their gender and ethnic identities which will intersect in these domains and will be effective in creating a specific identity. Such a research with migrant ethnic women, who have very limited level of formal education, living in close boundaries within the neighborhoods surrounded with relatives, kin or "hemşehri" (townsmen), is expected to face with difficulties. Those difficulties will be mostly related to reaching those women, gaining their confidence, being able to communicate on such a difficult topic of identity and being able to explain the research as such to those women using a different meaning system.

In social sciences difficulties of research on women has been discussed to a great extent. Feminist methodologies are the products of this long concern and discussion in the literature.

3.1 Feminist Methodologies

Whilst most writers on feminist methodological issues agree upon that there is no single method that can be labelled as the feminist methodology, but many different feminist methodologies.(Maynard, 1996)

Feminist critics have pointed that mainstream theorists have ignored, distorted or marginalized the women. It is argued that gender bias is introduced through the

theoretical frameworks and methods by which empirical investigations are conducted.

As Harding (1987) suggests that feminist research significantly different from male stream research, has certain principles; first, women's lives need to be addressed in their own terms. Second, feminist research should not just be on women but for women to provide for women's explanations of their life, which can be play, a role in female emancipation. Third, feminist methodology involves putting the researcher into the process of production; the researcher can make explicit the reasoning procedures they utilized in carrying out the research and be self-reflexive about their own perceptions and biases, which they bring to the research.

Most feminists (Acker, 1999) have also rejected the view that feminist researchers can be objective in the sense of being uninvolved. Involment is seen inevitable and necessary. Because the researcher must identify with the women she is researched and she is a part of what is being researched. This means that reflexivity is essential. The researcher must be constantly aware of how her values, attitudes and perceptions are influencing the research process, from the formulation of the research questions, thorough the data-collecting stage, to the ways in which the data are analyzed and theoretically explained. According to Reinharz here the participatory model of research is useful, it aims to produce non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian and non-manipulative research relationships. (Reinharz quoted in Acker, 1999)

Within the feminist methodologies the debate between quantitative and qualitative methods includes the claim that; qualitative methods is better means for carrying out feminist research because; they imply more equality between researcher and researched, they allow the viewpoint of them researched to be taken into account and they do not turn the researched into fragmented object. For this study I chose to use the qualitative method as the most suitable method for two major reasons. One is that the participants of the research will be women. Secondly, the subject of the study will be inquiring ethnicity and gender as two intersecting topics in the formation of an identity, which is a very sensitive issue and makes the use of qualitative methods indispensable.

My structural position as a Kurdish woman affected my research and has enabled me to examine the many faceted complexities of the dynamics involved in 'Women to Women' interviewing. I felt women were able to open up, trust and confide in me, which allowed them to reveal very personal and intimate details of their lives, for example the abusive behavior of their husbands. The same information may not be obtained by a male researcher. Of course I do not believe that gender is enough to create the share meaning with respondent. Mies argues that the concept of 'partial identification' is important. This enable us recognition of that which binds us to the other women as well as that which separates us from them. Binding us are the experiences of women all over the world, of repression, sexism and exploitation, class, language and education separate us. The majority of women were extremely friendly and they expected me to automatically understand their situation. As an example, one woman stated

You know my girl. Kurdish men don't lift a finger in the home.

Sen de bilirsin kızım. Bizimkiler parmaklarını bile kaldırmazlar evde

3.2 The Research

For the purposes of this research I had to find migrant ethnic women, with a rather long urban experience. When I started to search for the participants of the research my resources was either contacting some public offices like the Municipalities or Social Services Department. But I decided that their directions could be misleading in terms of clientelistic relations. So I decided to apply to some non-governmental organizations that have many contacts to migrant women through their services. One such organization I came across with is a reading and writing course given to migrant women and organized and sponsored by the Ministry of Education. Actually, courses like this one were given by many such NGO's but Mrs. Semra Sezer, the wife of the president of Turkish Republic, specifically supported this one. In fact my mother happen to be a teacher in the primary school through which the course was organized. So I decided to use this opportunity to be able to reach the migrant women living in the urban.

Twenty-one structured in-depth interviews were conducted with Kurdish migrant women living in Zeytinburnu in Istanbul. Zeytinburnu has been a squatter settlement until 1980s. After then, the low quality and higher undetached apartments were built. Since the neighbourhood is populated by Kurdish origin residents, my respondents selected from among the participants of the course turned out to be Kurdish which served well for the purpose of the thesis. Since I defined my main problem as the re-definition of the ethnic identity in the urban, such a sample of Kurdish migrant women would be very suitable for this study. For making interviews, first of all I get permission from the director of this primary school. We establish a friendly relationships and she helps me very much. The course is everyday except weekend. The women should attend the course and they should pass three exams at the end of the course for getting certificate. I participated them at the last three weeks of the course.

The fieldwork took place over fifteen days. Each interview ranged from two to four hours and the majority of interviews took place in the respondent's homes. A very specific group of Kurdish women were investigated. They had all born in the east part of Turkey and they are first generation migrant group. All have attended writing-reading course in a primary school. As a Kurdish woman, I have lived in the Kurdish community all my life. I participated their picnic organizations at the end of their course. Also I accompany their lesson many times to gain further information about the realities of these women.

The sampling method used was that of the snowball sample. Once I had made the initial contact with a few women, other women were recommended to be interviewed. The respondent was easily accessible as they had already spoken to someone who had participated in the research and they weren't suspicious of me. They respected me and I felt comfortable, secure and safe that I entered the homes of other Kurdish migrant women they were acquainted with. I said that I was a university student. My research was about their daily experiences and their problems that they confronted after migration. My educational status was a source of difference between my participants and myself. Some women said they were afraid I was going to ask them hard intellectual questions. I try to simplify the questions and my aims as possible as I can

In the structured in- depth interviews I asked the women mainly about their in family, out-family and social and economic relations. About in-family relations questions like “How do you take the decisions about the children and family budget?”,”Do you always ask your husbands when you go out “ are asked.

3.3 Assumptions and Hypothesis

In this thesis I have to make some *assumptions* such as,

1. Gender, as an analytic framework, will help us to:

- explain the position of women in society
- the limited access of women in economic, social and political spheres,
- the nature of sexual division of labor,
- the social expectations about the behavior of women.

2. Both ethnicity and gender have been central on recent work on the reconceptualization of social change. They mutually interact. For the purpose of this study an ethnic group is taken to be a group of people who define themselves as distinct from other groups because of cultural differences.

3. However, the definition of ethnic group itself as distinct form from other group is not a given-unchangeable one. It changes through the process of migration and urbanization. Besides, they use their family and kin’s networks as coping strategies in this new environment.

4. In Turkey, the most attractive city for migration has always been Istanbul. Istanbul have become socially and spatially more heterogeneous and fragmented. There is an increasing trend of emergence of various neighborhoods where people with similar socio-economic and cultural characteristics tend to live together. After 90’s new divisions indicating that this has also become fragmented along the lines of

ethnicity, politics and culture, many scholars point out ethnicity arise after coming to city.

In this thesis I have to make some *hypothesis* such as,

1. Women from different class, religion, language and ethnic background are affected differently by gender oppression. In the context of migration, entering new settlement leads people re-define 'us' or 'them' in their new environment. Ethnic group enter the new process of re-construction of identity. They identify their group's values and differentiate from others. In this process, the role of women is crucial such as:

They are 'A boundary maker, they keep the community together by emphasizing solidarity within informal networks'.

They are 'An identity maker, they keep collective identity alive'.

They are: 'A socializer, they transmit these values to next generations (Güneş-Ayata, 1996, 2000)'.

2. Kurdish migrant women attach great importance to the family and are expected to do so within the general framework of kinship obligations. Kinship ties are strongly functional for coping strategies in the city; women are included extensively in this informal network, they have responsibility as homemakers, since they transmit cultural values and practices to the next generation.

3. Kurdish migrant women's experiences do not show a uniform development and since their conditions of life vary widely depending on age, social class and marriage type. Age plays an important role in women's family relations. Women have high time spent in the city are more active in their social life. An arranged marriage in kin group is a structure in which women are disadvantaged. Employment status of women influenced women's power on decisions about the household.

3.4 Socio-Demographic Profile

Here, the participant's basic demographic information, their income level and their employment status are in this part. All these variables are indispensable since the evaluation will be based on these variables.

Table 1. Social Demographic Profile of Kurdish Migrant Women

	Names*	Communities	Age	Marriage type	Income Level	Occup.	Husband's Occup.
1	Fatma	Malatya	46	K	L	NE	Self Employed
2	Zinnet	Elazığ	53	K	M	S.E	Retired
3	Halime	Bitlis-Reşadiye	34	A	H	NE	Repairman
4	Mine	Urfa-Merkez	28	K	H	NE	Self Employed
5	Cemile	Malatya	31	A	M	NE	Self Employed
6	Ayten	Adıyaman	30	K	L	E	Self Employed
7	Songül	Elazığ	28	A	M	NE	Self Employed
8	Ruken	Adıyaman	18	S	H	NE	Self Employed
9	Bedriye	Adıyaman	35	A	L	NE	Worker
10	Ayşe	Bitlis	42	K	L	E	Self Employed
11	Kıymet	Elazığ	42	A	M	E	Self Employed
12	Naziye	Malatya	44	K	M	NE	Self Employed
13	Gülistan	Adıyaman	36	K	M	NE	Worker
14	Seval	Bitlis	36	A	M	HW	Worker
15	Necla	Elazığ	29	K	L	E	Self Employed
16	Hatice	Urfa-Siverek	32	S	H	NE	Self Employed
17	Rahime	Malatya	49	K	H	NE	Retired
18	Vahide	Elazığ	34	A	L	NE	Artisan
19	Fehime	Mardin	41	K	L	HW	Repairmen
20	Remziye	Malatya	35	A	H	HW	Civil Servant

*All names are pseudo-names

K:Kinship Marriage, A:Arranged Marriage, S: Love Marriage

L:low Income, M:Medium Income, H:High Income

E:Employment, SE:SelfEmployed, NE:Not Employed, HW:Homework

In the text the quotations of the respondents are presented in smaller font, also information about age, income (Low, Medium or High) and employment (employment-E, not employed-NE, homework-HW, self employment-SE) of the respondents will be giving in brackets.

3.4.1 Age and Marital Status

In this study, the age-means (the average of age) of the interviewed women is 36. The youngest woman who participated in this study is 18 years old, and the oldest 60. These women have been living in the city for relatively long periods of time, and the average number of years spent in the city is 15.

Age Distribution	
Age	Number of them
15-20	1
20-25	1
25-30	5
30-40	6
40-50	5
50-60	2

Nearly all of the women that participated in this study had an arranged marriage, and half of the women married within their close kin group. There are cases where brides are exchanged between families. In other words, in return for the bride, the family of the groom agrees to marry one of its female members to one of the male members of the bride's family. This was the case for 3 of the interviewees. Only one woman married with a man who she knows beforehand.

3.4.2 Family Type and Composition

The most common family type is the nuclear family in the cities of Turkey. Three types of families have been identified in this study. 15 Nuclear Family; consisting of father, mother, and unmarried children. 3 Extended Family; consisting of father, mother widowed mother and father, married sons and their families who share family wealth. One Transitional Family; usually consisting of father, mother, married and unmarried children, unmarried sisters or brothers of either side. Well-known fellowships or neighbors from village who stay for a short time until find a suitable house.

Two points are important. Although the nuclear type of family can be observed as a general trend in this study, however these families are not in as state of

total isolation; on the contrary, they maintain strong ties among themselves and these involve mutual support and economic association. As Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberg-Tılıç (2000) argue, such nuclear family is almost always in a state of partial dependence.

The other point is that nearly all families have experience of transitional and extended type of family for long years. For a very short time they have a nuclear type of family.

Most families have between 4-6 members. Families with more than 6 members are 5. Families who have the least mean size are 2. The mean size of family is slightly higher than the mean size of family in Istanbul (5.2). It is because of the high number of children. Nearly half of the women who participated this study have 5 or over 5. The number of families with 2, 3 and 4 children is the most widespread form. Only one woman has one child and only two women have no child.

One of the reason of high family size is that although the children are mostly married, married sons sometimes prefer to stay with their family for such reasons as difficulties in paying for expensive weddings, debts due to buying furniture or saving money for specific purposes –e.g. for buying or building a house, or opening a shop and so on. They mostly stay with their families until their brothers get married, or until they are financially capable of having a separate house.

3.4.3 Education

All had no schooling except one of the interviewed women. They are illiterate. They also did not know how to speak Turkish when they first migrated. While I was doing the interviews, they were enrolled in a reading – writing course in a primary school.

At the end of the course only two women fail to pass the course and only 4 women said that they wanted to attend the second stage of the course if they would have passed this stage. So they will have a chance to take driving license.

Literacy among the children is higher than their mothers. The children are less likely to continue their education after primary school. Most finished primary school

and many of them left from the primary school due to their old age the economic difficulties. Only two women's children graduated from university.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) “ Girl was eleven years old. They enrolled her to the second class, she went for some time, then she said, Mom, I am embarrassed of going into the class, and her teacher was male. She was shy and did not go there, but the young are having their education.”

Bedriye “kız onbir yaşındaydı. İkinci sınıfa koydular öyle geldi gitti,ama sonra gidemedi anne utanıyorum sınıfa girince dedi.Bir de hocası da erkek çıktı.Utandı. gitmedi. ama küçükler okuyor hep.”

3.4.4 Migration

As we know mainly after the second World War, migration from rural areas to cities had accelerated and its effect on the structures of cities and migrant's adaptation have been one of the most important issues studied in Turkish Social Science (İlkaracan, 1998).

In this study, 20 women who were interviewed all migrated from rural areas to the city. All of them come from the Eastern provinces of Turkey; 5 from Elazığ, 5 from Malatya, 3 from Bitlis, 3 from Adıyaman and 2 from Urfa. The remaining two are from Bitlis and Mardin. The mean of women's period that living in the city is 15 years.

Migration by Dates

Years	Number of Women
1975-85	7
1985-90	6
1990-00	7

Migrants have moved to urban areas as a result of rural impoverishment, landlessness, loss of labor opportunities and the comparative advantages of towns or cities. The other reasons are degrees of inequality between countryside and town in respect of income, employment, and investment public services. The most common cases men move on temporality bases and then they take their family near after improving their economic condition. Women move on permanently.

In line with the general pattern in Turkey, the majority of these women migrated to urban areas for marriage. They used to be single women in the village. They get married to men living in the city, and then migrate to the city to start living with the relatives of husbands.

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'I became a bride when I was fifteen ...I came here 40 days after the wedding ..my husband was here'.

Kıymet "Onbeşim bitmişti, ben gelin oldum ...40 günlük gelindim buraya geldim ..beyim burdaydı"

The other women migrated either with their husbands or to join their husbands in the city. In this regard, their move was permanent. Men are often the first to move to the city within the family unit because of the cultural expectations, which charge them with the role of the principal breadwinner. Besides, men usually have more privileged access to work in the destination areas. Furthermore, women are typically less mobile than men since they generally have to care of the children and since socio-cultural values impose considerable restrictions on the independent movement of women. On the whole, it is the men rather than the women who first move to the city.

Fatma (46, K ,L, NE) 'My husband, he has always been here. We could not do it there. So we came here. At least, we are all together, we all share and eat what we have, if we do not have anything, we do not'

Fatma 'Beyim o hep burdaydı. Biz orda olmadı. Bizde buraya geldik. Hiç olmazsa hepimiz bir aradayız varsa oturup yiyoruz, yoksa yok'

Hatice (32, S, H,NE) 'My husband often came and went, then he found a job here, he had us come here a year after.'

Hatice 'Beyim sık sık gelip gidiyordu. Burda iş buldu, bir yıl sonra bizide yanına aldı.'

There is also women who decide to migrate to the city to make a living for her family, and hence for economic reasons. Their husbands may be very old and unable to work. For instance, one of the interviewees had a brother with a textiles shop in the city. Upon the brother's call, she moved to the city along with her children leaving her husband behind and started working there.

Zinnet (53, K, L, NE) 'My brother was here. He had squarttter. I was in a very difficult position. I did not work and I had no strength. I used to look after a couple of animals. My husband did not work. Hew did not like to work, he was sick. My brother had told me, my sister, bring your children over here, there are plenty of jobs, I will find jobs for them, your

children are very small, it is a pity for you to work in the fields, I immediately came to my brother's house, and I immediately started to work.'

Zinnet ' Abim burdaydı. Gecekondu vardı. Ben çok kötü haldeydim. Çalışma yoktu Güç yoktu. Büyük hayvan bakıyordum. Kocam çalışmıyordu. Sevmiyordu, hastaydı..Abim bana demişti ki bacım çocuklarını getir buraya iş çok, ben çocuklarını burda işe koyarım. Küçük küçük çocukların yazık sana tarlada mı çalışacaksın? hemen geldim, abimin yanına hiç durmadım işe girdim.'

It is sometimes the extended family structure of the rural life, which leads certain members of the family to migrate. The sharing of rare resources usually cause conflict between the relatives. As a result, some prefer to move to city.

Sevval (36, A, M, HW)' My husband could not get along with his father and brothers, because of property, so we came here'

Sevval ' kocam anlaşamadı. Babası ile kardeşleri ile. Mal yüzünden kalktık geldik '

Ayten (30, K, L, E) 'My mother and father could not get along with my grandfather; they talked and agreed. We came here without taking anything.'

Ayten 'annem babam anlaşamadı dedemle konuştular anlaştilar. Hiç bir şey almadan buraya geldik.'

The social structure of the village is one of the various reasons for migration.

Hatice (32, S, H,NE) 'There is the matter of feudal lord there. My husband said to the lord, it was in older times when people used to listen to what the lord had to say. So we always had wanted to leave there and come here.'

Hatice' Ağa meselesi var orda. Beyimde ağaya karşı eskidendi ağa sözü dinlemek dedi. O yüzden hep biz istiyorduk oradan kalkıp şehire gelmeyi'

Especially all interviewee are first generation migrant, so they do not cut their ties with their home villages. Many still go to visit their parents and other relatives living there. Some go to help their relatives in the harvest season. Other reasons are death of relatives, religious festivals, weddings, legal problems and disputes. Those have no property and no relatives in the village go less. However, only 7 women visits their village once a year if it is possible. The others do not any more visited and working migrant women prefer their parents coming instead of their going.

