

THE EXPERIENCES OF TWO GENERATIONS OF WOMEN IN POVERTY:
A CASE STUDY IN ÇANDARLI, ALTINDAĞ IN ANKARA

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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 results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

THE EXPERIENCES OF TWO GENERATIONS OF WOMEN IN POVERTY: A CASE STUDY IN ÇANDARLI, ALTINDAĞ IN ANKARA

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This study attempts to focus on a narrower scope specifically is aimed to search for the possible explanations for women's and their daughters' poverty experiences by arguing that within the household, women and their daughters are more vulnerable to poverty than men because of the dominant ideologies.

I have already implemented a field study in one of Ankara's squatter area which is called Hıdırlıktepe located in district of Altındağ with 30 women and their eldest daughters living in the same household. One of the qualitative interviewing techniques, in-depth interviewing, has been applied to the respondents and two different questionnaire frames used for mothers and the daughters.

There are some important conclusions of the thesis. One of them is that poverty is experienced by women and their daughters different than the other members of the household. Another is that these experiences are also transferred to their daughters within the household. However, daughters are in a better condition than their mothers which might constitute a hope for their salvation from poverty because due to the changes in their social environments, their expectations also

change. Moreover, survival strategies developed by women against poverty designate the level of poverty which is being experienced by women in the long term.

Key words: Poverty, woman, daughter, squatter, coping strategies.

ÖZ

İKİ NESİL KADINLARIN YOKSULLUK DENEYİMİ: ANKARA, ALTINDAĞ, ÇANDARLI'DA BİR DURUM ÇALIŞMASI

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Egemen ideolojiler nedeniyle, kadınların ve kızlarının eviçi yoksulluktan, erkeklerden daha fazla etkilendikleri argümanından yola çıkarak, bu çalışma kadınların ve kızlarının yoksulluk deneyimlerini tanımlamayı ve teorik çerçevede incelemeyi amaç edinmiştir. Öte yandan bu çalışma için, Ankara'nın gecekondu muhitlerinden birisi olan, Altındağ ilçesindeki Hıdırlıktepe mahallesinde, 30 kadın ve onların hanesindeki en büyük kızları ile bir alan araştırması yapılmıştır. Sözlü ve derinlemesine mülakat yoluyla kadınlara ve kızlara iki ayrı anket uygulamıştır.

Bu tez birkaç önemli sonuç içermektedir. Bunlardan bir tanesi, kadınların ve onların kızlarının yoksulluk deneyimleri, ailenin diğer üyelerinin deneyimlerinden farklıdır. Bir diğer sonuç ise kadınların yoksulluk deneyiminin kızlarına aktarılmasıdır. Fakat değişen sosyal çevre ve beklentilere bağlı olarak, kızların durumu annelerinden biraz daha iyidir; ve bu durum onlar için yoksulluktan kurtulma umudu yaratmaktadır. Hatta yoksulluğa karşı kadınların geliştirdiği geçinme stratejileri de onların yoksulluk düzeyleriyle de yakından bağlantılıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yoksulluk, kadın, kız, gecekondu, başa çıkma stratejileri.

To my grandma,

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Poverty refers to a multidimensional phenomenon in which economic, demographic and socio-cultural factors interact and overlap. More than being a simple concept that could only be calculated by using some macro economical figures, poverty is experienced differently by every person in the society (even within households) as induced by gender and class relations, inequalities etc. In all countries, regardless of their development levels, poverty arises not only as a result of macro economical reasons, but also due to socioeconomic and political reasons. The macro economical reasons mostly concern with the income, resource allocation and capital accumulation. But a much more important result of the poverty which is also caused by its economic outcomes to an extent stems from the isolation and the exclusion of the agent. In this respect, poverty can be considered as a highly complex phenomenon consisting of a series of exclusions which in turn cause the agent who experiences poverty to become the “other”. As Atal (1997) claims, a contact with the outside world creates a new reference group orientation for the community as a whole and this group may start regarding itself relatively “inferior” or “superior” vis-à-vis the external group. (pp: 18), if human society exists, there exists “the other” and a public sphere of interaction (Jelin, 1997).

The political side of the poverty concept which refers to the “denial of certain human and political rights to certain groups of the population (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1999)”, is claimed by UNDP to include the personal security, rule of law, freedom of expression, political participation and equality of opportunity (UNDP, 1992).

However, Bhalla and Lapeyre (1999), claim that the socioeconomic dimension of this concept is not less important and argue that women and ethnic minorities are the most disadvantaged groups with regard to this dimension. In this respect, they assert some factors such as “access to social services (like health,

education, drinking water, sanitation facilities etc.)”, “access to the labor market (precariousness of employment as distinct from low pay)” and extent of social participation as reflected in the extent of weakening of the social fabric (as measured by increases in crime rate, juvenile delinquency, homelessness etc.).

A study implemented under a World Bank project that aims the reduction of poverty and the development of social programs regarding poverty concept about Sub-Saharan Africa (1995) in order to analyze the disadvantaged position of women who suffered from poverty gives a clear idea related with the multidimensional concept of poverty. For example, with regard to the exclusion of girls from education, a wide array of underlying reasons like the limited financial resources within the household, the burden of household chores assigned to young girls, particularly in rural areas, the inadequate infrastructures related with education, communication and transportation, and the patriarchal ideology that prioritizes the education of the male child in the family, might be assessed. Young girls might be assigned to some traditional housework such as house cleaning, dish/clothes washing etc. and as Skalli (2002) mentions water and wood providing.

Another important fact related with the poverty studies is that most of the poverty analyses disregard the social, cultural and gender considerations. In this sense, they can be claimed to be gender-blind as they lack to differentiate the impact of poverty on males and females within and between the households. In a majority of the related studies that also points to the developmental issues, the main focus is devoted to the detailed analysis of gender issues only in education and health sectors (Çağatay, 1998). On the other hand, some concepts like family, household etc. were more closely examined. In the light of these important concepts, it is necessary to analyse the relation between poverty and the marriage. Economic pressure becomes a chronic stressor and when it is experienced simultaneously with another source of chronic stressor, which is caused by the patriarchal authority, this could damage the marriage and relations within the marriage by maintaining high levels of emotional distress¹ or conflict across time; so it could be stated that economic problems affect marital quality and stability which in turn lessens the positive attitudes, and at the same time, increases negative behaviours that the husbands and wives demonstrate in their

¹The symptoms such as depression, anxiety, hostility and depressed mood characterize emotional distress.

mutual relationships (Conger and Conger, 2002). Then, parents are reciprocally influenced by each other's anger and hostile behaviours toward one another over time. In parallel with this fact, adolescents not only are also reciprocally influenced by their parents' negative and hostile behaviours, but also are under the pressure of the patriarchal authority and negative effects of poverty as well. Furthermore, Elder and Johnson (2000) state that intergenerational ties link the experiences of one generation to the development of the next. In line with this argument, Elder (1999) claims that each generation experiences fateful decisions and events in the other's life course while the misfortunes and opportunities of adult children become intergenerational as well as personal matters. Then comes the question of whether experiences of the first generation related with poverty are transferred to the second generation or not? If yes, how are these transferred to the second generation and which factor or factors become important in this transfer process?

Taking into account of the aforementioned issues, I decided to study women's and their daughters' experiences related with poverty in order to clarify the differences between the first and second generation's experiences from a gender perspective. As poverty is in interaction with a broad and complex set of factors that cannot be addressed sufficiently in a single piece of work, this study is focused on a narrower scope and specifically is aimed to search for the possible explanations for women's and their daughters' poverty experiences by arguing that within the household, women and their daughters are more vulnerable to poverty than men because of the dominant ideologies. For example, patriarchy which refers to the male domination structure of the society, accompanies with the fact that positions of authority-political, economic, legal, religious, and educational, etc. are generally reserved for men. This male dominance creates power differences between men and women which in turn have an adverse impact on the women's situation related with poverty severely.

Since urban land is shared by families that come to the cities looking for jobs, higher wages, social security benefits, education, recreation and culture constitute motives that would create powerful poles for different type of migrants in cities. On the other hand, this movement does not encounter its counterpart in the development of facilities like housing and public utilities because those could not be afforded by

these people; therefore, urban poverty became a chronic problem and this highly affected both the first and the second generations. Additionally, women became one of the most disadvantaged groups in urban area, so this study proposes to scrutinize new and unexplored concepts and facts related with the women's and their daughter's poverty in a marginal urban squatter area in Ankara, namely Çandarlı. Ankara. It is designed to focus on the social distinction between men and women, the fact of this distinction, its meanings, causes and consequences, by using empathy with the poor women and their daughters living in this squatter area. In this respect, it will not only be possible to unveil some characteristics of the current poverty structure of women and their daughters, but to clarify some important aspects of women's poverty as well. In an attempt to explain the factors that affect women's and daughters' poverty as well as the extent of this affection and the ways they handle with urban poverty, the research is designed in a case study format in order to observe the different dimensions of urban poverty from a gender perspective. Furthermore, this study may also help to clarify the indicators of the dominant ideologies and its interactions with the women's and their daughters' poverty. Last but not least, my aim is to provide an idea about survival strategies and behaviour patterns of different households in an urban squatter area in terms of gender perspective.

This study attempts to contribute to the limited body of the existing literature concerned with the women's and their daughters' poverty experiences in an urban squatter area in Turkey in several aspects. Most of the studies related with the women's poverty in Turkey are gender-blind (Ecevit; Erman; Kalaycıoğlu; Tılıç, 1999) and intensively use mainstream research techniques and methodologies. In this regard, this study can be considered as a feminist research within a feminist perspective. This also attempts to illuminate poverty studies about woman's poverty related with Turkey which will be carried out in the future stream of the research.

The format of this thesis is designed as follows: In the following chapter some studies related with the "poverty" concept will be given while focusing on some basic terms related with the concept such as migration, urban poverty, squatter etc. In the following chapter, gender concept and transfers between generations related with the experiences of poverty will be reviewed in detail. Then, the methodology of the

study will be provided. In the following chapters, some important concepts regarding poverty, like relative deprivation, coping strategies related with women and their daughters will be discussed in detail separately, and the last chapter will be the conclusion of the study as well as suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER II

STUDIES RELATED WITH POVERTY

2.1. Introduction

Regarding the concept of poverty, it is not a new concept and basically, there are some definitions that should be explained before the following sections. Poverty has been experienced by different communities and societies for centuries. However, the systematic studies date back to the late nineteenth century. For example, Charles Booth implemented a very comprehensive study related with the living and working conditions of people in London in the late nineteenth century. He found that one third of the population was in or on the margins of poverty. This study was related only with economic resources and only dealt with the income level. He defined the minimum level of income that provides a healthy physical existence as 18 and 21 shillings per week. (Payne, 1991)

Seebohm Rowntree (1941) studied the living and working conditions of York people which opened a new perspective to the preceding studies. He defined the term “absolute poverty” as being even without the minimum which refers to the minimum need for the physical efficiency. Then this was translated into an income in order to buy the minimum requirement for the physical efficiency (Payne, 1991:19), specifically the cost of basic nutrition, clothing needs, which refers to the subsistence. Then, these were turned into a level of income required to keep the person or household out of poverty. (Payne, 1991:19)

Following the aforementioned studies, Rowntree classified the subsistence poverty as primary and secondary. Primary poverty was defined as an unavoidable result of low income which could not even buy the minimum requirements for the physical efficiency while secondary poverty was defined to be the income which is

sufficient but unwisely spent (Payne, 1991:19). Additionally, Rowntree also defined subsistence level of poverty which corresponds to the absolute minimum that is necessary for an individual or household in order to survive and he calculated that absolute minimum by excluding expenditures on transportation, leisure activities such as concerts, reading, toys for children, political association, trade union membership, tobacco, alcohol and clothes other than everyday wear were also related with this level (Payne, 1991:19). In the following years, he redefined the subsistence level by including union dues, newspaper and public transport costs (Rowntree, 1941). In all these studies which were carried out before the modern times, the concept of poverty was related with the allocation of economic resources whereas the modern concept of poverty concentrates on more different and complex terms such as deprivation and vulnerability. The relative poverty concept was developed following the study of Townsend which was carried out in 1960s (Payne, 1991:20), where he redefined the concept:

...Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the type of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged, in the societies to which they belong...

(Townsend, 1979:31)

On the other hand, since 1980s, the implementations of structural adjustment programs in many low-income countries have provided evidences of policy-induced poverty. For example, poverty is classified depending on the periods of poverty which is occurred, as cyclical or temporary and claim that the main causes of poverty are cyclical or temporary factors which might be policy induced. However, in 1990s, it is understood that there are more important issues related with poverty rather than income related indicators of the concept. Lack of material means of a decent standard of living is an important dimension of poverty, but not the only one. As Parr (1999) claims nor can deprivations in other dimensions be explained by low incomes; poverty of choices and opportunities could be more relevant than income in order to focus on the complex structural causes of poverty (Parr, 1999:100). For example, a new concept has been identified as human poverty which means the denial of the

opportunities and the choices in human life such as the opportunity to lead a long, healthy, and creative life, and to enjoy a decent standard of living, dignity, self-esteem and respect from others.

2.2. Different Approaches to Poverty

2.2.1. Causes of Poverty

There are many causes of poverty, which change according to time and space. For example, the experience of living in absolute poverty in Norway is more different than Turkey, which is a third world country; because causes of poverty change also according to the space. The causes of poverty are mostly based on political economy and its role in generating poverty or class subcultures and its role in creating or reproducing poverty within a historical perspective. In line with this argument, nine different paradigms might help to understand the causes of the concept.

The first paradigm is the Malthusian paradigm which assumes that poverty which is caused by men and women having larger families than they can support, is either a function of ignorance or of moral perversity. If moral and demographic equilibrium is achieved, poverty might be alleviated. Thomas Robert Malthus (1798)'s ideological projects are the pioneering projects of this paradigm. He aims not only to capture the nature of poverty, but also to shape the public policy. He was interested in how an increased material wealth could be utilized for the common good. He also claims that populations grow geometrically while subsistence increases arithmetically so material progress and happiness is not assured for next generations unlike Adam Smith (Harvey and Reed, 1992).

On the other hand, the second paradigm, classical Marxist paradigm analyzes poverty as a product of a historically specific mode of production and while capitalist social relations enable fewer workers to produce greater commodity wealth, it also causes a segment of the work force superfluous and threatens it with poverty.

According to Marx, poverty is not caused by machines and technology, under capital's regime, both contribute to the creation of relative surplus populations and modern poverty is an unavoidable product of the social relations of production which capital employs in allocating persons, materials and machines in the process of commodity production and distribution (Harvey and Reed, 1992).

However, another paradigm which is critical of Marxist paradigm takes Marxist political economy as the main paradigm in order to clarify how the poor construct their own culture of poverty. This paradigm also emphasizes that like all other cultures, the subculture of poverty consists of oppositional, creative elements and constraints that reinforce existing class relations. This paradigm also holds that the process of poverty's social reproduction and makes a distinction between the objective, economic origins of poverty, and the role which the poor play in culturally reproducing poverty's everyday contours. Oscar Lewis (1966) contributed to this paradigm so much by using a new concept which was "culture of poverty". According to this concept, culture of poverty reproduced itself in each generation as families pass on their accumulated class-specific wisdom to their children and this is a response, not an immediate cause of poverty. It does not mean economic impoverishment. One could be poor without living in a culture of poverty, so economic reforms may not immediately eliminate certain cultural commitment. This is a coping mechanism developed by the poor for surviving in hostile circumstances. However, Lewis does not blame the poor. This is the result of a flawed production mode wherever capitalism has destroyed a traditional community (Harvey, Reed, 1992).

Another paradigm, namely neo-classical one, defines economic activity in terms of individuals and their subjective utilities, rather than classes and their interaction. Weberian action theory and neo-Kantian analysis of social forms included in the works of George Simmel (1978) and his works are very important for this paradigm which underlines possessing skills and having a good education could enhance the productivity whereas decrease the likelihood in falling into poverty. According to Simmel, poverty's economic roots lie in the marginal productivity of the laborer and the social dependency that such marginality produces in everyday life (Harvey and Reed, 1992).

Another paradigm that is called secular Malthusianism combines demographic principles and neo-classical economic analysis to explain historical cycles of poverty and wealth. According to Brenner, this paradigm treats the tension between population pressures and subsistence by combining neo-classical economic analysis and demographic principles. However, social democratic paradigm emphasizes that poverty originates in class struggle, but places the locus of that struggle in the domain of circulation, rather than production (Harvey and Reed, 1992). Piero Straffa (1926) is one of the important personalities who contributed to the development of this paradigm so much. According to him, class struggle is rooted in distributional processes, not the antagonistic relations of production. In line with this argument, poverty can be eliminated politically, without actually abandoning capitalist production. Another important name is Amartya Sen (1981) who has written extensively about hunger and poverty. He developed an “entitlement” approach concerned with the ability of some members of a given population to be without entitlement on existing sources. He also claims that there is no reason to discuss class, and access to state which is related with capabilities and deprivation is much more important in terms of access to resources.

Another paradigm is social Darwinist paradigm which argues that chronic poverty is “self-inflicted” and poverty is a part of a larger social differentiation and social decay guiding the general processes of social evolution. Under this paradigm, Edward Banfield (1958) is an important name in understanding the structure and function of poverty and urban development. He identifies two types of urban poverty. Normal-class poverty is a product of the systematic forces regulating the social and ecological development of urban areas. Natural evolution is the only solution for this type of poverty. This could also be solved by social mobility from one class to another or cultural assimilation or education and training. On the other hand, lower-class poverty is rooted in habits and attributes of the lower-class poor. It is a cultural obstacle and not subject to natural correctors.

On the other hand, reductionist paradigms deny the economic and cultural antecedents of poverty and places poverty’s source in either the geographical, meteorological, racial or biogenetic aspects of the human condition. Richard C. Levins, Leon J. Kamin and Steven Rose (1984) contributed to the development of

this paradigm so much. The last paradigm is programmatic poverty that regards poverty as either a virtue in itself or as a virtual inclination to poverty. Russel Jacoby (1987) is one of the most important intellectuals that can be referred to under this paradigm.

However, some researchers employed more than one paradigm at a time during their studies related with poverty. The historical specificity or complex political forces are surrounded by a research that resulted in a theoretical eclectism (Harvey and Reed, 1992).

During the industrial development in the 19th and 20th centuries up to 1970s, the labor market was highly dynamic which was fed by the new waves of migration that caused excess supply and surplus of labor, while this situation intermingled some serious concerns such as problems of the new cities and living in the cities etc. Less developed rural regions were abandoned “en masse” and this produced a shift out of the traditional rural to the urban poverty. In addition to these circumstances, migratory mobility also caused some serious problems due to the high differentiation in the needs regarding the protection of the life and work conditions with respect to the original cultures and migratory plans. The ex-peasants found only difficult ways to survive through irregular jobs. In this sense, state intervention became necessary in order to assist the poor and contribute to the reproduction of at least a part of the urban population. The major reason was to integrate these people into the modern systems of citizenship. The main characteristics of the urbanizing society were raising productivity in manufacturing activities and the parallel diffusion of mass consumerism. Urban land is shared by families that come to the cities looking for jobs, higher wages, social security benefits, education, recreation and culture where these motives create powerful poles for different type of migrants in cities. On the other hand, this movement does not encounter its counterpart in the development of facilities like housing and public utilities because those could not be afforded by these people (Mingione, 1996). Hence, these produced new forms of poverty that manifested them in urban area which will be explained in the following chapter by using a mix of some paradigms that were already mentioned before.

2.2.1.1. Urban Poverty

Urban poverty became a chronic problem and directed attention towards the industrialized cities, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to the post-war expansion in the early 1970s and capitalist cities grow anarchically to new dimensions in terms of industrialization because of contradictory interests (Mingione, 1996:28), the rural population was subjected to the growing pressure of market competition and the erosion of the margins of subsistence arrangements, and the life conditions of the, more or less recently, mass urbanized working class without craft skills formed the excess of labor supply which was fed by new waves of migration over demand (Mingione, 1996:156). On the other hand, Wirth (1938) describes the city¹ as a historical melting pot which has brought together people from the other ends of the earth because they are different. Furthermore, government policies redistribute surplus value in order to achieve two different and opposite ends like the reproduction of the best possible avenues for capital accumulation which is much related with the territorial structure. In line with this argument, Mingione cites that: “The study of the accumulation process, with the particular attention to its territorial features, is at the same time a study of social conflict.” (Mingione, 1996.38)

In line with the above arguments, the reproduction of the legitimating of class power over a complex society under specific hegemonic terms and territorial structure becomes an acute problem in terms of increasing social disintegration, division of the urban population into differentiated groups, high unemployment, and marginalization of large strata of young and old people, women ethnic minorities and other groups. Additionally, urban social movements are so heterogeneous and politically disorganized, so it might be so difficult to evaluate them. Also peripheral cities and regions develop particular and dependent social conditions of production based on irregular occupation, on specific backward, family structures and double employment, and on a very weak and sectarian process of capital formation, which is totally controlled from abroad. Unemployment and employment in the services

¹Chicago school defines the city as the combination of different groups in terms of social class and ethnicity. Moreover, each group finds a space for working, living and spending their leisure time in the city (Erdentuğ, 2002).

increase to intolerable levels and might generate local social conflict (Mingione, 1996:138). In line with conflict, Wacquant (1999) states that conflict is the main reason of marginality, and in advanced capitalist societies, new forms of spatial concentration in which the stigmatization of poverty is intensively lived, is highly observed. He also promotes these new areas as the “no-go” areas which are already degenerated with rife, immorality and violence that are clearly identified by their own residents. It is also mentioned that these neighborhoods have also disrepute of poverty and the resurging prejudice against ethnic minorities and immigrants. Additionally, insecure jobs, dependent mothers with their dependent children are some of the important characteristics of these territories and this territorial stigmatization is explained as:

...the neighborhood no longer offers a shield against the insecurities and pressures of the outside world; it is no longer a familiar and reaffirming landscape suffused with collective meanings and forms of mutuality. It turns into an empty space of competition and conflict, a danger-filled battleground for the daily contest of the survival and escape. This weakening of territorially based communal bonds, in turn, fuels retreats into the sphere of privatized consumption and strategies of distancing (“I am not one of them”) that further undermine local solidarities and confirm deprecatory perceptions of the neighborhood...

(Wacquant, 1999:8)

In line with this argument, Harvey (1990) claims that space is a practice that is not extraneous to capital accumulation, the reproduction of capitalistic class relations and is an arena in which class conflicts are continuously experienced. Those, who hold power both in management and production of space, consolidate and reproduce this power. It is also emphasized that there should be a dialectical relationship between social relations and spaces while spatial practices have specific meanings derived from class, gender, ethnicity, etc. Meanwhile, different classes establish their different communities and settlements, and different class contents may coexist in the same special practices. Another social scientist who has dealt specifically with urban question is Manuel Castells. He sees a resemblance among the characteristics of the problems in urban areas. After the migration to urban land, not being able to find a job, housing problems, and mass settlement areas which are abandoned alone with their problems by the Governments are forming the

problematic of the capitalist cities all over the world. Castells (1983) claims that this problematic is caused by the urban grass-root movements so grass-roots movements should be scrutinized very carefully in order to clarify urban question. He also states that all grass-roots urban protest movements are part of a single worldwide class struggle; and not only the human complexities of grass-roots movements, but also cultural and gender based conflicts that often supplant the economic struggle. He also emphasizes that movements occur when groups pursue incompatible goals for better urban services and focus on local issues by creating or leveraging political power so migration expresses “uneven (global) development” which is integral to economic growth and increases with unemployment. Hence, poverty-stricken neighborhoods are formed (Castells, 1983).

However, the major indicator of this acute problem is the decreasing efficiency of urban and public services. Mingione (1996) also states that the traditional problems like urban poverty and urban segregation as well as the patterns of housing and transportation are also reproduced in the system itself. Accordingly, migration flows become concentrated in one or in a few principal cities, which cause over-urbanization with many million inhabitants and Mingione (1996) posits modern system of citizenship and the welfare mix as another important cause of poverty and claims that the social construction of poverty is mostly related with the combination of opportunities and support which should ensure every citizen is able to satisfy survival needs and achieve life standards which will in turn lead to the acceptance of the agent in the community (Mingione, 1996:11). At this stage, he pays a special attention to another concept which is called exclusion by stating that diffusion of poverty constitutes a serious threat to social cohesion by excluding a growing number of individuals from full citizenship and economic poverty will be transformed into social exclusion while the urban poor runs a high risk of becoming chronic forms of social exclusion (Mingione, 1996:14). Social exclusion² concept has been highly used in order to understand women’s experiences related with the poverty which is one of the most important subjects of major debates in many

² The term was developed by Richard Lenoir at the end of 1970s. The concept referred to the people who have no access to the product of economic growth. Those people were mostly composed of disadvantaged groups such as mentally and physically handicapped, drug abusers, aged, delinquents and suicidal people etc. whom had a common point in people that they did not fit into the social norms fixed by the industrial society.

countries. Some socio-demographic changes like population ageing, the greater fragility of marriages, and the increase in migratory groups made some groups more vulnerable to the risk of falling into poverty. This was mostly the result of the weakening community solidarity.

The concept has been defined as a multidimensional process which weakens the links between individuals and the rest of society (ILO and UNDP, 1996). These links are reflected in economic, political, socio-cultural, and spatial dimensions. The more a person is excluded from these dimensions, the more vulnerable the person becomes. The characteristics of exclusion are much related with access to labor markets, basic services and social networks (Baker, 2002). According to Bauman, exclusion process is the result of the capitalist systems and very related with the vulnerable groups experiencing modern poverty. Loss of jobs and incomes, divorce, homelessness, poverty, separation are the rings of the exclusion chain. Then, individual/individuals are subject to being excluded from the society, which results in lack of social interaction, reference points and to be abstracted from the relations and also not to reproduce prospects related with the future (Bauman, 1999). However, throughout this study this concept will not be analyzed in a detailed manner.

2.2.2. Social Policies towards Poverty Alleviation

All over the world, there have been many efforts to decrease the disadvantageous impacts of poverty. These are called the alleviation of poverty policies or strategies. These policies primarily aim to decrease the women's poverty. The studies related with programming and implementing these policies have been accelerated since the beginning of 1970s. As it is one of the most important issues related with the nations' development programs, women's poverty should be assigned an important place in the nations' economic analysis. Specifically, gender concept has been included in development and development related issues as a

research variable since 1970s. Ester Boserup's (1970) pioneering analysis of women's agricultural roles and the impact of economic development on these roles reformed the old perception of the preceding centuries which concentrates on sexual division of labor between men as breadwinners and women as homemakers. Then, gender notion was introduced as a variable in the subject models as in the form of analyzing the interactions of gender, fertility, and economic growth (Echevarria and Moe, 2000).

Since the 1950s a diversity of interventions has been formulated as reflecting the macro-level economic changes and the social policy approaches to the Third World development. It is important that all the policy approaches directed to the low-income earning Third World women are associated with structural adjustment policies. Moser claims that while the different policy approaches are described chronologically, it is recognized that the implied linear process is an oversimplification of the reality. However, due to the existence of a wide scale of confusions concerning both the definition and the use of different policy approaches caused vagueness in their implementations (Moser, 1993: 110). Women do not only participate in development process, but also they have very important roles in informal economic, political activities and household production as well; so a more gender aware approach to the development practice would improve women's lives in terms of the presentation of economic and social benefits to women. This could be achieved by correcting perceived male-bias during project planning and implementation of these plans through integrating gender notion in program directions or policy decisions (Koczberski, 1998).

- **(In order to have more detailed information about the abovementioned policies, please see the note at the end of this chapter. ¹)**

2.3. Poverty Studies in Turkey

Although there have been a plenty of studies related with absolute and relative poverty, there exists a highly limited number of studies regarding women's poverty; and qualitative studies, which are very important in order to focus on

different experiences related with women's poverty, have recently begun. It is necessary to analyse poverty experiences of individuals in terms of gender, age, ethnic differences etc. However, it seems that poverty studies conducted and implemented by SPO are mostly grounded on macroeconomic theories rather than social indicators of poverty. Hence, I argue that qualitative studies are also necessary in order to clarify how poverty is experienced by different people in Turkey; because, causes of poverty are also subject to change according to time and space. Since the number of qualitative studies related with women's poverty is very scarce, I conducted a qualitative study that scrutinizes upon women's poverty in a squatter area.

Regarding Turkey, the studies related with poverty have also dealt with the squatters in urban area and these studies have gained momentum after 1990s; so I have reviewed studies related with the squatter areas and that were conducted after 1990s in Turkey. Although there are a vast array of researches about the urbanization and squatters, almost all of them have their focus on the head of the family (Onat, 1993: 37). Studies related with the household living strategies which focus on women from squatter areas are almost non-existent.

In this respect, these studies could be classified in three groups as the first group covering quantitative studies, the second group covering qualitative studies and the third group covering only poverty studies concerned with women.