Whether migration is undertaken alone or together with family, kin or friends. It is not independent. Even if only one person moves to external labor market, other individuals are involved providing money to help the migrants at the point of departure or hosting migrant relatives. Besides this, the ties between kin are often maintained over long distances and over long periods in the form of visits,

remittance, exchanges of information. As a result the kin networks often play a positive role in migration process after one family establish an economic and residential place in the city. The other members of kin or family are followed them. It is called chain migration.

3.4.5 Employments and Income

The husbands of 8 women do business with her relatives, and 5 have a textile workshop and work with his children. Two works as repairmen and one is civil servant. Three husbands work as paid worker. Two husbands due to their ages cannot work. One of them is retired.

9 women have never worked after moving to city. 3 women whose husbands had a textile workshop cooperative with relatives has work when the work was too much or in as special time they temporarily work.

4 women, whose families has own textile workshop, have been working for long years. Only one woman who worked for long years in her brother's shop managed to open her own textile workshop and stated to work with her daughters and sons

A clothing industry is special area for women migrants who tend to work often home workers. The 3 women have made homework in the home.

Although these women's families mostly constitute a low-income group, some families have urban real estate and many have durable goods as color TV, washing machines, electric brooms and furniture. 10 of the interviewees owned a house and 5 of them owned a car. The others live in a rented house, and almost 7 women defined their current economic condition as good. These women are very interested in their house decoration.

Of course, there are some other sources that make possible the purchase of such goods and property. These include both the supplementary income sources and efforts to reduce the cost of living in the city: job duplication, rural subsidy, and income from rural land.

Job duplication Many husbands of these women do not have second jobs, although they have low-income. On the other hand, they work on the weekends as drivers or as an artisan. And they help their relatives who have textile workshops.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'My husband works on weekends as well. On weekends, he replaced my brother-in-law. He brings goods, he carries them, he does something and helps him. He has got a big workshop.'

Bedriye 'Hafta sonlarında çalışıyor beyim. O zaman kaynımın yerine gidiyor. Mal geliyor onları taşıyor bir şeyler yapıyor yardım ediyor ona. Onun büyük atelyesi var

Rural subsidiary most families have not cut their ties with their places of origin. In the past they regularly to help their village relatives in the harvest season and prepare some food as cheese, flour, lentil boiled and pounded wheat and so on. Close relatives may send these foods, even if they do not go there to work. Sometimes while their relatives come to city they bring some foods. However rural subsidiary should not be exaggerated. Most of families have no rural subsidiary at all.

Ayten (30, K, L, E)'I could not go this year because I have been sick but I sent my daughters. They will be here as the winter approaches. Their grandmother is there, they help her'

Ayten 'Bu sene ben hastayım diye gitmedim. Ama kızları yolladım. Kışa doğru gelirler. Babanneleri orda yardım ediyorlar '

5 women have reported to have a land or house in her village. But one woman cannot take legally her right because of their brothers.

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'I had, my daughter, many fields that I had inherited from my father, but they did not give them to me, I just received seven billion Lira later on, and that was all; however, there was a lot of property'

Zinnet ' vardı kızım babamdan kalan bir sürü tarla vardı ama bana vermediler. Sonraları bir yedi milyar aldım o kadar. Dünya kadar mal vardı'

Women still contribute significantly to the household economy by engaging in activities that help the family to reduce the cost of living. This type of contribution is less direct as well as visible. As Hoodfar (1988) suggest that non monetary contributions are a substantial part of household resources. These are particularly important among the low-income strata of any society, where such activities do not improve the level of household welfare but often represent the margin that makes survival possible.

They carry out housework, take care of children, and produce various textile goods and foodstuffs for the consumption of the family. They prefer shopping from weekly bazaar to big market. In this way they contribute to family subsistence through cost reducing activities. In addition to shopping, women also deal with other family responsibilities paying electricity and water bills, taking children to school or taking them to hospital. Moreover, educated daughters deal with too thus paying bills and doing repairing even if the women works. Women try to minimize their consumption of food, clothing, housing. Working women tend to eat home made sandwiches or they coming to home for lunch. The other women prepare something for lunch to the husbands and sons. Saving, thrift, frugality and avoiding luxury spending are important values for these women.

Kurdish women also knit pullovers for family members to wear in cold weather and doormats to use at home. Some make lacework for sons and girls trousseau.

These women have not give up old habits of preparation of some foodstuffs in the family. This also has the aim of reducing living expenses. These include making yoghurt, tomato paste, bread, tinned food, and 'tarhana'. The older women are more active in such process. They get help from younger women in the family or form relatives and neighbors. Some foods are prepared in summer and autumn as pickles; pepper, beans, dried vegetable and they make canned food, jam and Tarhana.

Rahime (49, K, H, NE) 'We do it all together, we prepare pickles together, we beat wool. We do the cleaning. My daughter would have her house whitewashed. We did it together... We whitewashed the house'.

Rahime 'Yaparız, birlikte turşu yaparız, yün çırparız, temizlik yaparız. Kızımın evi badana olacaktı. Beraber yaptık, badana ettik evi'

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'My previous house was better. I even cooked bread in there'

Kıymet 'Eski evim daha müsaitti. Orda ekmek bile yapardım.'

However, some families, economically better ones, totally give up the preparation of some foodstuff. They think it is cheaper to buy in the market.

Mine (28,K, M, NE) 'Of course we prepare a lot of things. My mother-in-law knows them very well, but it is not worth the work any more. The markets sell everything... And sometimes they are more economical... It is not worth the trouble.'

Mine 'Yapıyoruz tabi bir sürü şeyi . kayınvalidem çok iyi biliyor ama artık değmiyor ki marketlerde herşey var ..daha ucuza geliyor bazen..değmiyor o kadar uğraşıyorsun.'

Numerous types of support come from the social networks for family to save more. The establishment of social networks and their maintenance is essentially the business of women. However, the most important among this type of support is information (Sinclair 1998). This information may take the form of finding employment or a spouse, a house or support within the household; this type of social activity may include relatives as well as neighbors.

Cemile (31, A, M, NE) 'I made all my brothers-in-law married... I found them the girls and the houses, they used to stay with me, now they got married and I am alone, we are relieved'.

Cemile' kayınlarımı hepsini ben evlendirdim ben buldum kızları da evlerini de benim yanımda lardı. Artık tekim, evlendirdik rahatladık.'

CHAPTER IV

RELATIONS IN-FAMILY

In this chapter, I will examine various aspects of the Kurdish migrant women's family relations, by putting special emphasis on the diverging social, cultural and economic characteristics of the families. First, I try to analyze sexual division of labor, and then the decision-making process in the family. In the following part I will consider women's relations to their husbands in this part, in order to understand the relations of women with their husbands, women's expectations from husbands, the time the couples spend together during their spare time and the type of leisure activities they share, and the degree of interactions between husband and wife are analyzed. Finally, I focus on these women's relations with their children under three headings: their expectations for the future of their children; the socialization of children, and their relations with married children. Women's relations with their mothers-in law is analyzed because it appears to be a particularly significant factor behind the decision-making process in the households. In this chapter, I compare and contrast especially the differences among the Kurdish migrant women with regards to age, occupation, marriage type and the effects of ethnic origin on the family relations.

4.1 Relations with Husbands

4.1.1 The Sexual Division of Labor in the House

It was found that the division of labor between members in the family is almost wholly traditionally arranged. Women mainly take on the major responsibilities for household activities. While women are primarily responsible for the household chores such as cooking, washing, cleaning, ironing, mending clothes, shopping and taking care of the children, they all state that their husbands only earn money and pay the bills but do not share the responsibility in other household chores.

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'He works outside and earns money. I do the housework. I look after the children and look after my husband'

Kıymet 'O dışarda çalışır para kazanır. Bende evin işlerini yaparım. Çocukların bakımı, beyimin bakımı.. bunları yaparım.'

Remziye (35, A, H, HW) 'I do the cleaning in the house, I care for the education of the children and prepare them for school, I bring up my children. Is it easy to raise kids in a place like Istanbul? I do as my husband asks me to do. He, on the other hand, works and brings money; or how can this house get on?'

Remziye 'Evin temizliğini yaparım, çocukların okuluydu, hazırlanması onu yaparım. evaltlarını yetiştiririm İstanbul gibi yerde çocuk büyütme kolay mı? beyimin isteklerini yaparım. O da çalışır para getirir yoksa ev nasıl döner.'

Men are active in areas which are considered as men's work and which sometimes involve physical power such as carrying coal or wood and repairing something.

Gülistan (36, K, M, NE) 'I mean, I ask for help for difficult tasks, such as dispatching coal for example.'

Gülistan 'Yani öyle ağır bir iş oldu mu yardım isterim, kömür taşınacaksa mesala'

It seems that a woman who enters the work life does not radically alter her housewife status. This does not lead to taking joint responsibility for household chores. However, they relegate some housework to their older or teenager daughters,

Kıymet (42, A, M, E)'My girl, I swear I go to the workshop at nine o'clock and work there until the evening. I come back and then do the housework, but my daughter helps a lot to me. She does anything I ask from her, she can do every sort of work.'

Kıymet 'Kızım valla dokuzda iniyorum atölyeye aksam oluncaya kadar. Geliyorum birde evin işi. ama benim kız çok yardımcı oluyor. Ne dersem yapar elinden her iş geliyor'

In some cases, the help comes from the their own mothers or from the mothes-in law if they live together. It is often stressed that presence of children is one of the important factors influencing women's participation in the labor market. Women with small children often withdraw from the labor market since the children increase greatly the time spent within the household.

Necla (29,K, L, E) 'My mother-in-law always looked after the children, I always worked, I do the housework, no, my husband does not help.'

Necla ' Kayınvalidem baktı hep çocuklara. Ben hep çalıştım evin işini ben kendim görüyorum, yok yardım etmez kocam.'

As Şenyapılı (1982) suggests, solving the child care problem reinforces the informal social support systems, and therefore supports the existing traditional family pattern with the effect of further strengthening the gendered division of labor.

As this study indicates, marital roles are sharply segregated. The rights and obligations are divided between the sexes. Nearly all women confirmed that their husbands do not share any domestic responsibility, and do not help. Regardless of their income, age and marriage type, women do not expect or demand such help from their husbands for domestic chores. The only thing they expect from their husbands is responsibility-sharing for the children's problems. Working women need such a help but they are supported by the other female members of the family.

They are happy to do the housework. However, the way they do it is constantly evaluated in the family, particularly by her relatives since this indicates women's success and her efficiency. This is especially true for women married with a member of the close kin group, and who maintain strong bonds with their relatives. These women legitimize their husbands' lack of concern for the housework on the grounds that they belong to a culturally different, namely Kurdish, society.

Mine (28, K, H, NE) 'Of course I want him to help, but the men of the east, none of them helps. They tell him that he is getting henpecked even if he shows care for his children.'

Mine 'İsterim tabi yardım etsin. Ama doğu tarafı hiç biri etmez yani. Çocuğu ile bile ilgilense kılıbıklaştın derler'

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'No my girl, my husband is from the east. He does not help, and let it be like that, I also do not want him to help'.it is not appropriate behaviour. He never do, even if you kill him he will never do.

Naziye ‘Yok kızım doğulu benim beyim. Yardım etmez etmesin de bende istemem. Yakışıkta almaz yani. Yapmaz zaten öldürsen yapmaz ‘

As Bhopal (1997) argues, strong sex differentiation and male dominance are traditional norms in many ethnic cultures. Two separate roles for women and men are emphasized: homemaker and breadwinner. The division of roles is considered to be a part of the Kurdish traditions, and therefore quite a natural behavior both for men and women. It was regarded as unusual for men to participate in the housework. This was seen as a violation of the traditional rules that exist for men and women in Kurdish communities.

On the other hand, the sexual division of labor has an economic aspect. The family is an economic unit, and provides for the basic needs of its members. The family members are expected to behave in such a way as to promote the collective well being of the family (Allen, 1994). Indeed, the division of labor is serving the well being of the whole. Especially, the male head of household has to be hardworking, responsible and ready to sacrifice for others. Women should be modest, hardworking and help him play his bread-winning role well.

Ruken (18, S, H, NE) ‘I do not want him to get involved, I mean, this is my work. Of course, I want him to share the responsibility of the children. Let him be involved in that.’

Ruken ‘İstemem ilgilenmesini yani bu benim işim. Tabi çocukların sorumluluğunu paylaşsın isterim.İlgilensin onunla.’

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) ‘No he does not help, he never helps. But the man is also right, he works outside all day. Sometimes it happens that he works in the weekend, too.’

Bedriye ‘ Yok yardım etmez, hayatta etmez. Ama adam da haklı bütün gün dışarda çalışıyor. Bazen öyle oluyor hafta sonunda çalışıyor’

Vahide (34, A, L, NE) ‘Sometimes he gives a hand in some things, for examples, he prepares the tea, for example. He is interested in his children, he finds tasks for himself in the house, but I do not want it, let him go and work, we will make the children marry. Everything is money here.’

Vahide ‘Bazen elini atıyo bir şeylere çay koyuyo. Mesala,çocuklarla ilgileniyo, iş buluyo evde kendine ama istemem gitsin çalışsın daha bu çocukların evliliği olacak. Burda her şey para.’

4.1.2 Decision-making Process in the House

The decision-making process involves the decisions concerning visits, physical mobility, children and the organization of the financial resources of the family and it is not independent from broader power relations within the family. Age

and gender are two important factors that influence individual's position within these power relations.

Regarding the role of women in the decision-making, their power is limited to immediate everyday issues. Men often do not join the decision-making in certain areas considered traditionally women's domain such as hosting visitors and taking care of the children. However, they dominate the decisions regarding matters outside the home and related to money such as visiting friends, and organizing family budget.

For instance, women's physical mobility outside of the house is still a taboo and should be under strict male control even for older female members of the family. The younger women appears to be more mobile but they also are not allowed to go out on their own.

Older women are very conservative about physical mobility themselves,

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'Well, when there are the tasks of the house, I go out all day, I drop by to see my son, I visit the school, I check the girls, but I do not what it means to go out, my husband is very jealous, he is jealous of me because, you see, he is older than me, he does not let me go out or anything.'

Zinnet 'Yani evin işi oldu mu çıkarım, bütün gün oğlana uğrarım, okula giderim, kızlara bakarım ama öyle gezme nedir bilmem yavrum. Benim beyim çok kıskanç büyük ya benden çok kıskanıyor dışarı koymaz öyle gezmeye falan.'

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'Well, when I go somewhere new, I tell him and go when he permits. I do not go when he does not permit. He is angry if I am late for home, he is an eastern man.'

Naziye 'Valla yeni bir yere gittiğim zaman söylerim. İzin verdiği zaman gidiyorum, izin vermedi mi gitmem. Geç kalırsam kızar. Doğu tarafından o.'

On the other hand some of the older women stated that they are more mobile now. They go anywhere without asking any one.

A young middle class woman;

Hatice (32, S, H, NE) 'I have my sister here, we go out, we go anywhere, I like going out, we go out with the neighbors quite often. I went to the course in the school this year. No, he does not get angry; he phones and asks where I am.'

Hatice 'Ablam var gidiyoruz. Buralarda her tarafa gidiyorum, gezmeyi seviyorum. Geziyoruz bayağı komşularla bu sene okul daki kursa gitim hep. Yok kızmaz, telefon var açar sorar sen nerdesin diye.'

A working woman, on similar line;

Ayse (42, K, L, E) I sometimes go out but not many times because of hardwork..but there is not problem. I am not alone my mother-in law or my daughters accompany to me.. no he is not angry. if he is.. I would say something.

Ayse 'Bazen gidiyorum ama çok değil vakit olmuyor işten. Yok sorun olmuyor ya kaynanam oluyo yanımda ya da kızlar oluyo. Kızmaz geç kalırsam ama bir şey uydururum ozaman'

In relation to everyday duties such as shopping, taking the children to school and paying the bills nearly all women have authority, and they do not need to ask her husbands since it has already been considered as their responsibility.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'No, I am free in those sort of things, I mean I go shopping. I go to the market, I pay the bills. I leave the kids to school, I always do such things, I ask for no permission.'

Bedriye 'Yok öyle şeyler olunca serbestim, yani alışverişe giderim. Pazara çıkarım fatura yatırılacaksa yaparım. Çocuğu okula bırakırım onları her zaman yaparım izin istemem'

In decisions concerning children nearly all women seems to have reached a relatively egalitarian status with their husbands. Moreover, they stated that children are the product of both parents; therefore, the mother and the father must be jointly responsible for their children, and they are equal when it comes to decisions on their children. Many women say their children always obey them.

Whether a child is going to enter higher education or not is decided by the husband. The majority of women pointed out that decisions on children's education are made by the father since he is the head of the family and hence will have to cover the educational expenses. The attitudes of two women who work at home, are the same in this issue as the women textile workers who work in the factories. For most of them, decisions regarding the education of their children should be taken by the husbands

Rahime (49, K, H, NE) 'He did not send the girls, well, he did not have much money then, you know? The girls were also not so enthusiastic''say 'He did everything to find money and make them go to school. Now the youngest girl goes to school and she is very successful. Her brothers tell us, we will aid to, just let our sister go to school.'

Rahime 'Yollamadı kızları yani o zaman elinde de pek yoktu biliyormusun. Kızlar da hevesli değildi yoksa ne yapar bulur okuturdu. Şimdi en ufak kız okuyo çok başarılı. Abileri diyo bizde yardım edicez yeter ki kardeşimiz okusun'

For a minority of them, decisions on the issue should be shared between the spouses. Women who commented in this way were usually wealthier.

Mine (28, K ,H, NE) ‘Of course, we should decide both, I, personally, would try to convince him even if he did not want, because I want them to be educated.’

Mine ‘tabi ki ikimizin karar vermesi gerekiyor. Şahsen ben eşim istemese bile ikna etmeye çalıştım çünkü çocuklarımın okumasını istiyorum.’

Hatice (32, S, H, NE) ‘Of course, we both decide for the education of the children. I wanted to send the girl to English course. He agreed. Mine tabi ikimizde karar vermeliyiz ben şahsen o istemesede ikna etmeye çalıştım çünkü çok istiyorum okusunlar’

Hatice ‘ Tabi çocukların eğitimi olunca ikimizde karar veriyoruz. Ben kızını ingilizce kursuna yollamak istedim.Kabul etti ‘

Within extended families, older members of the family, for instance the mother-in law, also have a right to participate in the decisions on the education of children.

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) ‘my father-in-law did not let them, he said, what need is there for the girls to become educated? He used to take them to the village.’

Naziye ‘Kayınvalidem koymadı ne gerek var kız kısmının okumasına dedi. Aldı onları köye götürürdü.’