Regarding the first group of the subject studies, where Sencer (1979) focused on the living strategies of families in squatter areas in İstanbul, it is found out that men are responsible from the living expenses and women are responsible from the housework. The findings also indicate that the decisions regarding the unexpected family expenses and the education and the job selection of the children are given by men with a rate of 71%.

Within the content of the first group study which is about poverty, carried out by The Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments of The Middle East Technical University (1999), interviews are conducted with 300 households in the squatter area of Ankara. In the study, it is stated that women living in the poor households are the most disadvantaged group with regard to being exposed to effects of the poverty. In addition, the labour force participation rate and the educational

levels of women, who participated in the study, are determined to be too low. It is also reported that more than half of the women are working outside the home and are engaged with low-skilled and low-wage jobs such as babysitting and housecleaning. Moreover, although women do not work at jobs which pay wage directly, they play a remarkably indispensable role regarding the household support, like child-patient-elder care and the consumption arrangement. Hence, women identify themselves with their households by giving priority to the interests of the family rather than their own interests. Besides, it is also reported that women play the main role in establishing and sustaining the kinship and neighbourhood networks which are vital for the survival of the poor households.

Another finding of the study indicates that in households where poverty is experienced most severely, the labour-force-participation-rate of women is lower. On the other hand, when women work outside by surpassing the structural and the cultural obstacles, their household responsibilities do not decrease proportionally; this is a fact that brings on extra burden upon women. Although women are reported to be aware of the various benefits of women working in income providing jobs, the negative effects of the patriarchal ideology, which is traditionally deeply rooted and institutionalized within the family and the society in Turkey, are still felt.

Another first group study about household living strategies which is conducted in Ankara, Ayata and Ayata (1996) argue that in most of the families male hegemony prevails and no matter how high is the degree of the equality in the relation and the authority between the couples, gender roles within the family record minor changes. It is also emphasized that the increases in the socio-economical level do not change the nature of women's main expectations related with their gender roles. It is also stated that the primary social relations and the community life are reproduced during the process of urbanization. The study also mentions about some important transformation processes which are dramatic among the generations. For example, related with the educational issues second generation is reported to be one step further according to the four step educational system compared to the first generation. Another example is the change in the division of labour within the household to the disadvantage of women in the course of time.

It is stated that as women do not have the support of the men, the community and a big family, their increased burden in the division of labour has brought the women into a disadvantageous position. In low income neighbourhoods, through transferring some portion of this burden to the daughter, women's burden is decreased; a fact which does not change the scope of her responsibilities, but that has its further effects upon advancing the in-house socialization process of the daughter with regard to the gender roles.

In their study about the household living strategies concerned with the first group studies, which is conducted in the squatter areas of all over Turkey, Gökçe et.al. (1993) pinpoint that educational level of women is lower than that of men and the illiteracy rate of women is too high. These two are closely related with gender roles of women. People living in the squatter areas mostly wish their daughters to study as far as they can, except the people in the Eastern and South-eastern regions. Hence, the participants' approach is concluded to be dependent on their education levels. It is also emphasized that the participation of the 12-19 age group in Quran courses is too high which is interpreted as having rooted in the squatter family's demand of protecting their children from the influences of the environment and providing them a religious education to sustain their existence. This attitude is claimed to be peculiar to the urban area rather than the rural.

The findings also indicate that, within the interviewed sample, the participation rate of men in the labour force is higher, and that the interviewed women think it would be appropriate for their daughters both to work in jobs which require education and to work as civil servants. But, in the Eastern and South-eastern regions women prefer their daughters to have jobs which will not hamper their responsibilities as being mothers and wives. It is also stated that divorced women as well as the widowed ones are concentrated among the middle aged group and these women prefer to live in urban area with their children. The findings also show that the age of first marriage is approximately 18 at most for the women and 22 for men where these thresholds increase with the level of education. The main obligations of women are stated to be related with their household responsibilities. Moreover, the role definitions, expectations and attitudes toward within the house are formed on the basis of gender. However, from their current behavioural structures it is observed

that the gender based role behaviours has decreased significantly. Another finding of the study points out that women are much more dependent on men in the decision making processes within the family: This dependency is least with regard to the issues pertaining to the inner confines of the house whereas women are highly dependent on men with regard to the issues related to the world external to the house. Moreover, it is emphasized that men have the control of the whole income within the household. In the same study, the reasons of the migration from rural to urban area are determined to be marriage or events related with the husband and man's are due to finding jobs in general. Gökçe et.al. (1993) also argue that women are more sensitive to the protection of family ties and they allocate more time for such relations as they spend much more time at their homes.

Another first group study about the measurement of poverty with socio-economic structures is carried out by an expert of The State Planning Organization-SPO in 1997. It is argued that even the labour of women is treated as unpaid family labour, the income earned by this kind of labour usage is not consumed by the women instead, is utilized within the budget of the household. Further, the question of how distant the women are from the economic life is addressed, the lowness of the women's educational level is questioned and the necessity of improving the educational level of women is discussed. All of the aforementioned factors are claimed to make the women more vulnerable to poverty (Dansuk, 1997).

Another first group study, which is the "Five Year Development Plan" prepared by SPO (2001), argues that, according to the calculations based on the minimum food expenditure cost, 51, 49 % of the poor population in the country is composed of women and that women living in the urban area are more exposed to poverty as compared with the women living in the rural area. It is also emphasized that when poverty is evaluated according to the basic needs cost based on the gender and age group, no significant change is observed in the women's poverty levels even the poverty level is increased. In addition, it is also argued that independent of the income level and the life standard of the family, women are kept away from the income and from the control of this income. Another argument in the report is the importance of the unpaid women's labour for survival strategies of the household that is developed to cope with the poverty which causes waste of time. In turn, this

prevents them to work for regularly paid jobs through which they may benefit from social security rights. This also strengthens women's disadvantaged position related with the poverty. It is also stated that daughters receive less opportunity from educational expenses of the family compared to sons. Additionally, it is argued that there exists a significant relation between the women's poverty and their being in a state of widow-divorced-separated. Furthermore, it is claimed that housewives compose a significant portion of the poorest (SPO, 2001).

Regarding second group of poverty studies, another study which is carried out in Ankara related with poverty, Onat (1993) interviewed with 300 women who live in a squatter settlement area with their husbands and have at least one child. The findings of the study indicate that squatter women do not develop attitudes and behaviours that are peculiar to the city and pertaining to the working women in the economic life. They have a low participation rate in the labour force and still have not adopted the idea of working outside in return for wage which in fact is a deed that depends on the permission of the husband. Moreover, the differences among the decision making about economic issues and the applications of them, and further differences about these two topics are observed within the family. Correspondingly, husband has the predominant role in the budget allocation. On the other hand, it is found that there exists a good communication between the husband and the wife regarding the issues of having a child and they take the related decisions together. Another finding of the study indicates that although the education level of the son is higher than that of the daughter, women do not discriminate against educational levels of their children with regard to their sexes. On the other hand research results reveal that sons have more freedom.

Research results also show that almost all of the women handle the housework alone. Men have little contribution in sharing the in-house responsibilities and only in the form of taking care of the children. Onat (1993) defines the squatter women as a transition person who is not completely estranged to her rural characteristics, nevertheless is more close to the life style peculiar to the city in certain aspects. Most of those women not only encounter difficulties in adapting themselves to city life but also struggle with economic distress. Those women, as being consulted in all subjects, determine their needs in the order of their importance;

such as getting medicine and treatment free of charge or searching ways to be provided services such as leisure activities and job placement. According to Onat (1993: 2) those women that live various difficulties simultaneously and shouldering responsibilities, are the chief agents exerting influence on the speed of the process of adapting both the family and the children to the city life.

According to another second group of poverty study undertaken by Bora (2002) which is held in Ankara, Erzurum, Istanbul, Konya and Urfa in 2001, the living of the household is not correlated only with the cash income but also with the available resources provided by women (resources made available by women). On the other hand, by drawing attention to the fact that households are not homogeneous groups that are composed of individuals who hold shared interests and could make rational decisions, it pinpoints that it will improve the worthiness of the studies that clarify the different experiences of the individuals living within a household. Thus, it emphasizes the need to consider each individual in a household as (separate) social subjects. It is also claimed that the cash like benefits provided by some organizations are vital for the households which fall outside the solidarity networks and states that it is generally not the men but the women who communicate with those organizations. It points poor women devote too much effort to fight with the health and nutrition problems. Moreover, the biggest dream of those women are argued to be “their children having a good education and making their living”, and “owning a house”.

In their study related with second group of poverty studies, Tılıç and Kalaycıoğlu (2003), carried out in-depth interviews with and/or collected life stories of woman and man who are immigrant and living in poor households. The findings of the study emphasize the increasing importance of family pool in coping with the poverty. Moreover, it is stated that woman plays the most significant role in both management of the family pool and the utilization of kinship networks. Meanwhile, an upper and a strategic phase within the social networks are argued to be the mutual solidarity with political organizations which appeals to them ideologically. At this point, man takes the position of woman. Furthermore, Tılıç and Kalaycıoğlu (2003), claim that generation turnover is among the important factors which deteriorate the family pool in the recent future. They also argue the importance of the differentiation

of the expectations and the needs between generations, and emphasize the need to examine important political, social and cultural results of the fact and its meaning for the new generations in the scrutiny of the social solidarity networks. During the analysis of the situation, it is observed that strategies designed to cope with poverty does not work. They claim that factors such as the weakening of woman's relationship with the social environment and the enforcement of woman to work outside are influential.

Another study about poverty, which was implemented in one of the Ankara's squatter areas by Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç (1998), supports the findings that patriarchal authority directs the strategies for movements of the family or members of the family and the male household head is the symbol of the absolute power in the family and this existing order is never questioned. Hence, women and daughters might be forbidden to work outside so women might experience poverty harder than men. As a result, each individual within the same household experience poverty in a different way.

Regarding the third group of studies, another research results related with the poverty which is carried on during the period August 2000 and April 2001 at the earthquake victim region Adapazarı by Sibel Özbudun (2002), women poverty is mostly identified by the lack of inclusion in the social life, discrimination and inability to unify in the region base. As the survivors of life, women whose priorities are thier husbands and children, as put by Özbudun (2002), face severe payoffs for the conditions of being able to be with their family in their prefabric homes all day long. Özbudun (2002) also claims that the various aspects of the women-poverty relation should be understood and that major reconstruction is required for especially the girls to benefit more efficinetly from social resources and services. The important point of this reconstruction process should be the necessity of the change in the structure of the dominant sexual roles which causes the invisibility of women, not the global adaptation or economic reconstruction. According to Özbudun (2002) individuals who are pushed to marginalism economically and socially, should immediately be transformed into individuals who obtain equal share from the social wealth which can only be possible through the development of the plans, policies and

programs that pay due attention to the needs and expectations of each individual with a social sexual perspective.

Another third group of the study related with the poverty, totally 40 women are interviewed in the content of the study held in Ankara during the summer of 2002 by Kardam and Alyanak (2002). In their study, they attempt not only to position the life experiences of women relating with poverty with the framework of “capability” as in Amartya Sen’s approach, but also to analyze the situations where women are deprived in many capabilities. They state that women, as a means of their social roles, live the social and psychological effects of poverty more intensively and try to sustain their social roles which are restricted by their children and home as well. On the other hand, while they are trying to develop some strategies targeting the daily needs of livelihood, they tend to think positive issues about themselves and the future of their families. But while explaining their ideas, they feel obliged to state from time to time that those ideas shall remain unattainable though. According to Kardam and Alyanak (2002) the most vulnerable women who are deprived of the most basic needs of humanly living, only try to save the day. Besides, they regard themselves at the bottom strata of the society and excluded.

Within the content of the study, the strategies developed to cope with poverty on nutrition, shelter and education are also discussed and it is stated that obtaining aids such as food, firewood and charcoal, clothing and education scholarship provided by municipalities, foundations, NGOs and philanthropists has gained great importance. Those aids are described to be “neither kills them nor makes them live” (Kardam and Alyanak, 2002: 219) and it is argued that the supply of those aids has become one of the major aims of these women, especially for those who are deprived in many capabilities. This situation is related to a certain extent with the Government’s populist and clientalist policies in regard with providing a serious vote potential. These policies sometimes sustain women to develop some unethical behaviour in order to make use of the relevant networks. On the other hand, such aids are argued to have a possibility to turn into habits and under the circumstances of limited job opportunities they even tend to benefit from those aids instead of dealing with something. Moreover, it is expected to plan these aids in a continuous and a recordable manner which needs to be revised in terms of the social aid system and its

terms in regard with providing social aid. However, findings show that these important facts could not have been provided by the Government. (For example, some women stated that they could not benefit from green card services because of not having good relations with the chief of the neighbourhood and also declared that women who have better living conditions than themselves, have been provided a chance to benefit from green card services.) Women's strategies to cope with poverty are stated to be developed in a highly consistent manner with their perceived social roles ascribed by the society.

The study also pinpoints the need of accounting for the variations among the differing experiences of women related with poverty and among the regions they live in the development and the implementation of the plans and programs targeting the alleviation of women poverty. Derived from the needs, it also proposes that social support should be provided for the solidarity of women helping them become organized.

In her study, concerning with the third group, which was conducted in Ankara, Şenol–Cantek (2001) focusing on poverty, interviewed with 50 women. According to Şenol–Cantek (2001), within poor households reproduction of household practices are mostly carried out by women alone and the contribution of the husband to those practices is either not expected, or stays at a level which can be described as helping rather than sharing. Identity of “housewife”, according to Şenol–Cantek, is “haphazard”, “tiring” and “unproductive”. In addition, housewife is affected at most from the destitution which is caused by the necessity of production/reproduction and protection of “home”.

In addition to the economic effects of the decrease in the life quality, poor housewife experiences the social and cultural poverty as well. The most important reason of this is the fact that destitution is proportional to the increase in poverty. Şenol–Cantek (2001) also claims that during the process of the reproduction of the household practices, women base this transformation on emotional grounds (mother, spouse, daughter etc.) which is the most basic factor that prevents her from the alienation to work and the emotional depression. On the other hand, Şenol–Cantek (2001) states that the reproduction of the household practices are still considered to

be a way of participating in production and claims that the majority of the interviewed women perceive this situation as an automatic behaviour.

Şenoġ-Cantek (2001), also tells that poverty is a fact which is inevitably transferred through generations. In line with the altruistic behaviour, as woman postpones /refuses /disregards her needs, the most upsetting side of poverty is its reflection to the life standards of the children. Şenoġ-Cantek also adds that woman plays an important role in meeting children's demands and if necessary, she applies to hidden savings and kinship network. Şenoġ-Cantek claims that as younger women attempt to provide a better future for her daughters, in their description of this future, there is no room for the idea of being a housewife in anyway.