The education issue can even be a source of conflict between the spouses despite the fact that women prefer to submit to the desires of their husbands in general. Even when the father refuses to send the children to school, mother can insist on. She may even take up paid employment outside the home to cover the educational expenses.

Fehime (41, K, L, HW)‘Well, I said I will also work if required, just let us not prevent the child from having education. I did work at home paid by the items, I used to sew lots of belts, and sometimes, I used to stick buttons. All these were for the school costs of the children. So that they could go to school.’

Fehime ‘Ben dedim gerekirse çalışırım ama çocuğun okumasına engel olmayalım. Parça işi yaptım. Öyle geliyordu dağ gibi. kenar çekiyordum, bazen oluyordu düğme dikiyordum. Çocukların okul masrafı için hep. Okusunlar diye.’

In the same vein, a working women who wanted to send her daughter to school, met the resistance of her husband and mother-in-law. As a result, she got beaten up by her husband.

Fatma (46, K, L, NE) ‘My mother-in-law did not let my daughter to go to school. She said I will take her to the village. That day, I went in secret. I enrolled the girl to the school. I bought her bag and all. In the evening, the house was in turmoil. I got a great deal of beating, but what could they do after then?’

Fatma ‘Kayınvalidem bırakmıyordu kızım okusun. Ben onu alıp köye götürücem dedi. O gün gittim gizliden. Kızın kaydını yaptım . Çantasını felan hep aldım. Akşam kıyamet kotu. İyi bir dayak yedim ama ne yapabilir ki o saatten sonra’

From that figures, it can easily be understood that there is positive correlation between women's employment status and their participation in the decision making with their spouses, but not in all cases.

With respect to decisions on the children's marriage, it was found that women have more power, and there is positive correlation between women's age and their participation in the decision making process. An older woman states;

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'I found all my daughter-in-laws and we made the girls marry to the acquaintances, and they did not object. Only, my youngest son did not want the girl that I found, he had found one himself, he wanted to marry her.'

Zinnet 'Ben buldum kızım bütün gelinlerimi kızları da öyle tanıdıklara verdik. Onlar da bir ses etmedi. Bir en küçük oğlum istemedi benim bulduğumu kendi bulmuş bir tane onu istedi.'

Although some of them revealed that decision on the issue must be taken by the child herself/himself since this is his/her own life, a majority of women in this group stated that both parents and the child herself/himself are equally decision makers on the issue; but at the last instance, the herself/himself decides on who to marry. Women also support their daughter's decision although it is rejected by the relatives.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'Everybody in the family got angry. They said, what happened, why do you hurry, did the girl reach the ceiling? But the girl and the boy loved each other; I insisted so to my husband. And he permitted them. she never wants to marry with one of relatives

Bedriye 'Herkes kızdı aileden ne olmuş dediler kızın başı tavana mı gelmiş niye acele ediyorsunuz ama çocukla kız sevmişler birbirini bende ısrar ettim beyime. İzin verdi kız da. istemiyordu akrabadan biriyle evlenmek'

In decision organizing family budget, women who do not work are lower rank of decision making process. For almost all the participants in that group their husbands are the only decision making authority for household spending. Working women contributed from their salaries to the family budget. This unchanged their economic dependency on men in turn also strengthens the traditional view of males as basic breadwinners but nearly all stated that they do not participate decision on organizing family budget.

Necla (29, K, L, E) 'No, it is our own place, I do not get any additional money. We do not make such distinctions. I want whenever required and he gives me, I buy the needs of the house. Sometimes he buys, too. I do not ask him, there is nothing to ask. All we are trying to do is purchase a house, this is all we work for.'

Necla ‘Yok bizim kendi yerimiz ayrıca para almıyorum ben. Öyle ayırım yapmıyoz. Ben lazım olunca istiyorum.O da veriyor evin ihtiyaçlarını ben alıyorum. Bazen o da alır. Sormam yani soracak bir şey de yok. Zaten bir ev almaya çalışıyoruz bütün çabamız o.’

The old working women have generally an authoritarian position in the family when they were young, she did not have the right of stating her preferences about anything , but now , it is very natural for them to decide together.

Remziye (35, A, H, HW) ‘Of course, my girl, I meet the needs of the house, he wants as much as I ask. The children... I sometimes buy things to my grandchildren. We have worked for years, my girl, we have worked without any rest since the day we came here, we did not distinguish like yours and mine. Now we are well off, we can purchase whatever we want.’

Remziye ‘Tabi kızım ben evin ihtiyaçlarını görüyorum ne kadar istersem verir. Çocuklar bazen bir şeyler alırım torunlara. Yıllarca çalıştık kızım geldik buraya. Hiç durmadan çalıştık senin benim demedik. Şimdi iyi durumumuz ne istersek alıyoruz.’

Middle income women virtually have the decision making authority for items related to household, but still they act hesitantly even for such situations.

Mine (28, K, H, NE) ‘Of course, I spend all the money for the house, and he gives money to me. Of course I tell him, for example like buying furniture or other things for the house. He listens to me, I am the one who decides for things to be purchased for the house, but of course, he is the one to provide the money, it is his decision in the end, however I can wish something to be purchased.’

Mine ‘Tabi evin bütün masraflarını ben yapıyorum o para veriyor. Söylerim tabi eve şundan alsak mesala mobilya olsun başka şey olsun. Dinler öyle bir şey alınca ben karar veririm ama parayı o vericek sonunda keyfine kalmış sen istediğin kadar olsun de’

The housewives women are the least decision power about organizing family budget.

Gülistan (36, A, M, HW) ‘You do not know anything related to his work, whatever he gives you will be it, what can you ask? Of course, it is very difficult; you are sort of obliged. You always depend on your husband. You will get a little money when he gives you. It is necessary because sometimes we have guests, somebody turn up.’

Gülistan ‘ Sen işi ile ilgili hiç bir şey bilmiyorsun ne verirse o eline neyi sorucaksın ki.....Çok zor tabi mahkum gibisin. Hep kocanın eline bakıyorsun. O versin ki iki kuruş alsın. Bazen bir misafir geliyor biri uğruyor lazım’

This study indicates that nearly all households men were more likely to control family budget, in the case of working women, they handed over their wage to their husbands and husbands decided how women’s earning were spent. As a result women’s participation in the labor market has not necessarily given them more power within the home to control how money is spent and by whom.

4.1.3 Expectations From Husbands

In this part, in order to understand these women's relations with their husbands, I focus on wives' expectations from husbands, and then I am concerned with whether the couples share their leisure activities. Besides, I also considered here the level of interaction between husband and wife. In this section four variables, the type of marriage, income level, age and the employment of the women are controlled for relations to and expectations from husbands.

The first question I asked was "how is your relations with husbands? And what are your expectations from him?" The interviews pointed to the fact that there has been a differentiation among women's views about their relations with their husbands based on the type of marriage. The women with traditional arranged marriages emphasize mostly their husband's breadwinner role when they are asked to question,

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'He is fine, I mean, how would you suppose him to be? I want him to work and to be concerned about the living conditions of us, I can ask no more of him... What will we do now if he does not provide the money?'

Naziye 'İyidir yani nasıl olsun yani çalışsın evinin geçimini düşünsün başka bir sey istemem ondan. ..Şimdi o para getirip koymazsa ne yapcaz.'

Similarly,

Fatma (46, K, L, NE) 'He is the head of the house, he looks after my family, my children, I do as he wishes'

Fatma 'Evin reisi o aileme bakıyor çocuklara bakıyor. O ne derse yaparım. Bende bir dediğini iki etmem.'

On the other hand, a Kurdish migrant woman married with a man she loved and whom she knew before the marriage, thinks that feelings and intimacy are important factors for a good relation.

Ruken (18, S, H, NE) 'We get along well. The most important thing is that he is very understanding. He settles very important problems by talking. He shows that he loves and respects me, I ask these from him, and I always do as he asks'

Ruken 'İyi aramız. En önemlisi anlayışlı olması. Çok önemli sorunları konuşarak halletmesi. Sevdiğini saydığını göstermesi yani bunları beklerim '

As seen from the responses, the women with arranged marriages differ from women with did love marriages. Since arranged marriages in Turkey are considered

as an arrangement between two families rather than between two individuals, the prime responsibility of the individuals (both men and wife) is towards the welfare of the whole family/ kinship unit rather than personal welfare (Bhopal, 1999). So, women with arranged marriages expect, first and foremost, economic security of the whole family and the fulfillment of the breadwinner role from their husbands. On the other hand, women, who had married with the persons they loved, demand more emotional satisfaction and intimacy from their husbands. Hence, they usually criticize poor interactions with their partners and the husbands who are emotionally distant.

A similar pattern can also be observed between women from low-income groups and those from high-income groups. The former emphasize the husband's breadwinner position while the latter expect to be the husband's friend, and emphasize his parental role and emotional satisfaction in the relationship.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'He is the head of the house, I also always help him, we all need the money he gets, I want him to work and look after his house, and he does work, he never regards work burdensome, he even works on weekends'

Bedriye 'Evin reisi o bende yardımcı olurum. Ona her zaman yani hepimiz onun eline bakıyoruz çalışın evine baksın. Çalırısır da yani hiç yüksemez hafta sonunda olsa çalışır.'

Vahide (34, A, L, NE) 'He is nice. We talk about everything. He is fond of his house, let him be like that, I see some father who show no interest in their children at all. They say they are tired and never ask about their children, I am very happy with him, he asks and is interested in the children's lessons. I am glad he is bound to his home, we see some husbands do not come home till very later hours'.

Vahide 'İyidir. Her şeyi konuşuruz. Evine düşkündür, öyle olsun bazı babaları görüyorum hiç çocuklarıyla ilgilenmiyorlar mesala yorgunum argınım diyorlar. Hiç çocuklarını sormazlar ama ben çok memnunum soruyor ilgileniyor çocukların dersleriyle.Evine bağlı olsun görüyoruz geç vakte kadar gelmiyor bazı kocalar.'

On the contrary, another women from a low- income family says that,

Hatice (32, S, H, NE) 'He is like a friend, he is talkative, he is interested in everything related to the children, he wants them to have education. I went to our village, the girl had English course at school. I would remain, he told me to go, he said, I will look after her. I mean, thank God he is interested in his children, he is not looking for adventure, he remains Home when he does not have any work to do'.

Hatice 'Yani arkadaş gibidir. Konuşur çocukların herşeyiyle ilgilenir okusunlar diye. Ben köye gittim kızın ingilizce kursu vardı okulda . Kalacaktım dedi sen git ben bakarım, çocuğa yani çok şükür ilgileniyor cocuklarıyla. Hiç gözü dışarda değil oturur işi olmayınca evde.'

Low income families, where also the women are not employed, are more vulnerable and have to rely on husbands' income mainly. The husbands have to work

for long hours, even involved in second jobs, which leaves little time for the house and the family. So women are pleased if the men, who are heavily employed, can still be concerned with their children. High income families on the other hand, where men has a higher earning job, the men spends more time in the house and as women say, the relations with the wife and the children are much denser.

Another finding was that age happens to be a variable which effects women's willingness to talk about the relations with their husbands or not. The young women seemed more willing to discuss their marital relationships whereas the older ones were reluctant to disclose information about their marriages. In fact, they could hardly give a focused answer to this question as if they were never asked something similar before.

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'I had very hard times, my girl, I had been a bride for 10 days when I came here. I lived with my mother and father-in-law and sister-in-laws for years. Everybody wanted something different. We always worked. We never stopped with my children, now we have a house and a car but my life has been wasted'

Naziye 'Çok zorluk çektik kızım, ben geldim 10 günlük gelindim. Yıllarca kayınvaldem, kaynım, görümcelerim bir oturdum. Her kafadan bir ses çıkıyo. Hep çalıştık. Çocuklarımla, hiç durmadık. Şimdi evimiz arabamız var ama can da gitti artık kızım'

As can be seen this women has a difficulty to separate her private relations with her husband from her relations to her in-laws. She lived together with the in-laws for a long time which made her men- wife relations as indistinguishable. So such a question did not mean much to her.

Besides the ages of women, the age difference between the spouses also has an effect on marital relations. Similarity of age between the spouses is typically associated with the happiness of the marriage. In fact two women from the sample, who have elderly partners were complaining from the fact that their husbands are old and unable to work which gives the women additional responsibility of being the head of households. For a woman from the east, this is an abnormal situation in terms of the traditional gender roles.

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'We have 20 years of age difference between us, I had no father, my mother married me to him. This is the way in the east my girl! You marry one when your parents want. Nobody asks you if you ever saw him, if he is blind or crippled. This is how I got married. I always worked my girl, the sun never shined on us since the day I got married. My husband did not work, my girl, did not work there, and when we came here, did not work here either. He is sick, I look after him'

Zinnet '20 yaş fark var aramızda, yavrum. Benim babam yokmuş, annem tutmuş beni buna vermiş. Doğuda kızım öyle verdin mi gidyorsun. Gördün mü ? kör mü? topal mı? onu soran yok. Biz öyle gelin olduk. Hep çalıştım kızım ben evlendim bi gün güneş doğmadı bizim üstümüze. Çalışmadı kızım kocam. Ordada çalışmadı, geldik burdada çalışmadı. Hasta şimdi ben bakıyorum'

When women's employment outside of the house for paid work is considered, their expectations from their husbands still do not change. In fact, being employed does not encourage them to have higher expectations from their husbands for more intimate relations. The husband's role for the women is still the breadwinning role. The employed-women also do not feel more confident in communicating their expectations to their partners as similar to the not- employed women. These working migrant women expect that husbands should support their children's future. To put it differently, their expectations are mostly economic.

Ayşe (42,K, L, E) 'We get along well, we talk about everything, we decide everything together, he asks me my opinions... I want him to look after his house and think about the future of the children. My son is performing his military service, he is about to return. In other words, he will marry, I want him to think such issues, what else can I expect?'

Ayşe 'İyidir aramız konuşuruz herseyi. Her kararı birlikte alırız, sorar bana yani. ...evine baksın çocuklarını geleceğini düşünsün. Oğlum askerde gelecek. Yani evliliği olacak, bunları hep düşünsün başka ne bekleyim.'

As seen from the example, the employed- women are even more keen on earnings and extra income for the future of their children, especially sons. So intimacy is not their main expectations but a more comfortable life and a better future of their sons are what matter for them mostly.

4.1.4 Interactions With Husbands

I also thought about considering the level of interaction between husbands and wives; questions such as, whether they can talk freely to their husbands? Whether they can take common decisions or not? Whether the communication among them is only limited to specific issues related to the arrangements around the house or related to more different issues? Whether they can speak about everything or do they need to hide somethings? were asked.

Different family cultures bring about different interaction patterns. Lebra (1993) comments that verbally expressive communication is sometimes unnecessary to achieve a common understanding. Particularly in homogenous cultures where

roles and meanings are heavily scripted there may be no need for many verbal interactions. When roles and meanings are collectively understood in the community, there is less need to articulate meanings explicitly. As a result, messages mostly rely on nonverbal communication and meaningful silences.

On this issue, some of the married old woman within the kin group say:

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'Of course, we do talk, we do not have any problems, because there will be no need for problems, I know what makes him angry'

Naziye 'Konuşuruz tabi ama bir sorunumuz olmaz yani gerek olmaz. Ben onun neye kızacağına bilirim.'

Fatma (46, K, L, NE) 'We talk, mostly about the children, I listen and he talks, I know what he wants, I do not ask something that will make him angry, for example, if I am to go somewhere and if I know he will not permit, I do not even ask him'.

Fatma 'Konuşuruz çocuklardan ama ben dinlerim, o konuşur bilirim ne isticeğini kızarmı olur mu. Sormam bile mesala gidicem diyelim bir yere izin vermiceğini biliyorum, hiç konuşmam bile.'

These women thought that talking too much with husbands is not an appropriate behavior for women. Instead, they should be submissive.

Of course, women may talk more or less explicitly in time. Our interviews indicate that Kurdish migrant women, as they get older acquire a higher status and become more powerful to disclose her desires.

Fehime (41, K, L, HW) 'For sure, when you get older, things change. In the past, I used to get embarrassed. But now I am much more relaxed. He seems to have lost his temper as well.'

Fehime 'Tabi artık yaşlandıkça değişiyor eskiden olsa utanır, çekinirsin ama şimdi daha rahat oluyor onun da hiddeti kalmamış artık'

Many women communicate well with their husbands. They talk everything with their partners regardless whether the issue makes him angry or not. That also depends on the culture they belong to. To hide something from her husband is considered as shameful for a woman.

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'I talk about everything my girl. Whatever it is, I never hide anything of the children from my husband. Some buy things as secret from their husbands or save money in secret, I never do such things. I talk about and explain everything, we settle everything between us'.

Kıymet 'Her şeyi konuşurum yavrum. ne olursa olsun çocuklarım birşey yaptıkları zaman hiç gizlemem. Kocamdan. Kimisi birşey alır, kocasından gizli yada para biriktirir. Hiç öyle huyum yoktur, herşeyi konuşurum anlatırım kendi aramızda hallederiz herşeyi.'

On the other hand, some women who live in extended families may find their adult siblings and also their own parents and some other close relatives to be a better source of emotional support and advice than their husbands. Where these close confidants exist outside the spousal relationship, there tends to be less emphasis on the need to communicate with the husband.

Necla (29, K, L, E) 'I also talk to him. I am more comfortable while confining in my mom and sister. We have not been that close with him yet'.

Necla 'Onunla da konusurum. Annemle ablama daha rahat açılırım. Onunla o kadar samimi olmamışız daha.'

On the other hand, in extended families, the hierarchies among the family members may result in weak intimate relations between spouses.

Remziye (35, A, H, HW) 'We had my mother-in-law and father-in-law in the house, we could not talk like that, my mother-in-law got angry if I mentioned any problems within the house. He used to go out in the mornings and come back in the evenings, what could we talk? But now we are alone, we talk about everything, we talk about the condition of the kids'.

Remziye 'Yani kaynanam vardı evin içinde kayınpederim. Öyle konuşamazdık, sorun oldu mu ben söylesem kızardı kaynanam. Sabah giderdi akşam gelirdi. Zaten evde kalabalık ne konuşucan ama şimdi tekiz her bir şeyi konuşuruz. Çocukların durumunu konuşuruz.'

A young woman, who made a love marriage with her husband, emphasized that the emotional intimacy should be important within communication. Mutual love and attraction is what she values most in her interaction with her husband.