According to another third group study about money-earning activities and empowerment experiences of rural migrant women in the city that was conducted by Erman, Kalaycioġlu and Tiliĉ (2002) in squatter settlements of Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Mersin including 100 in-depth interviews with women, it is emphasized that women have very limited power in decision making, despite the fact that their earnings cause an increase in their bargaining power to some extent while they are still subordinated by their husbands. Study concludes that women's organized action is necessary in order to demand and make both structural and cultural changes in the society in terms of women's self-perceptions.

Another third group study belonging to Erman (2001) which relates to Turkish migrant women's lives and participation in the labour market in urban area that covers in-depth interviews with 44 women in Ankara's squatter area, found out that patriarchy is reproduced in the lives of the migrant women. However, this might be changed by transforming experiences related with patriarchy into organized collective action that causes structural and cultural transformation of society. Study also emphasizes that second-generation migrants find some pathways for themselves in the male-dominated world where they enjoy male's autonomy and also find a personal meaning in it. However, Erman (2001) claims that these efforts are not sufficient to challenge the patriarchal structure of the society.

Concerning with the third group studies, another study was implemented in one of Ankara's squatter areas by Baysu (2002). During the research, 24 in-depth interviews were conducted with women in poor families. Baysu (2002) claims that

the “geography of the neighbourhood” is effective on defining the context in which women give meaning to their experiences and women are active agents of their lives. She also argues that the inability of the husband to live up to the expectations of “primary provider” and the emergent need for another income as well as the woman’s perception of the husband’s incompetence as the “primary provider” makes woman more powerful or weaker, and sectarian differences, employment, support system and family structure should be definitely taken into consideration during any research related with woman’s poverty.

All these studies showed that different indicators have been used in terms of measuring poverty in different projects. However, the studies show that women and men experienced poverty in a different way. These experiences do not show a difference only according to gender, they also show a difference according to the age, the ethnical identity and the regions. For example, women living in the eastern part of Turkey have different experiences than the women living in the western part of Turkey. On the other hand, studies related with only women’s poverty are very scarce and in most of the studies women’s experiences related with poverty have not been disaggregated from the household i.e. household was mostly taken as only one unit. Furthermore, it is also hard to encounter studies related with the experiences of first and second generation women regarding the concept of poverty.

ⁱ Welfare Approach:

The oldest social development policy for the Third World in general and women in particular is the welfare approach which is based on three assumptions. Firstly, women are passive recipients rather than participants in the development process. Secondly, motherhood is the most important role of women in the society. Thirdly, child rearing is the most effective role of women in all aspects of economic development. In the light of this approach, the emergency relief programs are widely initiated in Europe after the end of the Second World War, accompanied with the economic assistance measures that are intended to ensure reconstruction. Relief aid was provided directly to low income women, as being wives and mothers who were seen as primarily important for their family’s welfare. This policy meant that in general the international economic aids which mainly focus on increasing the productive capacity of male labor force prioritizes government support for capital-intensive industrial and agricultural production to accelerate growth. Welfare provision for the family was targeted at women who, along with the

disabled and the sick, were identified as vulnerable groups, remaining the responsibility of the marginalized ministries of social welfare. Further assistance was then provided by non-governmental organizations and some bilateral aid agencies with specific mandates for women and children like United Nations Children's Fund- UNICEF (Moser, 1993:96)

However, this approach was highly criticized by the different groups. In the United States, a group of mainly the female professionals and the researchers claimed that Third World development projects were negatively affecting women. On the other hand, development economists and planners were concerned with the failure of the modernization theory in the Third World. Moreover, in 1975, "International Women's Year Conference" formally put women on the agenda and provided legitimacy for the proliferation of a wide diversity of women's organizations in the Third World.

Equity Approach:

The studies related with the second approach, so called equity approach showed that although women were often the predominant contributors to the basic productivity of their communities, particularly in agriculture, their economic contribution was referred to neither in national statistics nor in the planning and the implementation of the development projects in 1970s. New modernization projects, with innovative agricultural methods and sophisticated technologies affected women negatively and not only displaced them from their traditional productive functions but also deteriorated their income, status and power they had in traditional relations. Moser also claims that findings indicate that neocolonialism as much as colonialism helped the decline in women's status in the developing countries. (Moser, 1993:98)

This approach recognizes that women are active participants in the development process and also their productive and reproductive roles provide a critical contribution to the economic growth. It assumes that economic strategies have a negative impact on women and they must be injected into the development process through access to the employment and the market place. Thus equity approach recognizes women's practical gender need to earn a livelihood. This identifies the origins of women's subordination as lying not only in the context of the family but also in the relationship between men and women in the marketplace, and hence it places considerable emphasis on the economic independence as being synonymous with equity, (Moser, 1993:99). Equity programs are identified as already combined notions of the development and the equality.

However, there were problems related with this approach. In 1975, "International Women Year" conference showed that the equity approach is more concerned with reflecting First World feminist preoccupations with equality. (Moser, 1993:99). Another problem was mainly related with the methodology. There were no standards against which success could be measured, in that a single unified indicator of social status or progress of women and women's economic, social and political status was lacking. Additionally, the majority of development agencies were hostile to these programs precisely because this was a necessary implicit redistribution of power. Similar antipathy was also felt by many Third World Governments, legitimized by their belief in the irrelevance of the Western exported feminism to the Third World women, despite the Government's endorsement of the plan of action. As a result of those problems, the implementation of the equity approach has been dropped by the majority of implementing agencies.

Anti-poverty approach:

The third approach which claims that the economic inequality between women and men is linked not to subordination but to poverty is called the anti-poverty approach. Women's issues are separated from equity issues and linked with the concern for the majority of Third World women as the poorest of the poor. This approach focuses on women's productive role on the basis of the poverty alleviation and the promotion of balanced economic growth requires the increased productivity of women in low income households. It assumes that the origins of women's poverty and inequality with men are attributable to women's lack of access to private ownership of land and capital and to sexual discrimination in the labor market. (Moser, 1993). This approach aims to increase the employment and income-generating options of low income women through better access to the productive resources. Population control became much important in order to reduce women's fertility and to increase women's economic contribution.

However, Moser claims that anti-poverty income generating projects provide an unsustainable support to their income in terms of supplying employment and meeting practical gender needs. But unless employment leads to greater autonomy, this lacks to meet strategic gender needs. Additionally, income generating projects which assume that women have free time, only extended women's working day and increased their triple burden. (Moser, 1993:103) Finally, it is criticized that this approach may fail even to meet the practical gender need to earn income, unless an income generating project also alleviates the burden of women's domestic labor and childcare.

Efficiency Approach:

The fourth approach which is related with the women's development issue is called the efficiency approach. According to this approach, increased economic participation of the Third World women is automatically linked with the and hence it proposes that an increase in women's economic participation in development links efficiency and equity.

However, the efficiency approach relies heavily on the elasticity of women's labor in both women's reproductive and community managing roles and only meets practical gender needs at the cost of longer working hours and increased unpaid work. Moser claims that mostly this approach not only fails to reach any strategic gender needs, but also, because of the reduction in resource allocations, results in a serious reduction of the practical gender needs met. (Moser, 1993:106)

Empowerment Approach:

The final approach is the empowerment approach. Though it resembles with the equity approach, it differs from it not only in its origins but also in its identification of the causes, dynamics and structures of women's oppression and in terms of the strategies for changing the position of Third World women. (Moser, 1993:106). Although the empowerment approach acknowledges inequalities between men and women, and women's subordination in the family, it also emphasizes that women experience oppression differently according to their race, class, colonial history and current position in the international economic order so women have to challenge oppressive structure and situations at different levels. Empowerment approach also questions some of the fundamental assumptions concerning the inter-relationship between power and development that underlie the previous approaches. For example, this approach seeks to identify power less in terms of domination over others, while it acknowledges the importance for women of increasing their power. The implicit assumption underlies this approach is that a gain for women implies a loss for men. It also recognizes women's triple role in order to challenge women's subordination, acknowledges the valuable function of different types of organizations and also seeks to assist the more traditional organizations to move toward a greater awareness of feminist issues. Another important point is that empowerment approach aims to reach strategic gender needs implicitly through practical gender needs.

Unfortunately, empowerment approach remained largely unsupported by national governments and bilateral aid agencies. Although First World governments prepared to support this approach, the projects turned out to be dependent on the resources of only a few international non-governmental agencies. Despite the widespread growth of the Third World groups and organizations, implementation plan is remained under funded which in turn reinforced the use of voluntary and unpaid women's time.(Moser, 1993: 110)

CHAPTER III

GENDER ASPECT OF POVERTY AND ITS TRANSFER TO THE NEXT GENERATION

Women experience poverty different than men as a result of their gender roles which places them to a different power position compared with men both in the family and other social institutions of the society and this may lead to their relative deprivation in terms of education, health and participation in social life and disadvantaged position in the labor market. As a consequence of these, women end up to be more vulnerable to poverty. Moser (1993) states that since gender relations are socially specific and depending on history, ideology, culture and material economic development, women's poverty is much more different and complicated than men's, and, therefore, it should be analyzed differently than men's by considering the different roles that men and women play in society and the implications of these roles. In societies throughout the world, women face restrictions on their choices and opportunities which should be related with humanitarian outcomes rather than levels of income. For example, participation in decision-making is highly related to the freedom and the respect of others in the community. Moreover, it is also stated that "poverty among female headed households" is an important issue that must be analyzed carefully and it should certainly be disaggregated from man's poverty in order to clarify "feminization of poverty"¹ (Moser, 1993). In many parts of the world women cannot own property, do not inherit land, are not documented as heads of households even when they are the primary income earners, need to get permission from husbands to go out or work, and have little contact with representatives of the state or with community leaders. This differential status of men and women is reflected in social norms, everyday

¹ This term has been firstly used as describing the case that poverty has become an important concern in the United States as women (single mothers and their children in particular) comprised an increasingly large segment of the population of impoverished people.

interactions. One important consequence of differential access and exclusion from the powerful social networks is that women invest heavily in informal social support mechanisms established with other women. To survive as outsiders, women turn to their informal social networks for emotional solidarity, social support and financial support for managing their domestic responsibilities. Women's informal networks also provide support and information, and women's networks often become coping mechanisms.

It is necessary to scrutinize women's poverty from a gender perspective in order to settle a concrete theoretical background. Therefore, in the following lines gender and patriarchy concepts will be analyzed. Then, it will be explained why women are vulnerable to poverty. Finally, intergenerational transfers will be explained in terms of transfer of experiences related with poverty through the generations.

Gender relations are not only confined to domestic arena; social norms also play their part to a significant extent in shaping these relations. Kabeer (1997) claims that gender relations are not confined to the domestic arena, despite the fact that households constitute an important institutional site on which gender relations are played out, but are made, remade, contested in a range of institutional areas. Marshall (1994) claims that traditional identities, norms, roles and behaviors exist and continue to be a determinant in the cultural and social perpetuation of poverty and these limit women's access to resources as well as women's decision making power also make them more vulnerable against poverty. Additionally, all these facts mean that gender identities are shaped by larger institutions and also by ongoing participation of family members in creating new gender norms. A norm is a shared expectation of behavior that expresses what is considered culturally desirable and appropriate, while a role is a set of norms attached to a social position (Marshall, 1994). Moreover, social norms are reinforced through popular culture, radio, television, traditional art forms, customs, laws, everyday practice, proverbs and stories. Rigid social norms ground men and women in particular identities and expectations while also constituting a barrier to survival of individuals, households and communities where gender is a primary symbolic distinction which is used to play out other social tensions. On the other side, anxieties about class status and

belonging are sublimated into and played out through the categories of masculinity and femininity thereby entrenching them further (Bourdieu, 1992, 1997).

Based on social difference, identities can be created or changed and used in pragmatic and strategic ways for one's benefit. Identity is a person's sense of self and this system is kept alive and reinforced in everyday life which is particularly evident in structuring of social space that confines women, by and large, to circumscribed domestic, pastoral and market locations as opposed to the masculine sites of the public sphere. Meanwhile, this concept affects how power and work are organized in households through gender division of labor. In line with this argument, Morris (1996) through making a connection between the women's poverty and the citizenship concept claims that citizenship belongs to the public sphere and it is shaped by traditional gender roles which direct women to the private sphere and the men to the public sphere. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1992) claims that large scale social inequalities are established not at the level of direct institutional discrimination but through the subtle inculcation of power relations upon the bodies and dispositions of individuals. This process is called as a "symbolic violence" by Bourdieu and it is qualified as a form of domination which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity (Bourdieu,1992:167). Masculine domination assumes a natural, self-evident status through its inscription in the objective structure of the social world which is then incorporated and reproduced in the habitus of individuals. In line with this argument, it could be also claimed that cultural beliefs and norms often imply that women are second-rank human beings and the physical integrity of women tends to be more in danger than that of men and women as well as girls are more vulnerable than men to domestic violence and to rape (Dijkstra and Hanmer, 2000:56).

Since gender relations are embedded and arbitrary power relations are inculcated upon the body in the naturalized form of gender identity which is not a mechanistically determining structure but an open system of dispositions-regulated liberties- that are durable but not eternal. There exists an ideology which directs women to fulfill their primary household responsibilities and then limits their capacity. This ideology plays an important role in women's lives. Many ideologies are associated with some cultural practices related with the social construction of

femininity, the ideology of exclusion, seclusion and the demarcation of roles by gender. Ideological changes are supported and created by the state policies and these might change regionally and cross-regionally. One of the most important things is that ideologies are historically produced and reproduced so they change very slowly in time (Agarwal and Afshar, 1974).

Furthermore, Gans claims that race, religion and ethnicity together with age, gender and migration, seem to play major roles nearly everywhere in the selection of economic victims and the main question being: “which of these social constructs is/are chosen and why.”(Gans, 1996). Also, many economic, social and cultural factors converge and reinforce each other to produce conditions of social exclusion for a sizeable number of women.”

In relation to women’s subordinate roles compared to men, patriarchy and patriarchal values have come into question. According to Walby (1990), patriarchy implies a theory of gender inequality in which the aspect of men’s domination over each other is central to men’s domination over women and it occurs both in public and the private sphere, and she argues that private patriarchy has given way to public patriarchy related with the transformation of intimate gender relations. However, there are some different opinions related with the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. On the one hand, patriarchy is rooted in male control of human reproduction, sexuality and male control in these private arena structures women’s fates in the more public world of class and capitalism. However, in the process of development, male workers gaining a privileged position in the wage-based economy allocate women to subordinated places in the class structure (Acker, 1997). From this perspective, woman is subordinated due to the confinement to the private sphere or being dependent on the man. Skalli (2002) also explains this concept by citing:

...To begin with, the patriarchal structure of society operates at all levels to position women in lower status than men. Patriarchal ideology and systematic gender biases have denied women not only equal educational, and employment opportunities and treatment before the law, but also equal access to and control over resources, adequate health services, housing, social welfare and support. These are important social indicators that have direct bearing on the incidence of female poverty and reflect the different levels at which social exclusion is produced, justified and perpetuated...

(Skalli, 2002).

Furthermore, Erman (2001) claims that the system of patriarchy is also reproduced in the lives of women who migrated from rural to the urban area and city is presented as a threat to the morals of the family and to the traditional notion of women's honour that directs women inside her migrant community as a housewife and renders women's economic contribution invisible. On the other hand, it is likely that there is a hope for the young generation for escaping from the belts of poverty but this hope is very limited because of the reproduction of patriarchy within the system (Erman, 2001:130).

According to Moser, in current Western theory and practice concerned with low income communities, there is always a tendency to make two assumptions. Firstly, the household consists of a nuclear family composed of the husband, the wife and the children. Secondly, there is a clear sexual division of labor in which the husband of the family, as the breadwinner, is primarily involved in productive works outside the home, while the wife as the homemaker takes the overall responsibility of the reproduction and the domestic works within the household. The logic that underlies this assumption is that there is an equal control over resources and power of decision making between the husband and the wife in matters affecting the household's livelihood (Moser, 1993:85). Moser also claims that this sexual division of labor appears to reflect the natural order and is ideologically reinforced through the legal and the educational system, the media, and the family planning program, without recognizing women's subordinated position relative to the men's in most Third World societies. Moreover, in most low-income households, women's work includes not only the reproductive work (the childbearing and rearing responsibilities) required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labor force but also the productive work, often as secondary income earners. In rural areas this usually takes the form of agricultural work, while in urban areas women frequently work in informal sector enterprises located either at home (in subcontracting or piece rate work) or in the neighborhood (Moser, 1993). Then women as working in the informal sector become more vulnerable against poverty.

Since gender and patriarchy concepts are much related with women's poverty, I tried to explain these concepts in the previous paragraphs. However, there

are important aspects of women's poverty and one of them is women's disadvantaged position in the labor market which has been argued in different ways by some social scientists and which has important implications in terms of women's poverty. In line with this argument, Bourdieu offers three alternative explanations for women's disadvantaged position that he detects as underlying the labor market. First, there is continued complicity of the female habitus, when, for example, women perpetuate within the labor market the concern for appearances and hostess activities that they possess in the private sphere. Secondly, there is the invisibly sexualized arena of the performance of many jobs. These tacitly disadvantage female employees and allow men access to the higher reaches of power. Thirdly, there is women's greater realism as to the work involved in simultaneously maintaining domestic solidarities and their work (Bourdieu, 2001a:99).

In order to put women's poverty in the right place in the argument of urban poverty, another important term which is called "survival strategies" should be focused on very carefully. This is much related with the fact that women are developing and actively participating in survival strategies which relates urban poverty with women's poverty as well. It could be claimed that the women, being the mainly responsible member of the household from these survival strategies, become poorer, because while this responsibility makes her stronger, it also makes them more vulnerable against poverty, like negative effects on health, education, power, as well as pride, prestige etc. In the media it is always the women who are struggling with each other to get and share of the good or goods distributed as aid. They have to suffer from the media image of poverty. Then, they become more vulnerable to domestic violence if they can not cope.

Experiences are transferred through generations and Mingione (1996) states that the spreading of the urban poor forms a new large group of people, including an above average number of children, who are in serious economic difficulties and concentrates the new poverty forms in the cities. These are specific strategies and certain principles that maintain survival and social mobility in cities. These are called "survival strategies". There are certain characteristics of strategies for survival: 1) Under extraordinary circumstances, individual can search for solutions both inside and outside of the tradition. 2) Survival strategies support the fact that there are other

income generating resources beyond the wage as a basic category of analysis. 3) These strategies offer for the social change. 4) Survival strategies convey the capacity of household for adapting itself to the changing environment because of the economic conditions (De la Rocha, 1994:12). It is also stated that by pooling resources, working both in formal and informal sector, self-provisioning, skillful use of social networks and through the self-constructed shelters, families are avoided from the entrapment of poverty.

Another important aspect of urban poverty which has a great impact on the women's poverty is the structure of the household. For example, in female headed households, number of working people in the informal sector and crowded households should be scrutinized carefully in order to understand women's poverty very well. Low income households are not homogenous in terms of family structure and the most important non-nuclear family household structure is the woman-headed household, of which there are two main types, specifically the "De jure" women headed households, in which the male partner is permanently absent due to separation or death, and the woman is legally single, divorced or widowed and the "De facto" women headed households in which the male partner is temporarily absent, due to long term work migration or refugee status. Under these conditions, women are not regarded as the heads of the households, and they are mostly perceived as a dependant due to their having high dependency ratios and limited access to employment and basic services. Furthermore, extended family does not necessarily disappear with modernization or urbanization, where it remains vital for low income survival strategies in both rural and urban areas. For example, if number of working people increases, the total income of the household does not increase proportionately (Moser, 1993). From this perspective, it could be claimed that female headed households are more vulnerable against poverty.

Then, what kind of a transfer to offsprings, especially, in this case can we talk about in terms of households who are in poverty? Here, I will try to conceptualize within the general definitions of transfers used by Bourdieu (1979) as well as Elder and Johnson (2000) who have emphasized the effect of various factors on the

dispositions of people to different conditions. Bourdieu (1979)² defines three types of capital, which are economic, cultural and social capital. Economic capital refers to monetary income as well as other financial resources and assets of which institutional expression is found in property rights, whereas cultural capital could exist in various forms. Regarding this, cultural capital includes long standing dispositions and habits acquired in the socialization process that corresponds to the accumulation of valued cultural objects such as training and formal educational qualifications. On the other hand, this is different than symbolic cultural capital which can be explained as the capacity to define and legitimize cultural, moral norms and values.

Another type of capital is the social capital which is the sum of the actual and potential resources that can be mobilized through membership in social networks of actors and organizations.

On the other hand, economic capital differs from social in terms of hierarchy and from cultural capital in terms of segmentation while social capital differs from cultural capital in terms of hierarchy.

Economic capital is the most liquid, most readily convertible form for transformation into social and cultural capital. However, the transformation of social capital into economic capital is more expensive and contingent. Additionally, social capital is less liquid and stickier. Therefore, it is difficult to transform social capital into cultural capital while it is easier to transform cultural capital into social capital. Moreover, when cultural capital is not enough to be transformed into economic capital, these make individuals more vulnerable against poverty and symbolic capital could be the main obstacles regarding the transformation process. During this

² In accordance with Bourdieu's theory, "habitus", which designates internalized group norms regulating the practice of individual human agents according to a logic mediating social structure and willed human action which is at the intersection of objective social conditions and the set of propensities or tastes that constitute a life style, is structured. All societies are characterized by struggle between groups and/or classes and class fractions to maximize their interests in order to ensure their reproduction through the habitus. The social formation is seen as a hierarchically organized series of fields within which people are engaged in specific struggles to maximize their control over the social resources specific to that field such as the intellectual or educational field where the position of a person is determined by the totality of the lines of force specific to the subject field (Anheier; Gerhards; Romo, 1995:861).

process, some individuals (like women, ethnic groups, and children) should be exposed to take more risk in terms of experiencing poverty.

On the other hand, Elder and Johnson (2000) states that intergenerational ties link the experiences of one generation to the development of the next. In line with this argument, Elder (1999) claims that each generation experiences fateful decisions and events in the other's life course while the misfortunes and opportunities of adult children become intergenerational as well as personal matters. Then, he pinpoints that social regulation, support and tensions are transmitted through the relationships while Morris (1996) argues that second generation is growing up for whom there is no place in the labor market, and also adds that this new generation has no real ties with their parents' country of origin. Furthermore, Elder and Johnson (2000) underlines that people of different ages bring different experiences and resources to their life situations and adapt in different ways to the new conditions.

...Transitions across the life course involve individual initiatives, situational constraints and opportunities, influence from others, and the dispositions and prior experiences that individuals bring to new situations...

(Elder and Johnson, 2000:27)

Besides intergenerational transfers, informal networks like family, kin and neighbors are also important to understand poverty. While family networks have great importance as coping mechanisms, the strong sense of reciprocal obligation that makes them successful in times of crisis also makes them resistant to individual entrepreneurship and accumulation. Informal networks of poor people and bonds of solidarity provide meaning and identity and support during crisis. However, their resources are limited. Networks of neighbours and kinfolk play an important role for most poor people. This is the defense outside the immediate family in times of difficulty or crisis, and reciprocal obligations are strong enough to make it a very reliable defense. At the same time, communities are dependent upon the shared human and material resources of their neighbours, clan and extended family. However, it is also clear that there are limits and costs to depending on friends and neighbours for support. In line with this argument, in many societies, transfers are arranged under a set of rules such as reciprocation (Chatterjee,1985), in line with this

argument Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç (2000) claims that within the system of these transfers, goods and services are allocated to individuals and groups through a social unit, such as family, state or a religious institution. In most industrial societies, family has a significant welfare role, which provides transfers to individuals in case of need. On the contrary, family often emerges as the main factor providing welfare because state and other institutions do not work properly as a welfare providing factor, in Africa and Asia (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2000). As it could be seen very easily that in Turkey, welfare of the individuals relates very much to welfare of the family. But in those poor households, which lack economical resources, they cannot transfer any such resources to their offsprings.

Hence, if the parents are poor in terms of economic capital, their off springs are most likely to be poor, because they cannot have a good education and opportunities of employment in the labor market. Secondly, if the families are poor in terms of social networks and clientalist relations, their off springs also lack some advantages. (For example, in order to find a job, it is necessary to have a network in the channel of the potential job. However, since the person is poor, she/he does not have any potential network that provides a job opportunity for her/him.) Thirdly, cultural capital in a form of not to cope with poverty and not to develop successful coping strategies are transferred to their daughters by mothers (For example, if mother searches for escape from poverty, daughter most probably searches for the potential solutions to go out of her poverty).

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

In my study, I have conceptualized the position of women and their daughters as follows:

There is a clear sexual division of labor in which the man of the family, as the breadwinner, is primarily involved in productive work outside the home, while the woman as the housewife and homemaker takes overall responsibility for the reproductive and domestic work involved in the organization of the household in terms of coping with poverty. This sexual division of labor is ideologically reinforced through the legal and educational systems, without recognizing women's subordinated position to men's position. The male dominated ideologies which are very effective on the situation of women in terms of coping with poverty, also define the position of women in the labor market. Moreover, women's productive work is devalued by the social values related with women's roles. Also women and daughters have less access to assets such as land, natural resources, other physical assets, education, technology and credit which make them more vulnerable to poverty. Additionally, poverty experienced within the family is an important source of stress and causes marital conflict which is effective not only on the interactions of family members with each other, but also effective on the preferences of the second generation for their future. Since the second generation's environmental conditions are not the same with their mothers, the access to services of the first generation is different from the access to services of the second generation, and this has a great impact on the responses of individuals. Therefore, it is important to find out women's and their daughters' access to some services (like health, education, public services etc.) and the reasons for their restrictions which end up to make them more vulnerable to poverty. Furthermore, women and their daughters are prevented from participating in the public sphere because of the social values related with women's

roles and this also makes women and their daughters more vulnerable against poverty. Regarding survival strategies, women not only develop survival strategies through activating their social networks outside the household and undertake multiple roles which reveal the survival strategies within the household, but also arrange relationships between the members of the family and these roles bring a serious and immense burden to women related with poverty.

Based on the literature review presented in the earlier chapters, several hypotheses are developed to guide this study. These will be presented in the following lines. Regarding this, the main aim of this study is to argue that within the household, poverty is experienced by women and their daughters in different ways; and this means that women and their daughters not only experience poverty differently, but also mothers' experiences related with poverty are transferred to their daughters.

In the light of the factors that were mentioned in the previous chapter, this study was designed to understand how these factors affect women's poverty in what degree, how women and their daughters cope with urban poverty and thus how poverty is experienced by different generations and also how social values related with women's roles affect the situation. At the end, the study is expected to reveal how and to what extent experiences of poverty are transferred through the generations. For this reason, the research is designed as to examine women and their daughters living in the same household as the main subjects of the research in order to focus on different experiences at the same time.

For this reason the main point of the study will be to focus on differences related with women's and their daughters' experiences related with poverty in a "gecekondu" area in a big metropolis. (How are they affected and how do they survive?) These could only be analyzed by a research using qualitative research with gender perspective. The qualitative method will also enable the viewpoint of the researcher to be taken into account as implying more equality between the researcher and the person to be researched.

4.1. Justification of the Research Site

In regard with the assumptions of this study, I decided to implement the field survey in Ankara because I was born in Ankara and my family and I have been living in Ankara for a long time. This was a great advantage for me in deciding the research area because I was very familiar with Ankara and most of its peripheral areas.

I tried to select one of the poorest districts for the research in order to reach people who experience poverty. I also aimed to implement this research in a place where both mothers and their daughters live in poverty and there is not much hope for their escaping from poverty. For this reason, I provided latest official statistics from the relevant Governmental Organization. Since data were raw, I reorganized and made some calculations. Then Altındağ came up the most disadvantaged district in terms of living in poverty.

Since my thesis is dealing with both first and second generation's experiences, I focused on the established poverty. Then the next question was "In Ankara, which district is the most suitable place for my research or which district has the relevant characteristics related with poverty?" In order to answer this question, I analysed the most recent statistics regarding the socio-economic pattern of all the districts of Ankara. Analyses showed that Altındağ was the most suitable place for my research and it was selected as the main district of the research.

Regarding data provided by SIS, Ankara has eight central districts in total, namely Altındağ, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı, Keçiören, Mamak, Sincan and Yenimahalle. A comparison of the socio-economic indicators of those eight central districts provided a background to determine the district where the research can be done. As a result Altındağ was selected as the district of the research.

According to the statistics provided by SIS (see Table 1: City and Village Population in Appendix), the district of Altındağ is the fifth among the central districts. Altındağ is the first with respect to the population size category of 10 or more than 10 people within the same household. The population of central Altındağ concentrates on the age group of 15-19, totalling to 42,417 persons. When the literacy status is concerned, Altındağ is the second district (Table 8: "*Nüfusun Yaş, Yaş Grupları, Okur Yazarlık, Bitirilen Son Öğrenim Kurumu ve Cinsiyete Göre*

Dağılımı -6 ve Daha Yukarı Yaşlar” – Distribution of Population According to The Age, Age Groups, Literacy, Last Graduated Educational Institute and Gender – For Ages Greater than or Equal to 6) that has the highest illiterate population size for the ages greater or equal to six: In Altındağ there are 31,769 illiterate persons among which 7,065 of them are men and 24,704 are women¹.