Ruken (18, S, H, NE) 'There is no subject that I cannot mention to him. I know he will handle everything with understanding. But I care not to make unnecessary fuss and not to exaggerate the problems'.

Ruken 'Onunla konuşamıcam hiç bir konu yok. Her şeyi anlayışla karşılayacağımı bildiğim için. Ama bende gereksiz yere tartışma çıkarmamaya sorunları büyütmemeye dikkat ederim.'

We can conclude that the dominant marriage relationship and interaction is based on male authority and power. The traditional cultural values determine the pattern of relationship between the wife and the husband. Wives submit to their husbands, and as a result it is most likely to be the wife who makes concessions for the marriage according to her husband's desire. Only young and wealthy women tend to change these patterns in favor of a more intimate interaction.

In relation to both expectations and interactions, in addition to cultural values, the economic condition of the family seems to be a significant factor. For the well

being of the family, the man's ability to fulfill his economic responsibilities is more crucial than everything else. So women tend to sacrifice their emotional satisfaction and needs for intimacy for the future and well being of the family. Also a submissive woman, who is not demanding and who does not spoil the "peace in the house" through various complaints and arguments is accepted as an asset for such a culture. This knowledge determines the women's attitudes in the house and with their spouses.

4.1.5 Leisure and Spare Time Activities with Husbands

The leisure activities, which will be analysed in this section, include activities such as visiting a park or somewhere else with children, going to a shopping center or visiting relatives. The question that I am looking into is whether socio-economic status and strong extended family ties have an effect on leisure and spare time activities of women with their husbands and families.

Only 3 of the high-income level women spend their weekends doing similar things. These activities are mostly visits to relatives or to the parks, either with or without their husbands.

Hatice (32, S, H, NE) ,My husband likes going out. We go out together with the children, we go the park, we go to have ice-creams. We go out as occasionally as the work permits, he has an aunt, we sometimes have her with us and go out with her; I can also go out by myself, it does not create a problem'

Hatice 'Gezmeyi sever beyim. Çocuklarla gidiyoruz, parka gideriz, dondurma yemeğe gideriz. İş den fırsat bulunca gideriz yani, teyzesi var ona uğrarız, birlikte gideriz. Ben tek de gezerim yani sorun olmaz'

Mine (28, K, H, NE) 'Well, we used to go out more frequently before, he has friends here, we used to visit them for dinner. All his family is here, we visit them, but now we have a new baby, we gave up going out, I also gave up those days (meetings among the women)'

Mine 'Yani önceden daha çok geziyorduk, arkadaşları var burda onlara yemeğe gidiyorduk. Bütün ailesi burda onlara gideriz, ama bebek daha yeni oldu. Bu aralar bıraktık gezmeyi, ben kendimde günleri falan hep bırakmışım.'

In contrast, many women from the low-income group said that they engage in these activities mostly with their married daughters or with their relatives and neighbors instead of their husbands, but not alone. The major reason why women had to go with others is that the husbands of low income families are not available but at work all the time.

Ayşe (42, K, L, E) 'I visit my daughter, she visits me, she has her works or I visit my neighbors. I do not have much time to go out with my husband, I mostly go out with my children or my neighbors'

Ayşe 'Kızıma giderim. O bana gelir, bir işi olur yada komşuma uğrarım. Öyle kocamla gezmeye pek zaman olmaz, daha çok çocuklarla yada komşu ile giderim.'

The age of the women is also crucial. Older women prefer to spend time with their brides as well as married daughters and sons.

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'No, my girl, we do not get out. The girls visit us or the boys drop by. They take me out. My daughter takes me and we visit the park here'

Zinnet 'Yok kızım gezmeyiz. kızlar gelir oğlanlar uğrar. Onlar beni dışarı çıkarırlar. kızım alır parka gideriz burda yakında'.

It is possible to infer from many of the interviews that the sharing of leisure activities is closely related to the age of the children and whether the husbands have second jobs or not. In both situations the women feel that they can not go out on their own so that their leisure activities are restricted.

Vahide (34, A, L, NE) 'Well, we used to and we do go out, we used to visit our relatives but now it is very difficult with four children.'

Vahide 'Yani giderdik gezeriz akrabaya giderdik, öyle ama dört tane çocukla zor oluyor şimdi.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'We visit our relatives and I go myself but I do not go out alone, I take one of the children with me and visit my daughter. I visit my neighbors, my husband can not go out, he goes out with me in the mornings, he comes back in the evenings. Sometimes in weekends, he goes to my brother-in-law's place, he helps when good arrive'

Bedriye 'Akrabaya gideriz. Ben kendim giderim ama tek gitmem, yanıma illa ki çocuklardan birini alırım, kızıma giderim. Komşuya giderim bazen. Beyim gezemez ki benle sabah çıkıyor akşam geliyor. Bazen hafta sonlarında kaynımın yanına gidiyor mal geliyor ona yardım ediyor.'

A working woman stated that due to her bad economic condition and the insufficiency of time, she and her husband couldn't engage in such activities.

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'I never organize days or anything, we used to visit our relatives before, we have not done such a thing for two years. I just leave the girl to school in the mornings, that's all, I do not go anywhere else. I am working'.

Kıymet 'Benim hiç günüm falan yok, akrabaya giderdik beyimle. İki yıldır onu da yapmıyoruz. Bir kızı okula bırakırım sabah o kadar. Başkada hiç bir yere gitmem. Çalışıyorum'

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'I do not know what going out means, my girl, I never go anywhere. There are the works of the children, the works of the grandchildren, I perform such works, my sister-in-law does not like going out. I used to work, my girl, I have always worked since the day I came here, now I remain home, my husband is sick, I look after him, I never go out'.

Naziye 'Ben öyle gezmek nedir bilmem yavrum. Hiç bir yere gitmem. Çocukların işi olur, torunların işi olur, ben hallederim bizim gelin pek sevemez dışarı çıkmayı. Zaten çalışıyodum

ben yavrum geldim hiç durmadım hep çalıştım şimdi evde oturuyom eşim hasta ona bakıyorum gezmek nedir bilmem hiç.'

In addition, one of the low-income group women stated that they have no such expectations from husbands. My contention is that they considered the situation as a necessary personal sacrifice for the well-being of the family in general.

Sevval (36, A, M, HW) 'No, my girl, I do not want to go out with my husband etc. Let him go and work. I am not keen on going out.

Sevval 'Yok kızım, aman gezim kocamla falan istemem öyle şeyler. Gitsin çalışsın. Benim gezmekte gözüm yok.'

Women who used to live in extended families stated that they were able to share some private time with their husbands only after they moved out of the house of their parents-in-law.

Cemile (31, A, M, NE) 'You are not alone in the house, you have the mother-in-law, father-in-law, sister-in-law and her children, how can you go out? Of course, now we are alone, we visit the children and they visit us, we are all together.'

Cemile 'Evde tek değilsin ki kaynana var, kayınpederin var, görümcen, onun çocukları nasıl gezecek? Şimdi tekiz.Tabi çocuklara gidiyoruz onlar geliyor hep bir aradayız.'

Segregation of male and female activities is apparent also in the sphere of leisure. How and to what extent couples spend their spare time together is a matter of both economic factors and women's domestic responsibilities.

4.2 Mother Children Relationship

4.2.1 The Future of Children

Nearly all women stated that education and chance to find a job are closely related to each other, and only with a higher level of education could women participate in the work force under better conditions. In addition, they encourage their children's education regardless of the sex. Some working women stated that it is necessary particularly for women to get an education because men can always find a way to make a living whereas women cannot.

Ayten (30, K, L, E) 'The daughter must go to school, because otherwise she will always be dependent on the husband. She should have an occupation. The son of my husband's brother became a medical doctor. He got married with a doctor. Then she put on veil, stayed home,

didn't work. What a pity. She wasted all that effort. First, one should get an education, then work. '

Ayten 'Yani okumalı kız çocuğu illa ki.. böyle hep kocaya mahkum. Meslek sahibi olmalı. Benim kaynımın oğlu doctor oldu. Doktor bir kızla evlendi. Kız kapandı. Oturdu evde.çalışmadı. Yazık günah değil mi onca emeğe. önce okumalı. Sonra çalışmalı.'

They are enthusiastic about educating their children, but they face major difficulties in terms of affording schools expenses and keeping children in the school. Some feel highly disturbed as they consider that they may not fulfill their responsibilities towards the future of their children. Because the education of children and the security of the whole family ultimately depends on the financial resources, hence on savings of the family. As all investments are seen for the future of children, families who lack the financial means feel the injury of depriving their children good life.

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'We did everything we can so that they could go to school. But then they got a summer job, started making money, and no longer did they want to go to school.'

Kıymet 'Elimizden geleni yaptık okusunlar diye ama yazları atelyede çalışıp para kazanmaya başlayınca, işe heves ettiler. İstemediler okula gitmeyi'

Nearly all women did prefer occupation or type of job according to gender. Teaching and pharmacy were seen more appropriate working areas for girls. They are prestigious occupations and give more spare time for women so they cannot be much tired, they do not want their girls to work in textile workshop.

Ayşe (42, K, L, E) 'I have been working for years. It is very hard. I don't want my daughter to work in such a job.'

Ayşe 'Ben yıllardır çalışıyorum kızım çok zor istemem, kızımda böyle bir işte çalışsın'

High income women criticise the women who work in such textile work.

Mine (28, K, H, NE) 'The women are employed under those bad conditions, then they do the housework. They bring very young girls here, make them marry and make them work before they know themselves. Can that job be performed for twenty million Lira a week?'

Mine 'O kötü koşullarda çalışıyo kadınlar bütün gün. Bir de evde evin işini yapıyorlar. Küçük kızları getiriyorlar evlenip burda gözü açılmadan işe koyuyorlar. Haftada 20 milyona yapılır mı o iş.'

Nevertheless women who work informally stated that women especially should have the state security. Therefore, for them the working areas for girls were public offices. Security and a stable income for both boys and girls were seen as very

important for this group of women. The housewife women also stated that economic independence is very crucial for daughter.

4.2.2 The Socialization of Children

Women are key agents in the socialization of children within the family and society. The majority of women pointed out there should be training differences between girls and boys, since for them a girl should not be sent everywhere by herself. A boy can manage to defend himself whereas a girl cannot. However, for The majority of women, parents must be stricter with sons since they are more open to the outside environment and they are more easily gone to bad.

Most women pointed out the necessity of restricting girls behavior in order to be exposed to gossip. These are women who migrate very early. They live in a neighborhood in which mostly their fellowships and relatives live.

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'Now, example, there are the girls who go out and spend their time out until the evening. I do not let my girl go out, for example, I do not let her visit a friend. I used to send her sibling with her when she went out. After she grew older, I neither left her out nor to her friends' houses. She used to go out with me or her father. She can never say, "Mama, I am going to a friend's house", I will never let her. I raised my daughter like that.'

Kıymet 'Şimdi mesala çıkıp akşama kadar gezen kızlar var. Ben kızımı gezdirmem. Ben şunu diyim bir arkadaşa bırakmam. O gezmeye gittiği zaman kardeşini yanına verirdim. Biraz büyüdükten sonra ne gezmeye bıraktım, ne arkadaşına. Babasıyla benle giderdi. Anne ben arkadaşına gidiyorum diyemez, ben hayatta izin vermem. Bu şekil yetiştirdim ben kızımı.'

Some housework women also say girls should be wear appropriately and they do religious necessities. If it is possible they take Quran course.

Rahime (49, K,H,NE) 'Girls should be wear more closely. She should be do her religious duties. I let all girls to go to Quran course.'

Rahime 'Yani kız çocuğu kapalı giyinmeli. Dini görevlerini yerine getirmeli. Kuran kursuna yolladım ben kızlarımı. Hepsi kapalı allaha çok şükür.'

Besides, many women state, they proud of their daughters since they are clean, respectful and a good mother and they obey their husbands and parents in-law. The girls should stay home and not go alone.

Throughout history, children belonged entirely to women and cultural transmission has occurred primarily through the mother-child relationship. Mothers are the primary care takers and teacher of young children, she might encourage her

child to learn about her or his culture in order to teach the next generation. Their strength lies in knowing who they are and where they come from. This cultural knowledge, which is the one of the important feature of ethnicity, helps establish identity (McAdoo, 1993). I will investigate at the sixth chapter.

4.2.3 The Relationships with their Married Daughters & Married Sons

This part aims to investigate mother-daughter and mother-son relationships from the point of view of Kurdish migrant women with respect to the type and frequency of contact and support (functional, financial and emotional) in the mother-daughter and mother-son relationship.

Examining the type and frequency of contact, only 8 women have married son and married daughters. I have found that 3 of the mother daughter pairs were living on the same street 4 of them were living in the same neighborhood, within a walking distance of 15 minutes one of them were living within a driving distance. I have found that 5 of the mother-son were co residing for along years but now only 2 of them were co residing. 4 of them were living in the same neighborhood and 2 of them were living within a driving distance.

I have examined the frequency of contact in three categories: frequency of face-to-face contacts, frequency of phone contact and shared activities.

In the category of face-to-face contact I have found that 8 of the mother daughter pairs mentioned their high frequency of face-to-face contact and this high incidence of contact is mostly due to daughter's availability. These daughters were either self-employed or had flexible working hours or housewife.

Two working women see her daughters very often because they are working together their own textile shops.

Ayşe (42, K, L, E) 'We are working at the same place. I am not going to work these days. My husband is sick. I am taking care of him.'

Ayşe 'Aynı yerde çalışıyoruz, ben bu aralar pek gitmiyom beyim rahatsız o na bakıyorum.'

One of the mothers was taking care of daughter's son.

Fatma (46, K, L, NE) 'We see each other every morning and evening. I look after the child, he works, I will also look after my son's child, but the kid does not stay with me. My daughter-in-law works, too.'

Fatma 'Her sabah akşam görüşüyoruz. Ben bakıyorum çocuğa, o çalışıyor. Oğlanın ki ne de bakıcım ama o bende pek durmuyor. gelinde çalışıyor'

2 of the pairs mentioned that their low frequency of face to face contact was mostly due to time and their hard work even the low contact pairs appeared to see each other about once a week.

In the category of face-to-face contact between mother and son women stated that they have less frequency of face to face contact with their sons as results of his hard-working condition. However, mothers showed tolerance and attributed a low frequency of contact to demands on son's time

In the category of phone contact, 5 mother-daughter pairs had high frequency of face to face contact and the other reported at least one phone conversation a day. A low frequency of contact is seen because some women do not need they see each other every day. Similar to daughters, women had done phone contact with their sons. Here also they expected their sons they do not disturb them very often.

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'We talk each day, I can not do if I do not hear her voice. I call in the morning and she calls in the afternoon, sometimes we talk for more than twice.'

Zinnet 'Her gün konuşuruz, sesini duymadan yapamam. Sabah ben ararım, akşama doğru o arar. Bazen ikiden fazla görüşürüz.'

Fatma (46, K, L, NE) 'The boy works, of course I try not to disturb him much, but when something turns up, for example, when I need to ask something, I immediately call and ask.'

Fatma 'Oğlan çalışıyor tabi öyle çok rahatsız etmem. Ama bir şey olunca bir şey isticem mesala arayıp istiyorum hemen.

Both the mothers and daughters were asked about the type of activities that they do together. The most common activity that they did together was going out for pleasure. They said they visit their common relatives and neighbors together, they go shopping or bazaars they participated reading Quran days.

But working women critics that because of time they cannot participated such an activities.

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'She invites me, she says, Mama, come and join us, they meet with the neighbors, of course, I cannot always join them, but they always come in the weekends and I sometimes visit them'.

Kıymet 'Çağırıyor anne sen de gel katıl diye. Komşuları ile toplanıyorlar, her zaman olmuyor tabi ama ilaki hafta sonu geliyorlar, ben gidiyorum.'

If we take consideration mothers shared activities with son, who are living together they do many things not sons with their brides of course. In general, women with their sons do different activities such as they go out to lunch or for dinner. They go to picnic or visiting relatives and they go on holidays together.

It appeared that mother-daughter pairs enjoyed companionship and good times. It seems like a high degree of contact is normative and expected, lack of it is required explanations

I have examined the support that these migrant women take from their sons and their daughters in three categories. Emotional, functional and financial. I asked the mothers about the type of emotional psychological support that they give to and receive from them. The answers may be categorized under three headings, sharing problems, friendships and trusting each other.

All women stated that they shared their problems with each other, offered comfort to each other and tried to motivate each other when needed.

Ruken (18, S, H, NE) 'When there is a problem, my mom is the first person I will go to.'

Ruken 'Bir sorun olduğunda ilk koşacağım insan annem olur.'

Vahide (34, A, L, NE) 'When you have a problem, either you keep it to yourself or you share it with someone. Who else does one have other than her mother to confide in. whatever it is, I share it with my mother. '

Vahide 'Bir problemin olduğuda ya içine atacaksın ya da biriyle paylaşacaksın. annesinden başka kimi var insanın güvенеbileceği. Ne olsa onla paylaşırım'

Fehime (41, K, L, HW) 'I talk everything with my daughters. So do they. I give them advice. I do whatever I can.'

Fehime 'Kızlarımla her şeyi konuşurum. O da bana anlatır nasihat ederim elimden ne gelse yaparım.'

Here also women make a difference among the problems and they share mostly economic ones with their sons. But sharing the problems concerning emotion with son are rare among the women.

Some mothers accounted that they and their daughters see each other as a friend to whom they can talk to, spend some time with or to share problems with.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'We are like friends with my daughters. If I am home alone, I go to see her or if she can she comes over here. We drink tea and chat.'

Bedriye 'Kızıyla arkadaş gibiyiz eğer yalnızsam evde teksem onun yanına giderim, ya da o müsait ise buraya gelir, çay içeriz, konuşuruz '

Vahide (34, A, L, NE) 'Of course, I am her best friend, I know what she has suffered; nobody can understand him / her better than I do. We were very little, my mother left my father; we all came here to stay with my maternal uncle, we always worked in my uncle's place, both we and her and she made us marry; we have been through many things, we have seen very hard times.'

Vahide 'Tabi onun en iyi arkadaşı benim ne çektiğini ben biliyorum. Benden daha iyi kimse anlayamaz onu. Küçüktük annem babamı bıraktı, buraya geldik. Dayımın yanına hep çalıştık. O da biz de. Bizi evlendirdi, herşeyimizi o yaptı. Çok şey yaşadık, çok zorluk çektik.'

When I ask whether you have a friendly relationship with their sons also?