With respect to the size of no participation in labour force which includes the unemployed for the last three months at least, the students and the housewives, for the population of 12 and over, Altındağ has the second highest proportion of the no participation in labour force size ratio. (Table 3.2: *Yerleşim Yeri, Yaş Grupları ve Cinsiyete Göre İşgücüne Katılamama Oranları*)².

When the “no participation in labour force size of the female and male population in Altındağ” is compared, it is seen that the size of women not participating in labour force (128,782) is more than twice of that of the male population (50,939).

Furthermore, Altındağ is the fourth with respect to the number of students and the fifth in terms of with respect to the aspects, the number of schools and the number of the teachers in the primary school education.

Another important indicator might be the number of people who benefited from the use of green card³. According to the unofficial statistics which were provided by the local management authorities, Altındağ is the first where 71017 people have benefited from green card. Then, Keçiören and Mamak follow with the number of 22000 and 17500 users.

¹ A comparison of the female and male illiterate population of Altındağ suggests that for the age group of 25-29, 30-34 and 35-39, the number of illiterate women is almost four times, five times and six times of the number of the illiterate men, respectively. But for the same age groups the number of the women high school graduates is very high compared to the high school graduate men. But to have accuracy in the comparison of the districts with regard to literacy, it is more appropriate to work with the ratios instead of the net figures. For this purpose, the illiteracy ratios are calculated for each central district by dividing the illiterate population to the whole population of the related district. The population data needed to calculate the illiteracy ratios are obtained from the SIS database.

² But to have more accuracy, I calculated the ratios once again and reordered the ranking according to the relevant tables.

³ Green card is a service provided by the Government for the people who are living in economic difficulties in order to provide their access to health services easily. It is arranged and directed by the local managements of the districts.

When the central districts are compared with respect to the crime rates, Altındağ ranks the second while Çankaya is the first according to the unofficial information provided by an authorized person from the Ankara Directorate of Security. He also draws attention to the fact that the majority of crimes committed in Çankaya targets properties while crimes that are committed in Altındağ are mainly directed to individuals.

Regarding data analysis, it seems that Altındağ is one of the most disadvantaged districts in Ankara. Highest illiteracy rate, highest number of household size and also the highest number of people who benefited from green card services are some of the most important indicators related with low level of socioeconomic status. Furthermore, very high crime rates and other data strongly support this idea.

On the other side, in line with my analysis of the research area, I also used Güvenç's (2001) study in the selection process of Altındağ. In his study, all the central districts of Ankara were stratified according to status and income level relations of the population living in the subject area and also illustrated as a map (Güvenç, 2001). According to this map, Altındağ district was assumed to be one among the districts where the domination of neither any social status, nor any income group was observed. This scientific research also supported my findings very strongly. Then, I selected Altındağ as the main research area.

4.1.1. Why Çandarlı?

Among the neighbourhoods of Hıdırlıktepe in Altındağ, I decided to implement the study in the Çandarlı neighbourhood. One of the most important reasons for me to select Çandarlı is due to the fact that one of the oldest women living in Çandarlı is a mother of our ex-neighbour with whom we were neighbours for about 8-9 years until she moved to United States 6-7 years ago. Since then, we did not lose contact with her family and continued to visit each other. Due to my key informant's being one of the oldest and highly respectable persons, she had a great help for me in entering the neighbourhood networks in Çandarlı and carrying out my

field studies in the area. She also helped me to be accepted by the people living in the area. I also decided to implement this study in Çandarlı, because Çandarlı was one of the oldest residential areas in Altındağ. Before starting to implement the study, discussions with the principal of the school, the hodja of the mosque and some officials from Altındağ Municipality confirmed that this was the one of the oldest squatter areas both in Ankara and Altındağ.

In addition to these points, one year before I started my study, I paid many visits to the health station, which is located in the region, and I collected information about their patients as well as the region itself. I also visited the only school in the area and had a discussion about the students and the area with the principal of the school. This was a primary school and the budget was provided by the State. These visits showed that urban poverty is experienced severely in Çandarlı. During my visits to Çandarlı, the inhabitants became very familiar with me. I also had the chance to have detailed information about both the area and the people living in the neighborhood through the hodja and the chief of the area. According to my observations, the people's access to social services like health, education and infrastructure was very limited. Moreover, their access to the labor market was almost impossible. In the area, it was also possible to see the extent of weakening of the social fabric like crime, deviant behavior, drug addiction, homelessness. Mostly, socially excluded people who were in disadvantaged positions and unable to secure their social rights were living in this area. Moreover, I observed that most people migrated from different parts of Central and Eastern part of Anatolia. Nuclear family structure was very rare and it was common to see both first and second generation in the same household as an extended family type. Mostly, families were living in this area in poverty. Women were mostly intertwined with domestic obligations. It was observed that many families did not send girls to school after the primary school. This was also supported by the principal of the school. At this point, the "economic conditions" were excuses of the children's families' about not sending their daughters to the school. Another important thing was that early marriage was very common, and the birth rate was very high. Domestic violence in households was also very common. My observations were also confirmed by the health station's records and responsibilities. During my visits, most of the women also stated that they never

went to “Ulus” which was very close to that region on their own. On the other hand, men were mostly unemployed or did not have a regular job. Moreover, I heard some stories related with drug abuses and crime. In brief, at the end of my observations and contacts in the area, Çandarlı in Hıdırlıktepe (Altındağ) emerged as one of the best places to carry out my field study to investigate my working hypotheses.

4.1.2. Information about Hıdırlıktepe and Çandarlı

Şenyapılı and Türel (1996) state that urban areas went through a huge transformation after the 1940s. “Gecekondu” was one of the results of this transformation. Gecekondu was not a tradition either in the Turkish or in the Ottoman housing stock. After the 40s, this stock of tin roofed and cardboard walled shacks without infrastructure comprising marginal additions to the cities experienced a transformation process through which they turned into orderly, neat urban neighborhoods (Şenyapılı and Türel, 1996). Regarding Ankara’s squatter areas, “Ulus” was the main business centre between 1940 and 1950s. During that time, new squatter areas like “Altındağ”, “Hıdırlıktepe”, “Yenidoğan”, “Yenihayat”, “Fazıl Ahmet Paşa”, “Yavuz Sultan Selim”, “İstiklal”, “Çandarlı”, “Aktaş” were formed on some different locations, like the northern part of “Ulus”, surrounded sides of “Kale”, between “Bentderesi” and “Babür” streets. On the west side of “Kazıkıçı” and northeastern part (which was surrounded by today’s “Asri Mezarlık”) other new settlements like “Gülveren”, “Gülseren” and “Çalışkanlar” were also formed. The new demands of migration were much higher than the demands of Government’s official mechanisms. For this reason, during the building stage of these new districts, planning was mostly abused by new dwellers. At the end, new housing fabric of the urban area became too tight and insufficient. As it has been already mentioned, “Hıdırlıktepe” was one of these settlement areas and mostly people migrating from Central Anatolia settled in this area. These people were mostly doing some informal jobs (like “simitçi⁴”, shoe polisher, daily paid house cleaning etc.). In 1948, about 40-60000 people were living in this area and 67 % of the land was covered by

⁴ “Simit” is kind of a food, which is very similar to bagel.

squatter houses. (Şenyapılı and Türel, 1996). In addition to these important points, first generation migrants mostly demanded for basic requirements like shelter, regular income. They mostly had a chance to find empty land for their squatter houses and they were not very selective in their choice of jobs. However, the conditions of shelter and employment became much harder for the following generations. The second generation's skill level remained limited and empty urban space for settlement became a rare commodity. Their expectations increased and socio-economic life became highly competitive (Tılıç and Kalaycıoğlu, 1998).

About Çandarlı, the neighborhood is located at one of the highest points in the Hıdırlıktepe area. Especially, during the winter time, no types of the vehicle can climb there. When snow falls, all roads are covered by icy patches that never melt till the first warm rays of the spring sun. Moreover, municipality does not allocate any service for cleaning of the roads during the winter time. In the entrance of the highest point where Çandarlı is located, there is a rubbish heap. Garbage of the neighborhood is collected in this area where children mostly play, and this garbage is taken away once or twice a week by the municipality. During the summer time, the area stinks. In Çandarlı, all the houses are built very densely. The physical structures of the houses are very similar to each other. Mostly, two or three houses share the same garden, and there is only one restroom which is located there. Most of the houses are in a great need of maintenance. All of the houses are heated by the cheap charcoal, so pollution is a serious problem in the area. Tap water is used for the drinking purpose, and the sewage system is already installed in Çandarlı.

The walls of the houses lining up the streets are forbiddingly bleak and stark. Houses are not very attractive or welcoming. On the streets, it is easy to observe that many children play with the trashes thrown out along the streets. Empty alcohol bottles, glue tins and bags are most widely observed trash types along dirty streets, which are very narrow: even two people cannot walk side by side easily in the street. There are also many narrow slopes where walking gets harder. Especially, during the winter time, it is very difficult to walk without sliding. Regarding transportation, not any kind of vehicles can enter into these narrow and slope streets except the widest street where shops, school and the mosque are located. However, from downtown, a bus is scheduled for every hour by the Municipality to reach the area. On the other

hand, this schedule is not mostly followed. During the winter time, someone might be exposed to wait a bus for more than a few hours. In the night time, streets become so dark and silent that even people living in the area can not dare to go out of their houses, despite the fact that they are very familiar with the neighborhood.

For the area, the most immediate controlling official point is “*muhtar*” the chief of the neighborhood, who serves for the head of Altındağ district. According to the procedures, the chief of a local area is selected by votes of the local people living in that area during the local elections. Up to this date, no woman has ever been selected as the chief of Çandarlı. A man has always served as a local chief in the neighborhood. Chief is mostly responsible for keeping track of demographic records belonging to people living in the area. Moreover, one of his most important responsibilities is to initiate the official procedures for a green card which is provided by the Government. This mostly provides a distinction for the chief and makes him one of the most powerful persons of the area in order to be accessed in this type of services.

Religion is served by a mosque that is located in the very centre of Çandarlı. There is also one health station which is located next to the mosque. The health station is currently using the land of the mosque which was allocated by local management authorities. It is also allegedly said that health station will move to another area which is very close to Çandarlı since the health station’s current place is not safe and available to provide a quality and sufficient service in order to meet the demands in the area. Officials of the health station also told that once the station was sabotaged and some equipment were stolen. Then, the ministry of the health provided some iron fences for the entrance and bars for the windows in order to protect the station.

Education is provided by the only public primary school in the neighborhood. There are two coffee-houses located very close to the only school in the area and there is an association that is called “Society of Erzurum’s People Solidarity.” However, during the interviews, it is allegedly said that this association is mainly used for playing cards and gambling and it was closed by police a few times but it was reopened by giving bribe to the authorities. This place is located across the

school and it seems that a lot of money was spent for the construction of the building in comparison with the other buildings in the neighborhood.

There are a few grocery shops mainly located very close to the central points in the neighborhood.

There are 112 houses located in the Çandarlı squatter area. However, officials from the health station informed us that the number of people living in these houses changes a great deal because the neighborhood often takes in migration from the Central Anatolia on a continuous basis and some of them might leave the neighborhood after a short while even without being recorded by the chief of the neighborhood. Officials also stated that there could be gypsies in this group of people.

The neighborhood's population increased because of the movement of people from rural agricultural pursuits to urban jobs. This flow was mostly following a path from Central Anatolia and East Anatolia to this area.

All people living in the neighborhood, with the exception of Tebers⁵ publicly identify themselves as Sunni Muslims of the Hanafite Sect which proves the fact that religion acts as another leveling force. Sunni Turks are the most numerous people in the neighborhood. There are different groups living in this area. According to SIS data⁶ (2003), political portrait of Altındağ shows that the majority in the 1999 Local Elections voted for '*Fazilet Partisi – The Virtue Party*' whose inclination is very close to the conservative Sunni-Islam pattern.

4.2. The Sample and Sampling Procedure

I used purposive and snowball sampling techniques. The advantage of purposive sampling is that the researcher could use his or her research skill and predetermine specifications in choosing the respondents (Bailey, 1987). In line with my main focus on this study, I chose purposive sampling as I planned to implement

⁵ Tebers are Alevi Turcoman and they are mostly called as "Abdallar, Abdal, Aptal, Carcar, Tenceli, Fakçılar, Beğdili". They speak Turkish but some of them also use another language. They are mostly dispersed to different regions in Anatolia like Bolu, Eskişehir, Denizli, Ankara, Konya, Antalya, Adana, Gaziantep, Nevşehir, Kayseri, Sivas, Tokat, Yozgat, Sinop and Çorum.

⁶ Source: www.die.gov.tr

my questionnaire to women and their daughters living in the same household. Additionally, I also used snowball sampling in order to reach respondents and capture different experiences of different people living in poverty. Through the use of purposive sampling, I identified and interviewed people who had these characteristics. For this reason, I developed some poverty indicators which are already defined by my theoretical framework. Then, in the selection process of the households, snowball sampling technique was employed; it is discussed in the previous section. But for the integrity of this section, it will be beneficial to examine the household selection criteria here. In regard with the formation of poverty indicators, I mostly benefited from Lloyd's "Third World Proletariat".

Households were chosen according to the following criteria; 'The household should have migrated to Ankara and 'Adult members of the household should have limited access to the labour market (employment in the informal labour market with low skilled and low paid jobs)' and 'Household should be the place where a daughter who is older than 11 years old is living with her mother within the same place'.

Both women and their daughters who were living in the same household were interviewed in order to focus on the experiences concerning with poverty of both women and their daughters synchronized in the same environment.

There were 112 households located in the Çandarlı squatter area; among them I interviewed 30 women between the ages of 32 and 68 and their daughters between the ages of 12⁷ and 24. Daughters were all living in the same household and they were all single except two daughters who were married.

4.3. The Process of Interviewing and Personal Experiences During the Research

In accordance with the requirements of the qualitative research methodology, I used in-depth interviewing and participant observation in data collection. Two different questionnaires⁸ were prepared for women and their daughters. However,

⁷ 12 is the beginning of the adolescent age for the girls however some also accept the age of 10 for the daughters. Therefore, age 12 is taken as the minimum for interviewing with a daughter.

⁸ While developing my questionnaire guide, I have benefited from the form used in the qualitative research on socioeconomic status by Veri Arastirma Research Firm. (Kalaycıoğlu, S.,Kardam,F., Tüzün, S.and Ulusoy, M.,

some of the questions such as those related with the family income were only applicable to women while some were only applicable to daughters. The questionnaire was composed of 11 different sections including about 5-10 questions in each section. The first section was about the demographic information, the second one was about the marriage history, and the third was about the respondent's approach to education and her educational profile. The fourth section was related with the respondent's approach to work and her employment profile (if applicable). The next one was about income, consumption, saving and expenditure habits, and the sixth section was about the questions related with the respondent's neighborhood. The seventh section was covering the questions about socioeconomic status while the next section was about social relations and the respondent's participation in social relations. The ninth section was about informal networks and section ten was covering the questions related with social class. The final section was addressing the political participation.

The interview was implemented in respondents' houses or gardens. During the implementation of the study, we were always two people and implemented the interviews with the mother and the daughters in the same horizontal axis. (We were always two people; me and my friend from the Department of Sociology, METU, who accompanied me during the interviews). While one of us was interviewing the respondent, the other was writing down the respondents' sentences in case the respondent might reject being tape recorded. (Except one of the respondents, nobody approved the use of the tape recorder during the interview.) If use of a tape recorder was allowed by the interviewee during the interview, one of us was interviewing with the woman, while the other one was interviewing with the daughter. Being a female interviewee was an advantage in establishing good communication with the respondents. We always put on ordinary clothing, such as trousers and t-shirts, in order to earn the confidence of the respondent and to be able to move comfortably during the interviews. Bailey claims that in the absence of personal information about a stranger, clothing gives the basic clue to his or her socioeconomic level, role and function (Bailey, 1987). On the other hand, the respondents also respected me and my friend due to our educational levels. This also provided an advantage for us

"Türkiye için bir Sosyo-ekonomik Statü Ölçütü Geliştirme Yönünde Yaklaşım ve Denemeler" in *Toplum ve Hekim*, Vol.13, Iss.2, March-April 1998, 126-137.)

in the implementation of an effective interview plan. During the interviews, we experienced some problems as well. For example, when I was interviewing, many other people (mostly the relatives in the same house and close neighbors) were also paying visits to know what was happening there. Due to those visits of relatives and neighbors, sometimes the respondent felt embarrassed. In such cases, we went to another place, such as another room or a distant point in the garden. Some of the respondents also asked me to add some important points in their questionnaire later on. I always explained that all the information and the names would be strictly kept confidential before starting each interview. After each interview, we reviewed our notes and reorganized them. However, during the interviews, some of them were very reluctant about answering my questions, but after a while they became familiar with me and my questions. Later, some of them requested to talk to me. On the other hand, some of them rejected to talk to me, and their excuses were mostly about their husbands. Before the start of each interview, we always explained the main purpose of my study. During the interviews, we were always respectful and listened to the respondent very carefully and patiently till the end of her conversation. We mostly tried to listen to their complaints and their problems related with their lives. During the interviews, some Kurdish women did not understand the questions and their children helped them to translate. Moreover, some of them were very reluctant or unable to answer the questions and suggested their children to answer their questions. For this reason, sometimes it was hard to build a communicative dialog. Some respondents (especially Kurdish women) left blank questions that they felt an invasion of privacy (questions about political participation, income level etc.) However, we were always patient and never insisted on their choices. After the completion of the interview, we continued to listen to their conversations and tried to discuss their problems.

4.3.1. Difficulties that were Experienced During the Research

We had some unexpected experiences and went through very hard times during the research. Very serious street fights took place a few times. Sometimes

guns were used with stones and sticks. Some people were severely wounded and injured during the fight. Another event that appeared during an interview was that we eye witnessed drug dealing in the neighborhood during the night time.

Furthermore, during this kind of research, expectations of people increase. Then, it could be hard to refuse them and we were supposed to meet some of those expectations because of playing role as a supporting agent. Hence, we helped some people. For example, we helped some families by providing information about the official procedures of applying for the green card and scholarship. We also provided some professional consultancy both in law and medicine by using our networks.

4.4. Discussion of the Findings

In order to analyze the interviews, some important steps were followed after the completion of each interview. Firstly, I rewrote my notes taken during the interview, then, the interview was fully transcribed. Then, short stories of daughters (both mothers and daughters) were written. Regarding these notes, some facts reflecting household members' socio-economic conditions were also given. Subsequent to these steps, some questions were developed as important criteria for the discussion of our findings, the followings:

- 1) Why are women's experiences related with poverty different than their daughters?
- 2) Are there any chances for daughters' lives being better than their mothers' lives? Where does it lie? Which factor/factors are effective in daughter's experiences related to poverty? How are experiences transferred to them? Which behavior patterns do they develop?
- 3) Which factors in their lives have made them poor? Which women are poorer than others?
- 4) Are there any differences in the strategies of women in terms of their struggle against poverty? How do they differ in terms of evaluating their position and the conditions of poverty they live in? How do such differences affect what they do against poverty?

- 5) Are there any women who are also transforming themselves when they fight with poverty?

During the analyses, pseudo-names were allocated to each respondent. Then, women's and daughters' ages, also their educational levels were taken as the main criteria in order to compare them like Hatice (35,LS). (In this example, Hatice was showing the pseudo-name of the respondent, 35 was corresponding to her age where the code of "LS" was related with her educational level). The way of the allocations of educational levels and their explanations might be seen in the following chapters.

CHAPTER V

HOW WOMEN EXPERIENCE POVERTY

5.1. Socioeconomic Characteristics

Regarding women, most of them migrated from different places of Central Anatolia and Eastern Anatolia because of marriage or some familial reasons. Their ages varied changing between 32 and 68. Except two women whose husbands were not living with them, all of the women were living with their families within the same household. Furthermore, one of the women was living with her husband in the same household with the children despite the fact that they had already divorced. The household structure was either extended family type or nuclear family type. However, extended family type was more common among the families migrated from Eastern Anatolia. Women had three children in average, and the maximum number of the children was 7 and the minimum number of children was 2. Number of people living in the same household was 6 on average and this number was changing between 3 and 10 people.

Regarding social security, most of the women benefited from the green card services. The average daily household income was 14 million T.L. and this was fluctuating between 2,5 and 27 million T.L. (Maximum income was provided by the husbands who were civil servants.) However one of the households did not have any income and another household's daily income was almost very close to 0. In these two households, women were left by their husbands because of another woman. A few of the households have been still supported by the village in terms of providing food aid. Moreover, more than half of the household have been using the benefits of some aids like food, charcoal, bread and scholarship for the students.

Moreover, women's educational capital, more than half of the women have never attended to school. Only one of the women graduated from the high school. Other women have either finished primary school or left from the primary school. However, numbers of illiterate husbands were less than the number of illiterate wives. Most of the husbands have either finished primary school or left from the primary school.

In regard with a training program that was attended after the school life, only 5 of the women attended to the reading-writing courses, 1 of them attended to Quran course and another one attended to the embroidery course that was organized in their neighborhood. However, only two of the husbands of these women attended to a training program after their school lives (This was reading-writing courses).

Most of the women were housewives. Only two of the daughters had a regular job outside the household. These jobs were related with the service sector like cleaning or babysitting. Moreover, another woman was also going to houses for cleaning irregularly. Others were mostly making handcrafts and embroidery in their houses and selling them in order to support the household budget. Regarding husbands, they were mostly working for the low quality and low waged jobs. Sometimes, son was also going for working outside the home in order to support the household budget.

Regarding ownership of the household, most of the houses were rent and the others were mostly bought by debt that was provided by close relatives in the past years. (However, there were some exceptional cases, for example, one of the houses was bought by the blood money which was paid for the child already died in a traffic accident and another house was bought by the compensation fee that was paid to the husband when he was fired).

Furthermore the debts of the households, most of the debts are caused by the interest of payment for unofficial usage of electric and water expenses. Some of the debts also caused by the installment payments of furniture bought for the house. Detailed information related with the information provided in this section could be followed by the relevant tables presented in the following pages.

TABLE 5.1. Profiles of Households as Reported by Women – I

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Name of Women	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Date of Migrtn	Reason of Migrtn to the N.hood	Number of People in Household	Age and Sex of Children	Husband Alive ?	Social Security	Appr. Income of Household (Million TL/day)	Is there any support or aid from village	Is there any support or aid from governmental or nongovernmental orgs
Husriye	1965	Erzurum-Tekman	1980	1	5	21s,13s,14s,17d	Yes	Green Card	15	No	No
Selime	1968	Erzurum-Tekman	1978	2	6	16s,12s,5s,1d	Yes	Green Card	25	No	No
Ashl	1962	Ordu-Fatsa	1987	3	4	17s,3s,15d	Yes	No	15	No	Food and coal aid
Seçil	1960	Kırıkkale-Büyükyazğh	1984	1	4	15s, 18d	Yes	SII	10	No	No
Nilgün	1941	Çorum-Sungurlu	1980	2	3	19s,22d,24d,13d	Yes	SII	25	No	No
Ece	1962	Aksaray-Ortaköy	2003	4	5	6s,15d,13d,10d,5d	Separated	No	No income	No	No
Deniz	1963	Çorum	1982	1	4	21s,18d,20d	Yes	Green Card	10	No	Student scholarship
Mercan	1959	Ankara	1981	1	5	19s,17d,22d	Yes	Retirement Fund	24	No	No
Derya	1970	Çorum	1986	1	6	14s,0d,3d,13d	Yes	Green Card	15	Food/year	Food,coal,scholarship
Burçin	1960	Erzurum-Karayaz	1980	1	8	23,18s,17s,14s,20d	Yes	Green Card	25	Food/year	No
Saliha	1958	Ankara-Haymana	1980	1	6	17s,23d,20d	Separated	Retirement Fund	2,5	No	No
Durdü	1960	Çorum	1980	2	8	25s,21s,10d,25d	Yes	Retirement Fund	27	Food/year	No
Remziye	1936	Erzurum-Karayaz	1980	2	6	32s,27s,40d,38d,25d,23d	No	SII	17	No	Coal aid
Ashlhan	1972	Erzurum-Çavuşköy	1989	1	6	13s,10s,14d,8d	Yes	SII	12	No	Food and coal aid
Neriman	1939	Çankırı-Kurşunlu	1971	1	3	33s,38s,35d,39d	Yes	SII	12,5	No	Coal aid
Elif	1948	Kastamonu	1960	5	3	19s,16d	No	SII	8,5	No	Food and coal aid
Ajda	1963	Ordu-Kumru	1991	6	4	16s,15d,20d	Yes	Green Card	24	-ii	Food and coal aid
Yeliz	1961	Nevşehir-Ürgüp	1970	6	5	23s,9s,20d	Yes	Green Card	8,5	No	Food and coal aid
Zarife	1965	Yozgat	1995	6	7	20s,18s,15s,14d	Yes	Green Card	5	No	Food,coal,financial
Helin	1956	Kars-Kağzman	1994	7	10	25s,16s,8s,15d,14d,13d,6d	Yes	Green Card	10	No	Food and coal aid
Afişe	1958	Erzurum-Karayaz	1977	1	10	24s,18s,16s,22d,20d,14d,13d	Yes	Green Card	24	Food/year	Food,coal,scholarship
Nil	1967	Ankara-Keskin	1970	6	4	9s,17d	Yes	SII	14	Food/year	Coal aid
Ebru	1959	Çankırı-Çetvez-Saçak	1984	1	5	18d,16d,15d	Yes	SII	14	No	Food,coal,scholarship
Dilan	1972	Ankara-Incirdi	2001	1	6	6s,17d,12d,14s	-i-	Green Card	8,5	No	Food,coal and bread
Esin	1970	Yozgat-Songun-Araçlı	1981	8	5	20s,14d,8d	Yes	Green Card	14	Food/year	Coal aid
Betül	1964	Çankırı	1970	9	7	22s,18s,6s,16d,13d	Yes	Green Card	14	No	No
Sati	1966	Ankara-Yanıdoğan	1980	1	8	18s,11s,21d,17d,12d	Yes	No	8,5	No	No
Keriman	1968	Ankara-Haymana	1990	2	8	14s,16d,4d	Yes	No	10	Food/year	Food,coal,scholarship
Günhan	1972	Aksaray-Ortaköy	1991	2	7	13s,6s,17d	Yes	No	14	Food/year	Food,coal,scholarship
Esmâ	1972	Erzurum-Karayaz	1990	1	8	2s,13d,9d,7d	Yes	Green Card	10	Food/year	Food,coal,scholarship

TABLE 5.2. Profiles of Households as Reported by Women – II

M	Name of Women	N		O		P		Q		R	S	T			
		Educational Status		Is there any training program after school		Is there any training program after school		Occupational Status				Others supporting income of the household		Ownership of the house	
		Woman	Husband	Woman	Husband	Woman	Husband	Woman	Husband	Son			dead children	abortion	
	Hüsnüye	I	I	R	R	H	M	N/A	N/A	Rent	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Selime	I	I	N/A	R	H	M	N/A	N/A	Rent	75	2	1	1	
	Ash	I	P	N/A	N/A	H	C	C		Rent	N/A	1	3	3	
	Seçil	LP	I	N/A	N/A	T	U	N/A		Bought 10 yrs. ago	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	
	Nilgün	I	P	N/A	N/A	HR	W	W		Rent	45	N/A	2	2	
	Ece	I	P	N/A	N/A	H	S	N/A		Rent (1)	N/A	N/A	2	2	
	Deniz	I	P	N/A	N/A	HC,HR	B	N/A		Bought 4 yrs. ago	150	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Mercan	P	P	N/A	N/A	HR	R	N		Bought 4 mth. ago	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Derya	P	P	N/A	N/A	H	W	N/A		Rent	10	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Burçin	I	I	N/A	N/A	H	M	M		Bought 23 yrs. ago	100	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Saliha	P	P	N/A	N/A	H	S	N/A		Bought many years ago	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Durdu	I	P	R	N/A	H	G	N/A		Bought 10 yrs. ago	200	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Rençayre	I	P	R	N/A	H	D	M		Bought many years ago	N/A	2	4	4	
	Ashhan	I	P	N/A	N/A	H	M	N/A		Rent	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Neriman	I	P	N/A	N/A	H	R	N/A		Bought a few yrs. ago	100	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Elif	I	P	R	N/A	H	D	N/A		Bought many years ago	N/A	2			
	Ajda	LP	LP	Q	N/A	H	C	TD		Rent	N/A	3	2	2	
	Yeliz	P	P	N/A	N/A	H	O	N/A		Rent	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Zarife	P	LP	H	N/A	HR	U	N/A		Rent	N/A	1	5	5	
	Helin	I	I	N/A	N/A	H	M	M		Rent	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Afife	I	P	N/A	N/A	H	U	Z		Rent	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Nil	P	P	N/A	N/A	H	T	N/A		Rent	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Ebru	P	P	N/A	N/A	H	L	N/A		Rent	40	N/A	1	1	
	Dilan	H	P	N/A	N/A	H	U	N/A		Bought a few yrs. ago	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	
	Esun	I	P	N/A	N/A	HC	Z	N/A		Rent	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Betül	I	I	R	N/A	HT	Z	N/A		Bought 15 yrs. ago	100	1	7	7	
	Satu	LP	LP	N/A	N/A	HT	U	P		Rent	N/A	1	1	1	
	Keriman	I	P	N/A	N/A	H	M	N/A		Rent	N/A	1	1	1	
	Gürhan	I	I	N/A	N/A	H	C	N/A		Rent	N/A	N/A	N/A	7	
	Esmâ	P	P	N/A	N/A	H	M	N/A		Bought 10 yrs. ago	N/A	1	3	3	

TABLE 5.3. Explanations of Table 5.1

EXPLANATIONS FOR COLUMN E

- 1: For marriage
- 2: For finding a job for the husband
- 3: For the treatment of her son's serious illness
- 4: In order to follow the husband who left home and migrated to Ankara with another woman.
- 5: She migrated to Ankara because her employer migrated to Ankara
- 6: She migrated to Ankara because of familial reasons.
- 7: She migrated to Ankara because of terrorism.
- 8: She migrated to Ankara to help her brother (who migrated because of attending to the university) for house works.
- 9: She migrated to Ankara because of blood feud between the families

EXPLANATIONS FOR COLUMN G

- S: SON
D: DAUGHTER
SD: STEP DAUGHTER
SS: STEP SON

NOTES:

- i: She married to her husband and they divorced. Now, she lives with him without official marriage.
- ii: Once in a year, she goes to fieldwork with her family so she provides and brings food back home.