Nearly all women said 'yes' but their saying is behind the concept of friends

Naziye (44, K, M, NE)'My son is also very fond of me. We are like friends with him, he does anything I ask, he does not make me repeat any wishes, he is sometimes rebellious. He used to misbehave sometimes, I made him give up such things, I told him, don't do it son, and don't upset me.'

Naziye 'oğlum da öyle bana çok düşkünler. Arkadaş gibiyiz ne istersem yapar bir dediğimi iki etmez öyle asidir. Bazı yaramazlıklar yaptı çok şükürb bıraktı ben yalvardım yapma oğlum dedim üzme beni'

Mothers also emphasized that they see each other as a security in life, they trust that in times of stress or illness, their daughters or sons will be there to support them.

Fatma (41,K,L,HW) 'It was midnight. It was as if a knife had been thrust through my heart. I said, okay, this is it, I am dying. We called my son, he came up, took me to the emergency of Avrasya Hospital, you know, the one just opened opposite the school, thank God. '

Fatma 'Gece yarısıydı. Bu kalbime bir bıçak saplandı sanki. Dedim budur ölüyorum,oğlum aradık, geldi. Beni şu var ya yeni açılan okulun karşısında Avrasya hastanesine götürdü acile hemen çok şükür.'

The mothers were questioned about the type and frequency from daughters and sons of practical support that they provide to and receive from them. Babysitting, food preparation help with house errands, shopping housework and support during illness were the main types of functional support given by mothers. The most common type functional support was the taking care of the grandchildren. Mothers provided full-time carer and babysitting service to their daughter's children,

particularly, young couples who are in their twenties and have young children, have very close relations with the extended family who help them take care of the children.

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'Of course, I did look after them, I look up all the kids of my children, this is Berivan, my elder son's daughter, she stays with me throughout the year, she was born to my hands.'

Zinnet 'Baktım tabi kızım, bütün çocuklarımlıkine bakarım, bu büyük oğlumun kızı Berivan. bu işte, bende kalıyor yaz kış ilk benim elime doğdu.'

Some working women didn't need to such an aid from mothers

Necla (29, K, L, E) 'There was no need. We were staying with my mother-in-law. She looked after the children.'

Necla 'Gerek olmadı. Zaten kayınvalidemle beraber kalıyorduk o baktı çocuklara '

The second most common type of functional service given by mothers was help with food preparation. While 6 mothers reported that they prepare the food their daughter liked most, they prepare certain dishes that are difficult to make for their daughters.

Fatma (46, K, L, NE) 'I try to help as much as I can. Sometimes she has guests. She asks me to cook stuffed meatballs. So I cook them.'

Fatma 'Elimden geldiği kadar yardım etmeye çalışıyorum. misafiri geliyor, içli köfte istiyo benden, yapıyorum.'

In the context of working women the daughters and her mothers tends to reduce the double burden of working women.

Fehime (41, K, L, HW) 'Mostly she drops in on her way from work to home to take the kid, we chat a while. We have dinner together. If she does not want to have it here, I prepare food in pots for her, both for her and for her husband, sometimes I visit her at home and prepare food there. She finds hot food when she comes home, especially when she will have guests.'

Fehime 'Çoğu zaman işten gelir uğrayıp çocuğu almaya birlikte oturuz. Akşam yemeğini yeriz. Burda yemek istemese de koyarım, kaba hazırlarım hem ona hem kocasına bazen de evine giderim, orda hazırlarım geldiğinde sıcak yemek bulur miasfiri gelicekse mesela'

Thirdly, 5 mothers mentioned that they helped their daughters with daily houseerrands and maintenance of the house order as well as with the housework like cleaning someties; they do very special things such as painting the walls and washing the wool.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'Recently, we white washed my daughter's house, we cleaned and painted the house together.'

Bedriye 'Geçen kızımın evine badana yaptık beraber temizledik boyadık bütün salonu'

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'I have a problem, I've had an operation in my waist. I cannot wash things like carpets, I did it for many years in the past, this is why I had the operation. My daughter comes and helps me sometimes. Sometimes she cleans the floor without my asking. She is so helpful a person.'

Zinnet 'Benim problemim var. Belimden ameliyat oldum kızım. Böyle halı falan yıkayamıyorum. Eskiden çok yaptım, uzun yıllar o yüzden oldu. Kızım yardım eder gelir bazen bir şey demeden yerleri siler. öyle biri.'

And finally shopping for the daughters and son groceries and accompanying a mother on doctor visits giving support during the illness and providing transportation were the other types of functional support given by the mothers. Besides their daughters and son also did for her. Providing transportation facilities are mostly made by sons.

The care of elderly can be seen as another and important form of solidarity experienced in these families. In the case of older women, the adult children, the oldest son takes care of the widowed women. Usually, taking care of the older parents is arranged on a seasonal basis. Thus the elderly would stay in the village in which she has a physically uncomfortable house, during the winter months go to their children who live in a better house.

These Kurdish women have very close and intense relations with their children. The parents who have married children tend to build their social relations primarily around their children and their grandchildren rather than socializing with other relatives.

Finally, the women were asked if they provide financial assistance to or receive assistance from each other. My analysis showed that mothers gave more financial support to their daughters than they received from them. They did not expect financial support from daughters who were unemployed and they did not provide financial support if the daughter was not in need of it.

Naziye (44,K,M,NE) 'My daughter does not work; I cannot ask for material aid from her, she depends on her husband. '

Naziye 'Kızım çalışmıyor, ondan maddi bir yardım bekleyemem. O da kocasının eline bakıyor.'

.Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'The husband of my middle daughter is not employed. He is sick. Their condition is bad. My brother made the girls marry when they got sixteen. He said, it's the city, anything can happen, we cannot hold them for long. I help them, and my elder son is very wealthy, he also helps. I got sick recently, my girl, the doctor gave a prescription with ten shots, it cost 40 million. I did not buy them, my son got angry, he said, mom, what do you mean, of course you will buy them, I am sending you then money. He was very angry, I had to buy them because I feared.'

Zinnet 'Ortanca kızımın kocası hasta kızım çalışmıyor. Onların durumu kötü. Abim benim kızları onaltısına gelince evlendirdi. Şehir herşey olur tutamayız dedi. Ben yardım ediyorum, büyük oğlum çok varlıklı, o yardım ediyor. Hastalandım geçenlerde kızım on tane iğne yazmış doctor. 40 milyon tutuyo. Almadım oğlum zorla aldırttı. Anne ne demek alıcaksın ben para yolluyorum dedi kızdı, korkumdan aldım'

It appears that financial support flows easily from the financially secure to insecure regardless of the gender of children or the degree of closeness between parents and adult children. This seems to be reflection of communal sharing of collectivism where the resources are shared according to the needs of family members and altruism, caring and generosity are built into the relationship and are perceived as a moral obligation. It is obvious that almost all respondent women the strength of mother-daughter bond is very strong. As Roschelle (1997) assumes that the close mother daughter bond may be indicate that woman play a more dominant role in the family networks than do man.

The function of the extensive networks of mutual support ties in family becomes manifest in cases of economic hardships and necessity. As Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (1998) indicates, one major form of such dependence is between children and parents who live in separated households, especially for low-income families. It is crucial to get help from parents or children during the periods of unemployment and serious financial difficulties. Moreover, during the periods of making investment or saving for middle class families.

As a result structural functional and financial mutual support are very crucial for the survival of families especially the lower and lower-middle income ones. The woman is a key agent to hold and construct these relations.

4.3 Mother and Mother in-Law Relation

In a patrilinear society daughters were taught from early childhood that they would leave their own lineage village and marry permanently into another at her

marriage a woman joined the other wives of the lineage with whom she shared the role of valued stranger. The best way to establish a place for herself among her husband's people was to bear him sons who could continue the lineage and strengthen the village. As the mothers of sons a woman was esteemed and secure in her old age (McAdoo, 1993).

Having a boy is very crucial for Kurdish women. When the son was married it is expected they live together women traditionally believe that their sons should care them during their elderly time. My study indicates that nearly all women had an experience to live with parents in law. However some had lived when they were in village.

Halime (34, A, H, NE) 'My husband joined the army to perform his military service one month after we got married. Then he came back, he frequently came to Istanbul, I stayed with my mother-in-law and father-in-law in the village. He took us with him three years later.'

Halime 'Evlendik bir ay sonra kocam askere gitti. Sonra geldi, İstanbula gidip geliyordu. Ben köyde kaynanam, kayınpederimle kaldım. Üç yıl sonra bizide aldı yanına.'

Those women of course were under the control of their parents in law.

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'Of course, it is her house there, you do whatever she tells you. She decide everything. I was very young when I got married, I did whatever she told me. She used to wash me, she used to make my hair in tresses, in two tresses.'

Naziye 'Tabi orası onun evi o nederse onu yapıyorsun. Her şeye o karar veriyor. Ben zaten küçüktüm evlendiğim de ne derse yapardım. Beni yıkardı saçlarımı örerdı böyle iki pelik yapardı.'

Some parents after their brides and son's moving to city continued to live in village and visited their children seasonal in a these type women are do not live any conflict with their parents in law.

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'I am sure,, she was influential there, it was her house, but it changes when we come here, she never interferes in anything. She asks me. But when I go there, of course I do what she tells me, I also do not interfere in her ways.'

Kıymet 'Orda onun sözü geçer tabi onun evi, ama buraya gelince değişir. Zaten hiç bir şeye karışmaz. Bana sorar, ama ben oraya gittiğimde tabi yine o nederse yaparım ben de ona karışmam.'

Some women migrated not only with their husbands but also with his family or his family have already lived in the city. They come their house. These women experience many difficulties. And they express their unsatisfaction

Seval (36, A, M, HW) 'I came here, my girl, and I stayed with my mother-in-law for 20 years, what can I say, I suffered a lot. She died two years ago, I have been alone since then. '

Seval 'Geldim, kızım 20 yıldır kayınvalidemle oturdum ne diyebilirim ki çok çektim yani. 2 yıl önce öldü o zamandan beri yalnızım'

Cemile ' I have been through very hard times; we were all together with my mother-in-law, father-in-law and two sister-in-laws. Of course, there was a lot of uneasiness but I loved my husband very much, I endured all, I did not even tell my mother so that there would be no troubles. Then my husband was not so well-off, we could not get a separate house for ourselves, so I endured out of obligation.'

Cemile (31, A, M, NE) 'Çok zorluklar yaşadım kayınvalidem, kayınpederim, iki görümcem hep birlikteydik. Çok huzursuzluk oluyordu tabi ama kocamı çok seviyordum, dayandım hep. Anneme bile anlatmadım sorun olmasın diye. O zaman kocamın durumu yoktu ayrı eve çıkamıyorduk mecbur dayandım'

The commonest complaint by these women about their in-laws was that they were meddle and unappreciative and they made critics about everything.

Mine (28, K, H, NE) 'She interferes in everything, always asking why I did this and that. She makes the salt of the food a problem. Her food is always the best. You do the cleaning, she does not appreciate, I mean, she always finds a fault.'

Mine 'Herşeye karışır, mesela onu niye öyle yaptın? bunu niye böyle yaptın? Yemeğin tuzu-na kusur bulur. kendi yemeği hep en güzeldir. Temizlik yaparsın onu beğenmez yani hep bir kusur bulur illaki.'

These women may be feel their housewife role as being threatened. The women usually brings in to marriage the training she received from her mother and the ways of doing things become different from her mother-in law's ways. It is also important that how she should fill her housewife's role efficiently and successful are publicly available for assessment. How a woman manages her home or prepares a meal can be evaluated and compared, particularly by her relatives. Being always criticized by them may be creating insecurity for her.

The other source of conflict is mother's in-law dominant position in the house. They act as an implementation of male authority when men themselves are not physically present.

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'we have lived together for years, she never let me go anywhere, she left me at home. She used to go out or sometimes she used to take me with her. She decided whom we would visit and whom we would invite. I could not buy anything for myself or for the children.'

Naziye 'Yıllarca bir arada yaşadık, beni bir yere koymazdı, evde bırakırdı. Kendisi çıkardı dışarı yada bazen benide alırdı. Kime oturmaya gidicez? hangi komşu çağrılacak? O karar verir. Kendime bir şey alamazdım nede çocuklara.'

Vahide (34, A, L, NE) 'I used to get the permission of my husband to visit my mother, and he used to tell me, go, seek the permission of my mother, I used to visit my mother-in-law, I used to get her permission, she used to tell me to go and seek my father-in-law's permission, and when I saw my father-in-law, he used to send me back to my mother-in-law. I mean, they tried to prolong it, so that I would not go. Then, one day, I got both their permissions, it was around 9 o'clock in the evening, but it was in summer, they told me to come back within half an hour, they said the beds would be prepared, my sister-in-law stayed with us, she was single, she was stronger than me, she was younger but stronger than me, however, I used to do all the housework, cleaning, cooking and all, they said the beds would be prepared, I went there with my child, I was delayed a bit, they had told me half an hour, I stayed for an hour, and when I came back, there was a great deal of a dispute.

Vahide 'Anneme gitmek için eşimden izin alırdım, bana derdi ki annemden izin al. Kayın valideme giderdim, ondan izin alırdım o bana derdi ki kayınpederine git. Kayınpederime giderdim tekrar kayınvaldeme gönderirdi, yani uzatırlardı olayı. Gitmemem için yaparlardı ondan sonra gene bir gün böyle izin aldım ikisinden, gittim. akşam saatte 9 da ancak yazdı falandır yarım saat içinde ol dediler yataklar açılacak dedi. Görümcem var evde bekar o benden daha iri yapılı. Yani yaş olarak küçük ama daha iri yapılı herşey benim üzerimdeydi. İşte iş olsun evin yemeği falan olsun herşey benim üzerimdeydi, yataklar açılacak dediler. Ben oraya gittim çocuğum da var biraz geciktim. yarım saat dediler ama, ben bir saati falan buldum. geldiğim zaman da bayağı bir tartışma oldu.

In some families' mother in-law are more determinant on the decisions about household and children. Also these women sometimes struggle if they do not agree with her.

Fatma (46, K, L, NE) 'My mother-in-law did not let my daughter to go to school. She said I will take her to the village. That day, I went in secret. I enrolled the girl to the school. I bought her bag and all. In the evening, the house was in turmoil. I got a great deal of beating, but what could they do after then?'

Fatma 'Kayınvalidem bırakmıyordu kızım okusun. Ben onu alıp köye götürücem dedi. O gün gittim gizliden. Kızım kaydını yaptım. Çantasını felan hep aldım. Akşam kıyamet kotu. İyi bir dayak yedim ama ne yapabilir ki o saatten sonra.'

Wife and mother in law conflict sometimes cause great problems between relatives, if the wife has been also a relative of her mother in law

Gülistan (36, K, M, E) My mother-in-law is my paternal aunt. It is very difficult of course, both your aunt and your mother-in-law, you always have to tolerate, when a problem arises and other hear about it, things get worse, you can not prevent it. People sulk at each other. It is not nice among the relatives.

Gülistan 'Benim halam kaynanam oluyor. Çok zor tabi hem halan aynı zamanda kayın validen hep idare etmek zorundasın, bir sorun çıktığın da diğerleri de duyunca olay büyüyor engelliyemiyorsun kötü oluyor. Araya küslük giriyor. Akrabalar arasına hiç hoş olmuyor.'

My study indicates that working women have better relationships with their mother in-law. Because they share the burden of household.

Necla (29, K, L, E) ,No, she helps a lot to me. I have always worked, I have been working since the day I got married. She looks after the children. She does the cleaning, she cooks.'

Necla 'Yok, çok yardımcı oluyor bana. Ben hep çalıştım evlendiğim günden beri çalışıyorum. çocuklara o bakıyor. Temizliğini yapıyor yemek hazırlıyor.

Although women emphasize cultural aspect of living together with parents in law. It has also economic dimension. The married sons sometimes prefer to stay with their family for such reasons as difficulties in paying for expensive weddings, debts due to buying furniture or saving money for specific purposes –e.g. for buying or building a house, or opening a shop and so on. They mostly stay with their families until their brothers get married, or until they are financially capable of having a separate house.

4.4 Conclusion

Familism, strong identification, loyalty, attachment and solidarity of individual with their families, is considered one of the most important culturally specific values of ethnic families (McAdoo, 1993). The extensity and frequency of the relationship because of the higher cultural value placed on familism they were more likely to live in extended households and a majority of them residing in independent households lived close to their parents. As Hanys and Mindel (1983) suggest that extended families might be a response to living in a hostile and discriminated environment.

Dell Castillo argues ethnic families must be examined within the context of their ethnic heritage. He states that extended social support networks found in ethnic communities represent the use of ancestral values to militate against economic condition (Roschelle1997). As Tienda and Angels (1982) mention extended networks it may be an attempt among ethnic families to cope with economic hardship as well as a result of cultural differences.

As we see Kurdish migrant woman highly involved family affairs. Their lives center around children and they gain their most important identity through this role. In their households, marital roles are sharply segregated and the rights and obligations are divided according to sex of couple. They are burdened with heavily domestic chores. Some also work at their textile workshop all day. Segregation of men and women's activities is apparent also in the spheres of leisure. They recognize

their husband's domination and they see themselves submissive and obedient. But I think this do not reflect the reality. As we see these women in some cases struggle for their willing especially in the cases related their children. Kurdish women are strategists, active agents who use resources to achieve goals and cope with everyday problems. Stack (1983) argues that households form around women because of their role in the childcare. Ties between women often constitute the core of the extended network. Women through their extended networks may borrow and lend important nonmonetary resources necessary for survival (Roschelle, 1997). For example, the pattern of co residence is critical because it provide for young mothers to share childcare and housework with an other women and may be it allows her participation to labor market.

CHAPTER V

THE RELATIONS OUT OF FAMILY

The Cross-cultural studies have documented the vitality of neighborhood and community networks for urban low-income groups. Those networks specifically help households fulfill their material needs and contribute to their survival strategies. A prominent feature of the social networks in the neighborhoods of Zeytinburnu is the centrality of the role of women, like a feature that has been observed in several studies. This has been partly due to the nature of the ascribed gender roles, which brought women into frequent contact with each other. Within kin groups, it is a course of performing their responsibilities and it is a moral obligation as a member of kin group. This has brought status and power to the women and their families.

5.1 The Frequency of Contact

Kinship relations continue, function in urban setting relatives interact, keep in touch, celebrate happy occasions and they even help each other from time to time (Williams, 1989). Kin interaction varies on accordingly degree of kin, distance and level of income.

The degree of kin relationship, sister and brothers are almost uniformly intimate or primary kin, the siblings are next in importance and other kin such as aunts, uncles and cousins less importance.

Fatma (46, K, L, NE) 'Of course, your siblings, brothers and sisters; they are different. They are always on your side. Your aunt's children, your uncle's children, they are after them.'

Fatma 'Tabi şimdi kardeşlerin, abin, ablan onlar bir farklı oluyor. Onlar her zaman yanında. Halamın çocukları, dayının çocukları daha sonra geliyor.'

On the contrary older migrant women said they have a strong bound for all their relatives.

But some of the women who are close to their best known cousin are likely to be concerned about aunts or uncle as well.

Songül (28, A, M, NE) 'I always call them, I always drop by, I and my aunt's children, we grew up together. My aunt's family also resides by, we always meet.'

Songül 'Ben ararım hep uğrarım. Halamın kızları beraber büyüdük biz, kardeş gibi. Amcamlar da yakın hep görüşüyoruz '

Kurdish migrant women's relationships with their brothers and sisters are very powerful; their relations with brothers were often of affection and respect but maintained a ritualized aspect, particularly after brothers married. Kurdish migrant women are established close ties with their brothers' wives. This was because, culturally a sister had a legitimate claim to her brother's support, both financially and otherwise. As Hoodfar (1997) suggest that the extreme value of kin networks derived from the cultural legitimacy of a brother's support for a woman experiencing marital problems, which extended beyond anything friendship could offer. Cultural norms define the home of a brother, parents, or close relatives as a legitimate refuge for a woman in time of need and only blood ties provide this type of protection and support. In fact, one of the my participant women who are mistreated and physically abused by the husband says;

Hatice (32, S, H, NE) 'If my brother finds that out, he would beat my husband really badly. He would break the window and the door into pieces. He shouldn't leave me here. He would take me away. Then things get even bigger.'

Hatice 'Duysa abim çok kötü döver kocamı. Kapıyı pencereyi indirir. Bırakmaz beni çeker götürür, sonra işler iyice büyür.'

Distance limits interaction frequency and furthermore it determines the kinds of interaction and the occasions upon which face-to-face contracts occurs generally, households long established in the neighborhood tended to have relatives living in their neighborhood or within easy reach. If there is a greater residential separation exist, their interaction is restricted vacation or holiday reunions. On the behalf of the availability of the telephone, they continue their communication

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'Of course there is distance, everybody does not live close to each other in the city environment, but there is the phone. I call people very frequently. One day my sister said she was sick and my husband permitted to go, so I went immediately, of course you can not visit each other very frequently.'

Bedriye 'Uzak tabi herkes, yakın değil. Şehir ortamın da, ama telefon var, sık sık arıyorum. O gün hastayım dedi ablam. İzin verdi beyim, gittim hemen tabi. Çok sık git gel olmuyor.'

A Kurdish migrant women suggests that although distance prevents frequency of contact, it never damage close contact between them.

Rahime (49, K, H, NE) 'Of course, they live in distance. But, even though we do not see each other very frequently, that warmth is never lost.'

Rahime 'Tabi uzakta oturuyorlar çok sık görmesekte birbirimizi yani o sıcaklık asla kaybolmaz yani'

If the siblings are concerned, the distance effects are diminished on the frequency of contact. If the kin relation is secondary degree, uncle or aunts distance become more effectual on contact frequency, exchange of aid and emotional ties. But if the women desire to maintain contact and keep concern active, they manage the difficulties of distance. Although the distance reduce the frequency of contact together the support interaction between kin, they still kept in touch and helped one another in times of crisis.

The relatives do not meet as frequent as wished due to reasons such as the low family income and high transportation costs, long working hours, fulfillment of the interfamily obligations etc.

Ayten (30, K, L, E) 'They live very far from here, it takes three vehicles, I can not go with four children. Traveling also costs a lot, you know, my sister's family has a car, they can visit us more frequently, so we can see each other.'

Ayten 'Çok uzakta oturuyorlar, burdan üç vasıta yapıcı, dört tane de çocukla, gidemiyorum. Yolda çok tutuyo biliyor musun? Ablamların arabası var onlar daha sık geliyor.görüşüyoruz.'

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'I do not go there by car, as I used to do before, you know, business is not so good nowadays. We had to fire workers, I go there, it is our own place. I work until late hours in the evening. The girls come and go. Of course we see them but we do not have any time left for the others.'

Kıymet 'Eskisi gibi akrabaya da gitmiyorum. Bu birkaç yıldır işler kötü biliyor musun? Hep işçi çıkardık, bende çalışıyorum kendi yerimiz, akşam geç vakite kadar çalışıyorum. Kızlar geliyor, gidiyor onlarla görüşüyoruz tabi ama diğerlerine vakit kalmıyor.'

Aging mother play a particularly central role in perpetuating their nuclear families. They occupy interrelations between degrees of kinship. They linked

siblings together after they leave the parental home and they maintain their family of orientation or ties with their own aging siblings and their children. Furthermore, they serve to their families of procreation and orientation to each other, so that young adults keep posted on the activities of aunts, uncles and cousins as well as their sibling,

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'My daughter got married, my son always drops by in every two nights. I always tell them that they will care for each other. Thank God, they are very fond of one another. They are also fond of the nephews, I always tell my son to call his uncle and ask if he got better (he was sick). And they call.'

Zinnet 'Kızım evlendi. Benimle. Oğlum her zaman uğrar, iki akşamda bir. Ben hep diyorum siz birbirinize mukayet olacaksınız diye. Çok şükür düşkünler bir birlerine. Yeğenlerde düşkünler ben, hep sorarım oğlum ara amacanı hastaydı ne oldu?. Arar onlarda. Beraber yerler, içerler. Şimdi beraber ekibe girmişler evet halk oyunları doğru dedin kızım.'

One respondent said, after the death of her mother, there was loss of interest on the part of young adults in their secondary kin.

Nearly all women said that they are more interrelated, not just because they are more sensitive for the protection of the family ties, but also because they conceive this as their duty.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'I am more interested. I do not distinguish between his relatives and mine, I call them all, when there is **mevlut** (a religious ceremony), I call all his uncles, aunts and siblings. I call those younger than me and ask how they are, even if they do not call me.'

Bedriye 'Ben daha çok ilgileniyorum. onun akrabası benim akrabam ayırt etmem ararım mevlut olur, bütün amcasını halasını kardeşlerimi hep ararım. Onlar aramasa bile ben küçüğüm arar sorarım.'

Kurdish migrant women are very conscious of their importance in cultivating social networks and this increased their confidence and their status at home

5.2 Mutual Aid

The period of most intense mutual aid between the relatives is the first time people come to city. Kurdish migrant women stayed with their relatives for a long period when they came to city, until their husbands found a job and improved their economic conditions. Or the relatives helped them to find houses. They also provided household goods, food and fuel.

Moreover, they also stated that they received assistance among relatives in terms of finding jobs or establishing business. Especially, Kurdish women, whose husbands have textile workshops, established their business in partnership with others from the family.

Halime (34, A, H, NE) 'My husband worked in my brother-in-law's place for years. For many years, and I worked there, too, and then my brother also came. They founded a common workplace, then we had a fellow from the same place, Elaziğ, they also agreed with him, he then broke up. The business was good until this crisis, for the last two years, the business stagnated.'

Halime 'Kocam kaynımın yanında çalıştı, uzun yıllar, ben de öyle. Sonra abimde geldi. Sonra ortak bir iş kurdular, o zaman elaziğlı bir hemşerimiz vardı onla da anlaştilar, o sonra ayrıldı. Bu krize kadar işler çok iyiydi bu iki yıldır. İşler durmuş'

According to Sencer Ayata (1989), this solidarity created for finding jobs among the relatives or the townsmen means creating a semi-monopoly in the same branch of occupation, based on the principle of not letting strangers in. This has both an internal solidarity aspect and creating a refuge area aspect. Thus, in the tough competition environment of the city, they become strong competitors via solidarity as well as creating a refuge area in which no strangers are let.

In addition to these, there were some people who stated that they received no help. The reason for this is that, the relatives, who could not have secure and permanent jobs up to then, could not help the newcomers.

Fatma (46, K, L, NE) 'No, my girl, we have not had any help from anyone... None of the relatives have wealth, who can help whom. Neither they nor I have... He had a few relatives, I had no one, my sisters and brothers all came later.'

Fatma 'Yok kızım kimseden bir yardım görmedik hiç kimseden.. yok akrabalarından da. Kimin elinde var, kime yardım etsin ki. Onda da yok bende de yok ..onun bir iki hısmı vardı, benim kimsem yoktu. Ablalarım, abilerim daha sonra geldi hep.'

Kurdish migrant women who migrated told that they provided the same assistance to those relatives who came after them, just as they received when they were newcomers.

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'I had a brother, my girl, he gave me a hand... Then I can tell you that all the village moved in here, everybody came, no one was left in the village, my brother helped them and found them jobs, those having work here used to come and stay with me. Until they could find jobs.'

Naziye 'Hiç eksik olmazdı, onların tarafından gelen çok olurdu. Köyden gelen akrabası ilk ona gelirdi. Ayıp olurdu biz bakmasak. Kardeşlerinin çocukları geliyordu. Görümcenin çocukları geliyordu. On bir kişi kalıyorduk evde.'

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'We never lacked guests. A lot of his relatives came here. The relatives coming from the village visited him first. It would be a shame if we had not cared for them, the children of his siblings came, the children of my sister-in-law came. We used to stay eleven people in the house.'

Zinnet 'Bir abim vardı kızım, o benim elimden tuttu.... Sonra belki diyebilirim ki sana bütün köy geldi buraya, teker teker. Kimse kalmadı orda. Abimde yardım etti, işe koydu burda. İşi olan gelir, bende kalırdı. Ta ki iş bulana kadar'

The area, in which the relatives most frequently helped each other, is marriage. This is also the area, in which the women participate most actively. Usually, the women find the girl to be married, the women become the go-between at first.

Making somebody marry is considered among the priority duties of the family and the relatives. Particularly, it is expected that the relatives with better economic standing, such as the brother or the uncle, get involved in this purpose more actively.

Hatice (32, S, H, NE) 'Of course, my husband is very caring in those matters, he gives everything he has for such purposes. Last summer they made the youngest child marry, and all the family united for this purpose, they have an uncle, you know, he is very well-off, he hired the wedding hall and all.'

Hatice 'Tabi beyim çok düşkün öyle şeylere hiç esirgemez en küçüğünü everdiler, geçen yaz bütün aile bir oldu. Amcası var durumu iyi biliyor musun? O tuttu salonu hep.'

Cemile (31, A, M, NE) 'Of course, we lived together for years with my two brother-in-laws; we made the brother-in-laws marry, I found the girls, my husband provided their weddings, we tried to provide them with everything that we can, we made them both marry.'

Cemile 'Tabi iki kaynım, kaynanam yıllarca beraber oturduk. onları evlendirdik, ben buldum kızları. Beyim düğünlerini yaptı. her bi şeylerini yapmaya çalıştık. ikisini de biz evlendirdik.'

Such importance of the solidarity among the relatives for marriage stems from the fact that the family is the basic unit for solidarity (Ayata-Güneş, 1991).

Moreover, Kurdish women stated that their husbands first asked for debts from their relatives, when they were in trouble in economic terms. The reasons specified for this were that the relatives were more reliable and that they would criticize them for asking debts.

Vahide (34, A, L, NE) 'I mean, it would not be nice to ask from the neighbors. Relatives are always closer to you. You have a blood tie between you, the relative would not refuse you, and you would not be offended even if he or she did. But this is not the case with the neighbors, coldness would come about, I mean I would never ask.'

Vahide 'Yani komşudan istemek hoş olmaz. Akraban sana her zaman daha yakındır. Kan bağı var arada reddetmez. Reddetse bile sen de gücünmezsin ama komşu öyle değil, soğukluk olur, ben istemem yani asla.'

Hatice (32, S, H, NE) 'We all share what we have, see what I will tell you, when I passed the course, my neighbor prepared a congratulation for me, but I cannot ask money from her, I mean, I have my father, my husband, my husband's maternal aunt, the relatives, so we would ask from them.'

Hatice 'Her şeyimiz birdir ne diyeyim sana ben kursu geçtim, bana kutlama hazırlamış komşum, ama ondan para istemem. Yani babam var, kocamın teyzesi akrabaları var, onlardan isteriz yani.'

Less than half of the women we interviewed have relatives in the quarter they live. The rest have their townsmen there. This reflects the tendency of those migrating from villages to towns to share the same space with the relatives and townsmen.

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'How can I tell you, everybody living between here up to the school, up to the fountain bus stop, is from Elazığ... All the population of our village is in here, we all know one another, my daughters and children. Both wives of my brother, my brothers and sisters, they are all here.'

Zinnet 'sana ne diyem yani burdan ta okula kadar sonra bu çeşme duragına kadar hep elazığlı ..bizim bütün köy burda hepimiz tanırız birbirimizi benim kızlar çocuklar . abimin iki karısı kardeşlerim hep burdalar yani.'

Concentration is more widespread in the women who have been in town for a longer time. It is less frequent for the newcomers. Probably, this is also related to the increase of land and house prices in Zeytinburnu over the time. The new coming relatives settled in worse but cheaper districts of the town.

The Concentration tendency is natural within inter-group solidarity. Thus, close relations may be established with the relatives and it is especially important in terms of adopting the city and overcoming the difficulties, particularly during the initial years after moving.(Ayata-Güneş, 1991). Concentration is the most important factor facilitating mutual aid between the relatives. Also, relative relations are very important for those families, who settle in the city by chain migration and who face each difficulty together with their relatives, surviving with their aid.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'When I came here, my girl, I had nothing but two quilts, I had neither forks, spoons nor plates. My brother-in-law hired this house for us. My brother-in-law's wife provided everything for us, may God bless her, she helped me a lot.'

Bedriye 'Geldim kızım, ne catalım, kaşığım ne tabağım iki yorgan var. Başka hiç bir sey yok. Kaynım altındaki evi tutu bize. Her şeyi elim verdi, allah razı olsun ondan, yani çok yardım etti.'

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) ‘The grandfather (she talks about her husband) was hospitalized. He was sick. The brothers of my husband, they all helped. We payed something like two and a half billion liras. He had brain hemorrhage twice. They all gave us money. They give all the time. We are really fond of eachother. We are really committed to eachother. We are committed, because we are from the East, we are Kurdish. If something happens we help eachother. My daughter lives in Antalya. She has a son. He had a motorcycle accident 40 days ago. I went there. One of the brothers of my husbands sent my daughter money right away, 100 million liras. The other 150 million liras.’

Zinnet ‘Dede (kocasından bahsediyor) hastaneye yattı, hastaydı, bu şeye yatırdık Avrasya’ya. Kayınlarım hep yardım etti. İki buçuk milyara yakın para vermiştik. Beyin kanaması geçirdi, iki defa falan geçirdi, burda yatmıştı. Kayınlarım yardım etti ikisid para verdiler. Para konusunda yardım ediyorlar, her dakika veriyorlar, biz bir birimize çok tutkunuz. Çok bağlıyız. Doğulu olduğumuz için, kürt olduğumuz için birbirimize çok bağlıyız. Bi durum olsa bizde onlara öyle koşarız. Onlarda bize öyle koşar. Benim kızım Antalya’da oturuyor, bir oğlu var, motorsiklet sürmüş kaza yapmış 40 gün önce. Ben gitmiştim, kaynımın biri hemen arkamdan para göndermiş kıza. 100 milyon biri göndermiş, 150 milyon biri. Aramış he kızım paran var mı ? yok mu ? hemen gönderdiler.’

The most important aid among the relatives is no doubt related to enabling Kurdish migrant women to adopt the city except two of them, neither of the interviewed women could speak Turkish when they came to town and neither of them was literate except one. It is not easy and it takes a lot of effort to get hold of the city, to have a place in it for the women and they learn everything relating to the city, such as where to shop and what to wear, from their relatives, they benefit from the environment and knowledge acquired by the relatives in the town.

5.3 Weddings and Funerals

Weddings and funerals as rituals play important role in continuation of tradition and strengthening the solidarity between Kurds. Every member of the community participates to these ceremonies to support each other and to maintain solidarity. On the other hand, having knowledge about these issues may help us to see the interaction between different groups and to what degree these groups are bound to their traditions. For this reason I asked the questions “What do you do in your weddings and funerals with respect to both men and women?”, “Do you see any difference between past and present in the performance of the wedding and funerals?”

Kurdish migrant women indicated that they are in interaction with neighbors living in areas close to them. Their traditions are open to interaction and change.

Their weddings are modernized. They are harmonious with urban traditions like women's wearing toilets and moving their celebrations from the district to the wedding-halls for the receptions following their weddings. In general it is reported that weddings and funeral ceremonies, they are open to interaction with all the people, they have a friendly relation.

Ayşe (42, K,L,E) 'Every thing was chanded ..every thing..we arrange verything accordingly city. ...our weddings are generally held in wedding halls. The weddings have become more modern now.in other world there is no longer an isistence on tradiron. In the past the mourning period was a much longer period. Now this period decreased. The way to participate in a funeral, from a dress sense has changed. In the past they used to go in more plain outfits. In our funerals, we have seven days, forty days, we have mevlut on the seventh day and the everybody gets together. The death house give meals with meat every seventh day. The all relatives help last two days my husbands brother was dead. My son called me and said I give my car and and also two hundred millions. They go to funerals to Kayseri .'

Ayşe 'Buraya geldik geleli herşey deęiřti, herşey..herşeyi şehirliler gibi yapıyoruz..onlar gibi salon tutuyoruz. Biz düęünlerimizi kına geceli, şarkılı çalgılı eğlenceli yapıyoruz, düęünler biraz daha modernleřti, yani geleneklere baęlılık pek kalmadı artık, isteyen kınayı büyük yapıyor, isteyen düęünü büyük yapıyor, isteyen nikah yapıyor sadece, cenazelerede eskisi gibi sayęı kalmadı, eskiden daha uzun tutulurdu yas. Şimdi o da kalmamış...giyim, kuşam bile deęiřmiş.'

Rahime (49, K, H, NE) 'in our weddings, our girls go out of the home with the accompaniment of drum and 'zurna'(musical Instruments). My elder son invited a singer to this weddings. He was very enthusiastic. Different from the past, today nobaody wants private weddings. Our generation could not do this but our young generation wants crowded and open weddings. But while our young grils were opening their hair and going to wedding halls, today their heads covered . in the weddings of my second son, the bride and the all girls were veiled. They often go to the hairdressers to have their turban done. Their turbans have different hairpins. They have their hair done with a turban and go to the weddings halls.

Rahime 'Kızlarımızı davulla zurnalı ekiple evden çıkardık salona götürdük. Büyük oęlan kendi düęününde ayrıca sanatçıda çağırması, onun çok hevesi var. Öyle eskisi gibi aman kimse bizi görmesin deęil, artık onları kaldırdık. Bizim yaşlılarımız kaldıramaz da gençlerimiz öyle deęil. gençlerimiz önceden saçlarını açıp salona geliyorlardı. Şimdi hepsi türban yapıp geliyor. Gelinler kızlar hepsi şimdi bu küçük oęlanın düęününde hepsi türbanlıydı. Berbere giderler saçlarını yaptırırlar hepsi türbanlı modeller yaptırıyor, türbanlarının tokaları var. Öyle geliyorlar salona.'

As we see in these two interviewes, although Kurdish community used to have their own rituals and ceremonies through modernization and urbanization they tend to be influenced from urban values and culture. This tendency seen in women's clothes and behaviours.

5.4 Relations of the Neighbourhood

It is the women who stay most at home, who use the house most and who has the most intensive neighbourhood relations. In this section, we will deal with the neighbourhood relations of the women and the patterns determining them. The question to be asked in this section: With whom are the relations are established and why? What are talked about? How does mutual aid take place? Again, the evaluation will be performed according to the ages and the socio-economic status of the women.

We may mention two different types of neighborhood relations, which we noticed during the interviews with the women, The people who are seen on special occasions and by appointment only and the intimate neighbors. The said special occasions may be money-collecting or gold-collecting female meetings or may be female meetings where only cakes and tea are served or the days when Koran is recited.

The women, who permanently attend such styles of meetings with money or gold or tea, are the housewives and the women with relatively higher levels of income.

Working Kurdish migrant women stated that they did not have any time to spare for such styles of neighbourhood relations. These women, who say that work and interfamily responsibilities consume all their time, said that they did not have any time to go out or organize occasions such as female meetings.

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'I do not know what it is like in women's meetings or going out, my girl, I have always worked. I came and started to work at my brother's place, then I opened a workshop together with my daughters and worked there, I have never been to such events. Of course I have my neighbors here, of course I help them when anything occurs, I never shrink from that, of course, my girl.'

Naziye 'Ben günmüş gezmeymiş bilmem kızım. hep çalıştım, geldim abimin yanında çalıştım sonra kendi kızla, atelye açtım, orda çalıştım. Hiç öyle şeylere gitmedim. komşularım var. Tabi burda bir şey olsa hemen yardım ederim tabi hiç esirgemem kızım'

A Kurdish migrant working on part time said that such occasions were good in terms of saving money, but they could not participate in them for economic reasons.

Seval (36, A, M, HW) 'Of course, it is nice so you can save money, but it cannot always occur. Of course, it is difficult to get out once you are in there, after all, you depend on your husband. Or, the kid needs something and first you have to give the money to the kid.'

Seval 'İyi tabi sende para biriktiriyorsun, ama her zaman olmuyor. Girdin mi çıkmak da olmaz sonunda koca eline bakıyorsun. Yada çocuğun ihtiyacı oluyor önce ona vermek gerekiyor'

Some elder women stated that their married daughters, or those having sons, their daughters-in-law attend such environments of friendship, but not frequently.

Fatma (46, K, L, NE) 'I do not know the atmosphere of such events, my girl, but my daughter calls me, saying, come mommy. My daughter-in-law has such an environment, she invites me sometimes and I sometimes visit.'

Fatma 'Ben kızım öyke ortamları bilemem, ama benim kız bazen çağırıyor, anne gel diyor. Gelinin öyle bir ortamı var. O da çağırıyor arada gidiyorum işte.'

The women attending such occasions are predetermined or previously agreed people with cultural proximity or those joining such company via their private relations with someone within the group. The women thus provide socializing chance for other women, not included in the relation or fellow country people group.

Halime (34, A, H, NE) 'There are the people from the same city but there are also other sorts of people, there are also rich women ...'

Halime 'Hemşerinde oluyor, ama başka başka insanlar da oluyor, değişik zengin kadınlar oluyor...'

The subjects talked with the neighbors may be summarized as follows: events of the daily life, costs of living, and serials on TV, bedroom chat, samples of handiwork or embroidery and recipes. As may be seen, interfamily problems are not usually expressed.

Mine (28, K, H, NE) 'Well, of course such things are not mentioned in such an atmosphere, they are both shameful to mention and also confidential. Then she may tell them to others or one day, she may use them against you. You can not rely on people so quickly'

Mine. 'E tabi öyle her ortamda konuşulmuyor, böyle şeyler. Hem söylenmesi ayıp hem gizli şeyler bunlar. Sonra o yarın başkasına anlatır, bir gün gelir sana karşı kullanabilir, bilemezsin. Öyle çabuk güvenemezsin.'

However, many women attending such environments stated that they are annoyed by the gossip of the environment so they did not join the conversations much.

Bedriye (35, A, L, NE) 'I do not like it. They gossip all day long: whose daughter did what. Who went where... that woman's husband beat her, what trousseau they provided for whom, they talk in such a wicked way.'

Bedriye 'Ben sevmiyorum. Bütün gün dedikodu yapıyorlar, onun kızı şunu yapmış, şunlar şuraya gitmiş.. yok kocası dövmüş, kıza ne ceviz vermişler, böyle kötü kötü konuşuyorlar.'

A young woman,

Ruken (18, S, H, NE) 'I get bored, I do not want to join, they gossip about other people all day long, as if they have no faults. I sometimes get angry and warn them. I tell them, do not talk when you do not know everything thoroughly, it is a sin. I have a couple of friends, I see them, I feel more comfortable with them.'

Ruken 'Sıkılıyorum hiç katılmak istemiyorum. Bütün gün insanları çekiştiriyorlar sanki kendilerinin hiç kusuru yokmuş gibi. Ben kızyorum bazen uyarıyorum. Bilip bilmeden konuşmayın günah diyorum. Bir iki arkadaşım var, bir tek onlarla görüşüyorum daha rahat hissediyorum kendimi.'

As it may be seen, the women keen on joining environments except the relative and fellow country people environments. At least, those who have enough resources. However, the women are annoyed by the fact the environment has a social control through gossip, like the one in the ties of relation.

Also, the fact that some women create a status competition and pretend that they are rich although they are not; creating a competitive and contesting environment irritates some women.

Halime (34, A, H, NE) 'There is such an atmosphere of demonstration, everybody is trying to put on the airs, saying I have this and I have that.'

Halime 'Böyle bir gösteriş ortamı oluyor herkes bi şuyum var buyum var, diye hava atıyor'

As a result, these types of meetings are important for the cultural ad economic involvement and information exchange of the women with other women from diverse groups. The women who come together in such types of occasions talk about each other and other women that they do not see, like those living in different apartment buildings or the neighbors in the quarter, thus gaining information on them and their lives. Like whose daughter did what, who is the relative of an important figure or whose sister got what jewelery gifts during the wedding. Moreover, those with more wealth help the women to save up some wealth.

The case for the intimate neighbors is different. These relations are more intimate, sincere and intense. Nearly all the women have such types of relations.

The women establish such relations with the neighbors living in close apartment buildings as well.

What are done? Many things, such as house visits, market shopping together, visiting the children's schools, paying the bills, organizing occasions, cleaning carpets or wool together, cooking, preparing canned food, etc. they spend much time together and often performed their domestic tasks in each other's company.

At time of crisis they took each others children to the hospital or took over each other's household responsibility. All sorts of household goods, including more precious items such as electric washing tumblers, mixers and television were lent or borrowed. People would turn their flats over to friends for wedding or birthday celebration.

Some women state that they do not discriminate ethnicity for the selection of the neighbors, their best neighbors are Laz, Alevi, Albanian origin etc.

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'All my neighbors here are Albanian, but they are so nice. We moved here from Kasımpaşa, my husband bought a house here, but it was still under construction, we did not have neither electricity nor running water for 3 months. I saw great help from them all, may God bless them, they even cooked meals and gave us.'

Naziye 'Hep Arnavut mesala benim komsularım, ama öyle iyiler ki. Kasımpaşadan taşındık, beyim ev aldı burda, ama daha inşaat halinde 3 ay ne elektirik ne su. Çok fayda gördüm hepsinden, sağolsunlar yemek bile yapıp verdiler hep'

However, there are also women, who state that they usually see the neighbors from their hometown. They say that they do not discriminate, but they are more comfortable among them.

Ayten (30, K, L, E) 'Of course, I do not distinguish between people, but I always see people from my city, they are nice and we speak in Kurdish. We know one another, we came from the same place; it is warmer. The most important point is to be a good person.'

Ayten 'Bir ayırım yapmam tabi ama yani işe hep hemşerim görüştüklerim iyiler Kürtçe konuşuyoruz. Birbirimizi biliyoruz aynı yerden gelmişiz daha sıcak oluyor. İyi insan olması asıl önemli herşeyden'

Apart from mutual aid that is more intense, the interfamilies problems are also dealt with in such relations. More important are the criteria that the neighbor does not disclose the secrets of anybody and is helpful.

Kıymet (42, A, M, E)'Neighbors are also like the relatives sometimes, I mean, they help you in all manners. You cannot always go and visit your relatives, my relatives live far away, but, may God bless my neighbors, they never leave me alone in a difficult condition...'

Kiymet 'Komşuda akraba gibidir bazen yani her işine koşar yardım eder. Akrabalara gidemezsin her seferinde uzak benim kiler ama komşularım sağ olsun hiç darda koymazlar yani..'

When we have a closer look at the sincere neighborhood relations, the women, who spend most of the day in the house intensely, naturally tend to have a closer relation with their neighbors. Especially the women, who do not live in the same quarter with their relatives, are closer to their neighbors very often, in an attempt to ensure a higher degree of stability, women who were very close to one another planned to matched marriages between their children.

On the other hand, working women are the group of women to have the least of such relations.

The women with married daughters and sons try to spend their free time with them or their grandchildren and even though this sometimes prevents the neighborhood relations, they manage to establish new relations through their daughters or daughter-in-laws.

Rahime (49,K, H, NE) 'Since my children got married, I visit them and they visit me, I do not spend time with the relatives any more.'

Rahime 'Şimdi çocuklar evlendi. Ben onlara gelip gidiyorum, onlar geliyor, eskisi gibi komşuyla vakit geçirmiyorum'

Young women value the neighborhood relations more, believing that the relations with neighbors bring more freedom as compared to those with the relatives.

Ayten (30, K, L, E) 'The relatives interfere with everything, especially, if you have married a relative, the word for even the slightest problem will go around and the problem will get bigger. I personally try not to see relatives, of course, you can not do it, but neighborhood is more comfortable.'

Ayten 'Akrabalar her şeye karışıyor, hele ki akraba evliliği yapmışsan en ufak bir sorun bile büyür ağza düşer. Ben kendim görüşmemeye çalışıyorum, tabi olmuyor ama komşuluk daha rahat.'

However, the women, who experienced problems with their relatives in the past, prefer relations with their neighbors.

Naziye (44, K, M, NE) 'Your relatives interfere with everything. I do not know, they gossip. Our Kurdish people talk to the back of the people, and treat you friendly in the face. The neighbors are always better.'

Naziye 'Akraban herşeye karışıyor, ne bilim dedikodusunu yapıyorlar. Bizim Kürt milleti böyle birinin arkasından konuğu yüzüne güler..komşu daha iyi her zaman.'

For families living together with the mother-in-law, it is found that the neighborhood relation is primarily determined by the mother-in-law.

Vahide (34, A, L, NE) 'My mother-in-law decided who would come and who would go, she never let me see people without her.'

Vahide 'Kayınvalidem karar verirdi, kim gelsin ? kim gitsin? bırakmazdı kimse ile konuşayım, görüşeyim ondan ayrı.'

Again, although most of the women said they shared their problems with the neighbors, it was observed that they mostly did not share the interfamily problems and they did not much depend on the neighbors.

Once more, a young woman said that she could not tell her relatives that she was subjected to violence by her relatives as she feared they would make it too serious a case, so she shared this condition with her neighbor.

Hatice (32, S, H, NE) 'Of course, everything cannot be told, but, for example, my husband beat me and I told it. Now, if my brother would hear about this, he would come and beat my husband, there would be a fight. It would be terrible. It is better to tell the neighbors rather than the relatives. Among relatives, everything will be heard.'

Hatice 'Tabi herşey anlatılmaz, belki ama mesela kocam dövdü, ona anlattım ben. Şimdi abim falan duysa o da gelir, kocamı döver kavga olur. çok kötü olur. Akrabadansa komşuya anlatmak daha iyidir. Akrabalar arasında hemen her şey duyulur.'

Except these, every sort of mutual aid is provided with close relatives but some women state that seeking monetary aid would be improper.

The interviews with Kurdish migrant women reveal that, although these women merged among themselves, they are not torn away from the urban life. The contact with strangers is limited. Although the neighborhood relations are mostly established through neighborhood ties, there is no great discrimination like "us" and "them". There is a strong mutual aid within them. The neighbors constitute great aid especially in terms of moral support and the sharing of daily tasks. Moreover, the women transfer all the information exchange obtained through the neighborhood relations to their family. Being supportive of and available to neighbors earned people a good name and high status. A good reputation may be in long run would translate in to material reward. But, usually the relatives are seen closer for support in a tangible manner. Moreover, there are Kurdish migrant women, who consider the neighborhood relations more important than those with the relatives. Especially the

women, who lived with the relatives for years and who experienced problems for this reason in the past. Also, Kurdish migrant women, who do not have any relatives of their age within close quarters and who have a comparatively higher level of income, regard both types of neighbourhoods relations of great importance. Also, it was found that the working women can only show concern for their family environment, they can not spare any time for the neighbourhood relations.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ROLES OF WOMEN AND ETHNIC COMMUNITY FORMATION

In this chapter, the main themes and issues raised throughout the study will be drawn together and the economic roles and the social roles of women in households and in social life are evaluated in the process of identity formation in the new social environment. How do all these factors come together in the process of identity formation? Bradley (1999) argue that class, gender, religion, age, ethnicity, all are the potential elements in our individual identities. In such circumstances, the individual is likely to respond as woman to the circumstances, in one way another.

With urbanization and through the process of migration ethnic groups change their composition and identity. Entering a new social environment leads people to re-define 'Us' and 'Them'. Hence, they enter the new process of re-construction of identity based on this new identity family and kin networks as coping strategies are added up strengthening the solidarity in the urban context.

Ethnicity, culture and the meanings derived from familial and extra familial interactions are the core of individual and community identity. As we see, familism, strong identification, loyalty, attachment and solidarity of individual with their families, is considered one of the most important culturally specific values of these Kurdish migrant women. The traditional cultural values determine the pattern of relationship between the wife and the husband. Strong sex differentiation and male dominance are traditional norms in Kurdish women's culture. Two separate roles for women and men are emphasized: homemaker and breadwinner. The division of roles

is considered to be a part of the Kurdish traditions, and therefore quite a natural behavior both for men and women. It was regarded as obscene for men to participate in the housework. This was seen as a violation of the traditional rules that exist for men and women in Kurdish communities. Although the rules restrict women's capacity for autonomy and very much determine the direction of their self-realization, these rules can also be played by women to try to gain recognition, self-respect and fulfillment within social established terms.

6.1 Formation of Gender Roles Among Women with Respect to Family Relations

Nearly all Kurdish migrant women define themselves as a dedicated housewives and mothers. They gain their most important identity through this role. For all women the needs of family the future of children manage the households is the most important issues. They emphasis to devote herself to her house, husbands and children. This indicates parallelism with many cross-cultural studies that is revealing that ethnic families are highly familistic and routinely confronted by hardships steaming from migration and/or their minority status (McAdoo, 1993). This understanding does not change on the case of working women, whether they work or not view themselves primarily wives and mothers. Kurdish migrant working women also think that their jobs function as an obstacle for their primary roles.

Kurdish migrant women whether they work or not still contribute significantly to the household economy by engaging in activities that help the family to reduce the cost of living. Kurdish migrant women are proud of themselves not doing unnecessary spending i.e. transport is seen as luxury. Household production of goods and services instead of procurement through market minimizing consumption are the strategies that women use to give support to family income. These women emphasis on their investments for the future security of the family their children. So they sacrificed their needs for the sake of future security. They try to do whatever they can do. Pertaining and subordination of their needs to family needs is a significant feature of their family life.

They recognize their husband's domination and they see themselves submissive and obedient. But I think this do not reflect the reality. As we see these women struggle for their willing especially in the cases related their children. Mothers are the primary care takers and teacher of young children, she might encourage her child to learn about her or his culture in order to teach the next generation. Their strength lies in knowing who they are and where they come from. This cultural knowledge, which is the one of the important feature of ethnicity helps establish identity.

6.2 Formation of an Ethnic Community Identity Among Women within their Social Environment

The life of women is extensively surrounded by the social networks composed of siblings, in-laws, relatives, townsmen and neighbors. Close network and solidarity exist. Regardless their socio-economic status women who live Zeytinburnu participate in social activities such as ceremonial visits at births, deaths, weddings and mevlut recitations. These occasions have been mostly arranged by relative. Women with their neighbors or relatives participate other activities such as gold days money days. They also travel to village to visit their relatives, for medical treatment or to take summer holiday with their children except these informal activities. Women's social life is limited with such activities. Social relations are not independent from family relations as mentioned chapter I. They have a crucial place in the lives of women. The transfer of information and the mutual aid for the households work is realized through the women.the main point seems to be that women are the agents for delimitation and they are the agents through which family attributes are transmitted across the generations

Another tendency among Kurdish migrant women, they tend to prefer go out with a neighbor or at least their small children. They explained the husband's control. Their husbands allow them to go only when other women accompany them. This acts as a control mechanism on the women on behalf of men. Preservation of family honor are expected from the members of family is an overwhelmingly important factors in ethnic families' life. For Kurdish women their honor is very important and

seclusion, isolation from public life and veiling are sign of honor. We see that women give more importance when there is a concentration of fellow-ship group in their neighborhood. Kurdish migrant women themselves act as a control mechanism on the behalf of gossiping. They themselves have a system of self-appraisal and self-esteem which is related to their judgements of others. Women are seen as the boundary makers and the carriers of group identity.

While migrants tend to keep ethnic solidarity in the competitive situation of the city, Kurdish migrant women tend to 'keep the community together' and 'keep their collective identity'. The boundary of the ethnic is often dependent on gender and there is a reliance on gender attributes for specifying ethnic identity (Ayata-Güneş, 1996; 1997;2000)

When I ask Kurdish women 'Do-you see yourself different from the other ethnic group women? Mostly their answers are very linked with appropriate gender roles, particularly older women.

Sevval (36, A, M, HW) 'The laz never use veiling. They do not like wearing veiling, my girl. My sister's son married such a girl. The son did everything but he could not veil her hair. All family start to fighting each other. She is very unrespectfull. She never invite her mother in-law

Sevval 'Lazların saçları hep açık oluyo. Onlar kapalı giyinmeyi sevmeyler, kızım. Benim ablamın oğlu evlendi öyle bir kızla. Oğlan ne yaptıysa kapatamadı kızın saçını. Bütün aile bir birine girdi. Saygısızlar. Öyle kayınvalidesine gelin kalın demez.'

Zinnet (53, K, M, SE) 'The Laz go and work for Kurdish businesses. They seduce the husbands. They are that shameless. my brother's son-in-law hired such a woman. That Laz woman also had a son. The man left his wife...but, they forced him to get a divorce. ...there were two kids. But my brother forced to get separated. The laz are like this. They are cheap. They don't like the Kurds. They don't make friends with the Kurds but they like their men. If he has money, they stick to the men. They have such ugly habits'

Zinnet 'lazlar kürtlerin iş yerlerine gidip, çalışıyorlar, kocalarını baştan çıkarıyorlar. Öyle terbiyesizlikleri var. Abimin damadı öyle bir kadını işe almıştı. Laz kadın bir de oğlu var. Adam karısını bıraktı onla evlendi. Lazlar öyle yani pisler. Kürtleri sevmeyler, kürtlerle arkadaşlık etmeyler ama erkeklerini seviyorlar. Para olunca yapıyorlar erkeklere, öyle pis huyları var, evleri de pis lazların. Öyle evleri pislik dolu laz kokuyo giremezsin öyle evlerinde temiz değiller, sürekli fasulye lahana yaptıkları için kokuyo evleri.'

The other Kurdish migrant women do not emphasize the differences but the commonness. These are wealthier and younger women.

Remziye (35, A, H, HW) 'Of course, I am a capable person. I sent my kids to school, you stand on my own, you know what you are. It is a very good thing. I mean it is good too that Turkish, Kurdish are the same...we have the same religion, we live in the same country.'

Remziye 'Görmem tabiki becerikliyim. Çocuklarımı okutmuşum ayaklarım yere basıyor ne olduğunu biliyorsun, çok güzel bir şey yani Türk Kürt aynı. Aynı din kardeşiyiz aynı memlekette yaşıyoruz'

A young women criticize their culture and she advocates differences as a result of being uneducated.

Ruken (18, S, H, E) 'I don't see a differences but there is a educational differences. Kurdish women don't go to school they are illeterate. I ask my mother why do you give too many birth. They have many children. We are six siblings. Then they are beaten by their husbands everyday, but they do not do any thing. They resist everything, it is wrong I think.

Ruken 'Ben farklı görmüyorum ama eğitimsizlik var arada. Kürt kadınları okumamış cahiller. Bir sürü çocuk yapıyorlar, bizde altı kardeşiz. Anneme soruyorum, neden bu kadar doğurdun diye. Sonra dayak var. Her gün dayak yiyorlar, hiçbir şey yapmıyorlar. Herşeye katlanıyorlar. Bu da yanlış bence'

As Bradley argue that identification will change and she will think of herself simply as a person, not in gender terms. She believes that active identification often occurs as a defence against the actions of others as when an individual is conscious of being defined in a negative way. Active identities are promoted by the experience of discrimination.

Kurdish migrant women in their first years, suggest that they are discriminated by the early migrant people. Some says that it decreases by the time.

Ayşe (42, K, L, E) 'We stopped by, of course we did. They said there were Kurds here. I rented a house over there. They used to tell me "oh, these filthy Kurds". The women used to say this. There was one from Kastamonu. I said one day it doesn't matter how dirty I am, I am still cleaner than you. Can I drink a cup of tea from someone from Kastamonu? Even though I am Kurd, even though I come from a village, I am the same as I was in the village. I like cleanliness a lot.'

Ayşe 'Uğradık, tabi uğradık. Burda kürtler diyodular. Ben şurda arkada bir ev tutmuşum. Bana diyorlardı; aman bu pis kürtler!.Kadınlar diyordu. Kastamonulu. Bir gün dedim, kızım ben ne kadar pis olsam senden temizim Kastamonunun bir çayını ben içebilir miyim? Ben kürt olsam köyden de gelmiş olsam ben köyde ne isem burda da oyum temizliği çok severim kızım.'

Cemile (31,A,M,NE) 'They come from a different region. They won't make friends with you. They protect each other. The Laz don't like the Kurds.'

Cemile 'Onların yöresi ayrı senle arkadaşlık yapmazlar. Birbirlerini tutarlar, şimdi lazlar kürtleri sevmezler, arkadaşlık yapmazlar, öyle kendi havasındalar öyle gezmeyi falan yapıyorlar ama kendi aralarında.'

However some Kurdish migrant women still face to such an discrimination in golden days or their neighborhood.

Necla (29, K, L, E) 'Of course, we two sometimes speak in Kurdish. They warn us, they say, don't do it, we can't understand you..'

Necla 'Tabi bazen toplandıgımızda mesela kendi aramızda kürtçe bir şey diyoruz, kızıyorlar. Hemen ne diyorsunuz ? biz anlamıyoruz diyorlar..'

Kıymet (42, A, M, E) 'The mother said they beat her up, 3-4 people together. She didn't say a word there. Her fellow countryman is also our neighbor. But he said our relatives were beating her up. He said he also kicked her in the head. The woman was holding me. I asked her why she held me. She said you were not holding me when four people were beating me.'

Kıymet 'Anne benim karşıma 3-4 kişi toplanıp beni dövdüler diyo. Kadın orda hiç sesini çıkarmadı diyo. Hemşerisi ya, bizim de komşumuz. Ama bizim akrabalar yere yatırmış dövüyorlardı dedi, bende tekmeyle kafasına vurdum baktım kadın beni tutuyo, sen beni niye tutuyosun dedim orda 4 kişi beni döverken hiç tutmuyodun dedim.'

In the context of migration, the interactions of changing social, economic and political structures produce situations that can shape Kurdish migrant women identity. These women have a wide range of positive roles they can perform in their communities, accordingly, their age and socio economic conditions. As we see, Kurdish women are actively involve in challenging existing gender norms, redefining 'gendered ethnicity' and creating new culture which represents a complex change and adaptation to urban life.

Age is very significant effect on these Kurdish migrant women identity. Older women have the time to organize cultural affairs, especially they find the bride for their sons. Because, they are able to obtain information about the most intimate aspects of another family life and contacts over a wide-ranging social field thorough their networks. They act more active daily life. They had the children go to local health or education services. As a result they had to negotiate with the dominant culture. In latter life many women are no longer so closely tied to or dependent on their husbands or other male relatives. They experience to greater or lesser degree the changing gender relations in the country of destination they gain more prestigious and respectness in their latter life.

However when they were young, it is expected to live with their husband's family under the control of her in-laws and other male relatives in the household. They have to do all housework and care older people and grow up children.

Cemile (31, A, M, NE) 'I live with may mothering-law, two brother of my husbands one child then two child. I was responsible evryting..ironing, cleaning..'

Cemile 'Kaynanam, kayınpederim, 2 kaynım, bi de çocuk, sonra iki oldu. Oturduk senelerce çamaşırdı, yemektı, üttüydü. Hep benim üstümde.'

They have traditionally been oppressed by the extended family structure. Because of the fact that men are responsible for women's honor legitimizes the control and power which the husbands and other males or elders women in the family exercise on the wife. Erman (1999) states that this is especially so when the woman is young, that is the at the age when her reproductive capacities are the highest and hence when the norm that dictates men to control their women's sexuality is most strictly carried out their husbands or other male relatives. The other reason is they feel insecurity and they experience difficulties because of being illiterate and not able to speak Turkish.

I do not argue that age automatically change Kurdish migrant women's social position rather after migration in latter life women develop a range of possibilities and can exercise choice over wide areas of their lives. The separation with age, gender and ethnicity is artificial since all are interact.

As a result, the diversity of experiences which exists among Kurdish women explores the interrelationships of ethnicity and gender and its effects upon the identity formation of Kurdish migrant women in the family, neighborhood and in the society at large.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

As argued before, the concerns and priorities of the white feminist perspective of the white, middle class women conceals the variety and diversity of human experience and subjectivity. The study of gender can no longer be assumed to be based upon the experiences of white, middle class women, but must examine the influence of color, culture and ethnicity and the implications this has for women and their individual experiences. The pattern of gender relations for Kurdish women indicates that ethnicity has an impact upon the different forms of patriarchy, in public and private domain, experienced by Kurdish women.

Ethnicity may be accepted as one of the most controversial conception in the social sciences. Primordialist scholars have argued that ethnicity is a reflection of primordial loyalties that is people have primary and unchanging attachments to a particular social category. This approach to ethnicity is criticized by Circumstantialist social scientist who evaluate the nature of identity as subjective and ideological. They see ethnicity as a construct that was not 'given or primordial', but form of cultural belongingness in which ethnic groups are not openly claimed as purposive. For the purpose of this study an ethnic group has taken to be a group of people who define themselves as distinct from other groups because of cultural differences. It is not a given-unchangeable one. It changes in different situations.

I have emphasized the intersection of gender and ethnicity, because I believe that gender divisions are not the only source of social inequality and for many women 'ethnicity' or a class may be more important.

I would like to say that feminism can develop an analysis that recognizes the interaction of different forms of oppression and does not treat women as unitary categories that can be abstracted from all other social relationships. In this thesis, I try to underlie the patterns of gender inequality and an enormous diversity of needs and experiences derived from their ethnic belongingness.

Ethnicity is important to women's sense and identity of self. Ethnicity is defining and determining features of women's lives. Although it helps women to promote an identity, at the same time, it reproduces some of the social inequalities that lie at the root of gender inequalities.

As we see, despite the fact that existing gender inequalities within the households and the labor market are reproduced and/or intensified, new forms of inequalities can be created even if gender inequalities did not exist. The non-egalitarian structure shaped cultural values as well as economic needs.

The households are the main sites in which patriarchy exists. It includes the family which is central part of society's power structure where Kurdish women are disadvantaged. Whatever is the women's economic or social position, in all households there is a sharp sexual division of labor in the households. Men benefit from women performing domestic labor for them, their resistance to change and their refusal to participate is demonstration of their power. The division of roles is considered to be a part of the Kurdish traditions, and therefore quite a natural behavior both for men and women. It was regarded as obscene for men to participate in the housework. This was seen as a violation of the traditional rules that exist for men and women in Kurdish communities.

Regarding the role of women in the decision-making, their power is limited to immediate everyday issues. In relation to everyday duties such as shopping, taking the children to school and paying the bills nearly all women have authority, and they do not need to ask her husbands since it has already been considered as their responsibility. Older women are more conservative about physical mobility themselves than younger ones. Men dominate the decisions regarding matters outside the home and related to money such as visiting friends, and organizing family budget. Women who do not work are lower rank of decision-making process. For

almost all the participants in that group their husbands are the only decision making authority for household spending. However, working women contributed from their salaries to the family budget. This unchanged their economic dependency on men in turn also strengthens the traditional view of males as basic breadwinners but nearly all stated that they do not participate decision on organizing family budget.

In decisions concerning children nearly all women seem to have reached a relatively egalitarian status with their husbands when many women say that their children always obey to them also. With respect to decisions on children's marriage, it was found that women have more power, and there is a positive relation between women's age and their participation in the decision making process.

There has been a differentiation among women's views about their relations with their husbands based on the type of marriage. Women with arranged marriages expect, first and foremost, economic security of the whole family and the fulfillment of the breadwinner role of their husbands. On the other hand, women, who had married with the persons they loved, demand more emotional satisfaction and intimacy from their husbands. Hence, they usually criticize poor interactions with their partners and the husbands who are emotionally distant. The pattern differs between women from low-income groups and those from high-income groups. The former emphasize the husband's breadwinner position for emotional distance while the latter expect to be the husband's friend, and emphasize his parental role and emotional satisfaction in the relationship. When women's employment outside of the house for paid work is considered, their expectations from their husbands still do not change. To put it differently, their expectations are mostly economic.

Furthermore, their marginal position in the labor market, their lower pay, lead to their dependence upon men. They are concentrated in the clothing industry as home workers which is reproducing the traditional class, gender and ethnic divisions of labor. There is a preference for their employment in petty commodity production, where they are recruited through personal networks, and where the dominant relations are not the impersonal relations of kinship and friendship. This form of employment is highly exploitative but it is felt to be appropriate for women especially once they are completely incorporated into the social relations of kinship

and endogamous marriage. They are likely to work for the entrepreneur of their ethnic groups, who are mostly men, therefore 'the ethnic economy is a gendered economy'. Wealthy Kurdish women are likely to be unemployed since they reject their only job opportunity that is working in ready-made garment workshops. Despite their disadvantaged position in the market, Kurdish women all work as unpaid family labor and make great none monetary contribution to the family.

It appears that financial support flows easily from the financially secure to insecure regardless of the gender of children or the degree of closeness between parents and adult children. This seems to be reflection of communal sharing of collectivism where the resources are shared according to the needs of the family members. Altruism, caring and generosity are built into the relationship and are perceived as a moral obligation. It is common for almost all respondent women that the mother-daughter bond is very strong. As Roschelle (1997) assumes that the close mother daughter bond may be indicative of the significant role women play in the family networks than do men.

Kurdish families typically is characterized as large and cohesive familial units embracing both lineal and collateral relatives, ties beyond the nuclear family that are strong and extensive with the reciprocal rights and duties offered to all relatives. Unrelated relatives (fictive kin) are also considered to be part of the extended networks. This extended family serves as an emotional, psychological, functional support network, which frequently also provides financial assistance. Kurdish women give very high importance to such networks and they thought it is their duties and their moral obligation. They are also aware that these networks bring power and prestige to women as well as a sense of security. However on the case of working women, they can not spare enough time for building such networks because of their hard work

Kurdish migrant women's relationships with their brothers and sisters are very powerful; in their relations with their brothers, they showed affection and respect but also maintained a ritualized aspect, particularly after brothers get married. Kurdish migrant women established close ties with their brother's wives. This was

because, culturally a sister had a legitimate claim to her brother's support, both financially and otherwise.

Concentration is the most important factor facilitating mutual aid between the relatives. Also, relations with relatives are very important for those families, who settle in the city through chain migration and who face each difficulty together with their relatives. They survived together with the mutual aid and solidarity among themselves. However, it is less frequent for the newcomers. Probably, this is also related to the increase of land and house prices in Zeytinburnu over the time. The new coming relatives settled in worse but cheaper districts of the town.

The effects of distance are diminished on the frequency of contacts. Even if the kin relation is of a secondary degree, for example considering the distance of uncles or aunts, mutual aid and emotional ties can become more effective with contact frequency. But if the women desire to maintain contact and keep concern active, they can manage the difficulties of distance. Although the distance reduces the frequency of contact together with the support interaction between kin, they will still keep in touch and help one another in times of crisis.

The neighbors also constitute great aid especially in terms of moral support and the sharing of daily tasks. Moreover, the women transfer all the information exchange obtained through the neighborhood relations to their family. Being supportive of and available to neighbors earned people a good name and high status. A good reputation may in the long run be translated into material reward.

However, usually the relatives are seen closer for support in a tangible manner. Moreover, there is Kurdish migrant women, who consider their neighborhood relations as more important than those with their relatives. Especially the women, who lived with their relatives for years and who experienced problems for this reason in the past, can show interest in neighbors. Also, Kurdish migrant women, who do not have any relatives of their age within close distance and who have a comparatively higher level of income, regard neighborhood relations of great importance. Also, it was found that the working women can only show concern for their family environment since they can not spare any time for the neighborhood relations.

As we have seen, in the context of migration, in the new social environment women are the actors who create their own culture under the effect of new environment. In this process new cultural patterns as well as new patterns of social relations have emerged. While migrants tend to keep ethnic solidarity in the competitive situation of the city, Kurdish migrant women have active roles, keep the community together and keep their collective identity. They also act as a primary agent of socialization that they transmit the values from one generation to the next, to their family and kin.

By manipulating traditional gender roles and their ethnicity and through introducing nuances in translating these to every day practice, Kurdish women have been able to promote an identity in family and in their social life. In this process, however, they have also reproduced some of the social inequalities that lie at the root of gender inequalities.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE SEMI STRUCTURED IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

DEMOGRAPHIC

- Place of Birth:
- Marital Status:
- Number of household:
- Number of children:
- Occupation of the interviewee
- Occupation of the interviewee's husband

RELATIONS IN FAMILY

- Are you relatives with your husband?
- What are your expectations about your husband?
- How is your relations with your husband?
- How often do you go out with your husband?
- What are you doing in your leisure time with your husband?
- What is your duties or job in family?
- What is your husband's duties in family?
- Does your husband help you in the home?
- Who is responsible from the child care? Do you think that your husband should help you?
- How do you take the decisions about your children and family budget?
- To what extent your parents-in law have authority at home?
- Do you always get permission of your husband when you go out?

- What should the girls learn? What kind of customs should they learn?
- Do you believe that the girls should be educated?
- What kind of support do you take from your daughters or sons?
- How frequently do you see your daughters and sons?
- In what ways do you support your daughter?
- How is your relations with your daughters and sons?
- What do you do when you are together?

RELATIONS OUT OF FAMILY

- How often do you go out? Why?
- If you have a problem to whom you consult?
- How is your relations with your relatives? How often do you get in contact? In what ways do you support each other?
- How do you organize your weddings and funerals? Is there a solidarity among you and your relatives in terms of financial and moral support?
- Could you keep tradition and customs alive in terms of weddings and funerals?
- Do you perform your traditions easily?
- Are you devoted to each other with relatives?
- How is your relations with your neighbourhood?
- What do you do when you are together?
- If it is necessary, could they support you?
- What do you do when you are together?

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ROLES OF WOMEN AND IDENTITY FORMATION

- Do you think that women have problems? If yes, what kind of problems do they have?
- What is your most important problem?
- Do you ever confront with any discrimination?
- Is it easy for you to express Kurdish identity?
- What are the differences of the Kurds that make them better or worse than the others?
- In which aspects do you see yourself different from other communities or neighbors?