TABLE 5.4. Explanations of Table 5.2

<p>CODES FOR EDUCATIONAL STATUS</p> <p>I:Illiterate LP:Left Primary School P:Primary School H:High School FS: Secondary School U:University LS: Left From Secondary School LH: Left From High School US:University Student SS:Student at Secondary School SL:Student at the High School</p> <p>CODES FOR OCCUPATIONAL STATUS</p> <p>H:Housewife HR:Housewife, also making embroidery at home and selling them HC:Housewife, sometimes goes to houses for cleaning and childcare HT:Goes out for selling some trousseau items M:Working for open air market N:Sells illegally copied books on the streets C:Construction Worker T:Works for a cleaning firm TD:Taxi Driver U:Unemployed W:Working as a waiter S:Lives separately B:Works in a bakery R:Retired G:Has a grocery D:Dead O:Office Boy P:Collecting paper L:Working as a waiter Z:Temporary worker N/A:Not Applicable</p> <p>CODES FOR TRAINING PROGRAMS ATTENDED AFTER THE SCHOOL</p> <p>R:Reading and writing courses Q:Quran courses H:Training program related with the handcrafts</p> <p>NOTE FOR COLUMN R: All of bought houses have been already registered on someone except the woman and all the rent houses belong to the relatives and rents are not mostly paid regularly.</p> <p>NOTE FOR COLUMN S: All of the debts are caused by the expenses of household furnitures or for the dressing</p>

5.2. Migration Histories

Migration is a move which takes people to a new community and thus leaves them in a position face to face with adaptation problems again; and that this new migrant is a migrant who migrates outside a residence or labour market of certain size and also that s/he enters a new community leaving a certain community requires establishing new social relations and creates various adaptation problems (Tekeli, 1997). If Turkey has been analyzed with this respect, it could be easily seen that Turkish society has experienced a complex migration process from rural to urban area because of some important economic transformations in agriculture since 1950 and regarding economic transformations in those days, mechanization was introduced in agricultural projects and this replaced labor. Then, most of the people were supposed to leave their land and migrate to urban area because of poverty in order to find new jobs for earning their subsistence (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2000).

However, Tekeli (1997) claims that migration comes into scene as an important problem in periods or communities where rural population flows into the cities having been disintegrated. In this direction, he adds that rural population comes to the cities, that it offers its labour and even that it finds a job are not sufficient for its adaptation; and then he states that it is necessary for the migrant to have a cultural transformation, to assimilate urban life patterns and to use the urban opportunities; and he talks about this necessity as a phenomenon which cannot be realized in a short time, and the problems such as the problem of not being urbanized, dual city structure, cities which cannot be united, poverty, all of which come into scene during the process of migration or after it. Shortly, migration is a phenomenon which requires becoming adjusted to new life conditions and above all clinging to it. That s/he cannot achieve this process brings poverty and alienation together. On the other hand, when the phenomenon of migration is analyzed in detail on the basis of individual, differently from the basis of household, it can be emphasized that women have to migrate as being dependent on others as a result of necessities, with reasons different from men's, and as a result of this, the problems women have while becoming adjusted to a new life in city have dimensions different from the men's. In this direction, Gökçe et.al., (1993) claim that the reasons of the migration from rural

to urban area are determined to be marriage or events related with the husband and men's are due to finding jobs in general.

After migrating to the city, migrant women do not have an access to the urban labor market because of her husband's, her family's and/or her social environment's disapproval and after the migration women mostly stay at home for carrying out her domestic responsibilities in the domestic sphere (Kalaycıoğlu, 2003). A woman who works in the field together with domestic works, and raises livestock together with domestic responsibilities before migration goes on to have domestic responsibilities in city even if she gives up the responsibilities of working in the field and raising livestock after migration, and also she is left in a position face to face with problems such as becoming adjusted to her new environment and having new networks. On the other hand, since this house the woman is staying at is a house which is also used for welcoming her relatives in the rural area as well, the domestic responsibilities of woman don't decrease and they even increase after she comes to city.

Ece (41,I): "...Biz herifin peşinden bi 6 ay oldu buraya geldik. Bi kadının peşine gitti, baktım olacak gibi değil, ben de çoluğu çocuğu toparladım geldim. Kimseyi tanımam, bi görüncem vardı o da olmasa napardık. Şuraya geldiğimizden beri biri başını uzatıp ta halin nedir diye sormadı, kimse zaten bizle görüşmez nedendir onu da anlamamışım. Pek zormuş yol bilmem iz bilmem, halim nice olur valla bilmem..."

Ece (41,I): "...We came here 6 months ago following my husband. He followed a woman; I understood it couldn't go on in this way and I came here with my children. I don't know anybody; I have only a sister-in-law; if I didn't know her what would I do? Since we came here nobody has asked how we are; I don't understand why nobody wants to see us. It is very difficult for me as I don't know anything; I don't know what my situation will be..."

Helin (47,I): "...Köydeyken derdimiz ayrıydı, şimdi daha başkadır. Orda koyun işi pek çoktur, ineğe git, çocuklara bak, boğaz doyur, tarla tapan, bak hastalık sahibi oldum bi gün yüzü de göremedim, şehre geldik, başka dert. Daha buralara yeni geldiydik, kan davasından oğlanı vurdular, sorma işte çoktur bizim derdimiz, ne yapacağımızı bilemedik, hastalandım yatağa düştüm. ... Bura yol geçen hanıdır, akrabadan, yolu düşen, herkez gelir biz kendimizi zor doyururuz, bi de onlara bak, doyur. Valla çok olmuştur, kendim yemeyip, onlar misafir diye kendim aç kaldığım. Bak simdi de kaynımın oğlu bizle kalır, benim derdim bi değil, pek çok..."

Helin (47,I): "...When we were in the village, our problem was different; now it is different. In the village there is a lot of work such as raising livestock, raising children, cooking, working in the field. Look! I have an illness; I haven't seen better days. We came to city, and it is a different problem. When we just came here, my son was shot because of a blood feud. We have many problems. We couldn't know what to do. I was laid up... Here is like a caravansary. We have difficulty in allaying our hunger because of relatives who come here. There were many times when I was hungry as I tried to feed them. Now the son of my brother-in-law is staying with us. I don't have just one problem; I have many problems..."

In this frame it can be said shortly that women (mostly brides and unmarried daughters) are allocated to some duties like cooking, taking care of children and elder people, cleaning for the survival of the household. These burdens of a woman then, when daughters grow up and younger brides join into the family, intensivity of woman's burden decreases because of sharing this burden. However, it is common that elder son's wife is mostly responsible from taking care of parents in law. Nevertheless, she does not have any power related with decision making. This authority mostly belongs to the eldest male member of the family, then mother in law.

Deniz (40,I): "...Ben ilk evlendiğimde, buraya gelin geldim yukarda kayın, kaynana, kayınpederle oturdum...Sen hizmetçisin, neye laf edeceksin ki. Sabah kalk yemek, akşam yat bulaşık, aha benim ömrüm böyle geçti, laf edince de yersin dayağı...Büyük elim daha sonradan evlenip o da bizim yanımıza geldi de. Bak ne yalan söyleyim, hakkını yiyim, o bana çok yardım ederdi..... onun dışında hergün bok yıka sidik temizle..."

Deniz (40,I): "...When I just got married, I married into this family and I lived together with my mother-in-law, father-in-law and sister-in-law... You are a maidservant; you cannot say a word. Get up in the morning, cook, wash the dishes, and go to bed at nights... I spent my life in this way... If you say a word you get a beating...My elder sister-in-law came to live with us afterwards. I can't tell a lie; I cannot be unjust because she was very helpful..... Besides these responsibilities, wash the faces and clean the urine every day..."

In line with these arguments, our findings supported this idea and it is found out that women are mostly dependent on her family in the migration process. In my research, almost all the migrants have migrated from either Central or Eastern

Anatolia. Apart from them, some of them have migrated from the districts of Ankara and Black Sea Region. However, one of the most important findings in my work was that the last migrants to the city were the poorest ones when compared to others. Its reason is, as I have stated above, the difficulty in becoming adjusted to the new environment and this can become mortal when the networks of kinship weakens.

On the other hand, the reasons for the fact of migration relate to women mostly due to the familial reasons. The causes of women's migration can be grouped as the marriage based and the migration of her parents or husband based, which mostly targets the aim of finding a job. Migration process is an ongoing process. At first, a male member of the family (mostly the eldest or husband) is sent to city in order to make necessary arrangements for both migration and settle down of the rest of the family in the city. Relatives or acquaintances who already migrated to and currently living in the city provide the connection between the family who stayed in the village and the member of the family who migrated to city for necessary arrangements. Connecting point in the city provides the necessary network for finding a job or solving problems related with the housing. After the necessary arrangements in the city, rest of the family also moves to the city. Regarding housing problems, generally houses of relatives or acquaintances are temporarily used for the purpose of accommodation till finding another suitable place. Regarding this, most of the women stated that at the beginning of their marriages, after the migration to the city they lived in a form of extended family because they were strangers in this new place. After a while, recently migrated family moves to another place in the same neighborhood. However, moving to another place could take so much time because getting familiar with the new environment takes much time and resources could not be sufficient for survival in a new place. After deciding to move to a new house by the male members of the family, usually, a new house (in a form of gecekodu) is rent in the same neighborhood.

Remziye (67,I): "...Ankara'ya 24 yıl önce geldim. Bütün akrabalar bir bir köyü terkedyolardı, o arada kaynım buraya geldi, öbür akrabalar ona yardım etti, iş buldular, sonra da biz gelip onun tuttuğu eve yerleştik. Önce Kartallar'daydık, sonra biz işte buraya taşındık, adam iş buldu , bi düzenimizi kurduk sonra da buraya geldik..."

Remziye (67,I): "... I came to Ankara 24 years ago. All of our relatives were leaving the village one by one; and my brother-in-law came here; other relatives helped him; he found a job; and then we came and began to live in his house. Firstly we were in Kartallar; and then we moved here; my husband found a job. We put everything in order and then we moved here..."

Regarding the causes of migration, in my study there were some exceptional cases other than the reasons which have been already mentioned in the previous paragraphs. In one of these cases the migration reason was arisen from health reasons (they migrated to Ankara because their son was ill and firstly they brought him to the doctor in Ankara, then found a home and a job, finally settled down here) while in the other case the migration is due to the migration of her employer whom she was living together.

Aslı (41,I): "...17 yıl önce geldim Ankara'ya. Kayınlarım burada yaşıyordu, Allah razı olsun onlar da kalıyoduk. Oğlum hastaydı, onu doktora diye çok gidip geliyoduk. Sonra baktık, olacak gibi değil, buna para mı yeter, geldik bi ev tuttuk, sonra da bizim iş bulmamıza yardım ettiler, gelip, yerleştik..."

Aslı (41,I): "...I came to Ankara 17 years ago. My brother-in-laws were living here. I thank them, we were staying with them. My son was ill; we often went to doctor for him. Then we realized that our money wasn't sufficient for it; and so we rented a house. They helped us to find a job; we came and began to live here..."

Elif (55,I): "...40 sene önce bir kadının yanında çalışıyordum. Kedisine köpeğine bakıyordum, yanında kalıyordum. Beni çok erken yaşta birine verdiler. Bende evden kaçtım gittim, o kadına sığındıydım. Sonra, kadın Ankara'ya gelince bende geldim. Köyde kardeşlerim var. Üveyley. Sağlamken bakmıyorlar, şimdi niye baksınlar. Köyü ne yapayım ben..."

Elif (55,I): "...40 years ago I was working as a maid for a woman. I was looking after her cat and dog. My family tried to make me marry when I was very young. So I went away from our house and took a shelter in her house. Then she moved to Ankara and I came with her. My brothers are in the village. They didn't look after me when I was healthy; why do they look after me now? What do I do in the village?..."

The final case is because of the disloyalty of the husband. According to this case, women migrated to Ankara with her children by her own decision which was

also supported by her sister in law living in Ankara. Another interesting case was related with a woman who migrated from the eastern part of Anatolia because of terrorism. Although she went back to her village, she had to come back to Ankara because of ongoing terrorism in the area. These cases have been already mentioned in the previous paragraphs. On the other hand, another woman was sent to Ankara at her very early age because of helping for the houseworks of her brother studying at the university.

Esin (33,I): ...Ben 1970 Yozgat-Sorgun doğumluyum. 11 yaşımıdaydım, annem üniversiteyi kazanan abime bakayım diye zorla buraya gönderdi. Ondan beri Ankara'da yaşıyorum. Çok küçüktüm anneme karşı koyamadım, babam da yeni oldu. İşte öyle de ömür geçti, gitti..."

Esin (33,I): "...I was born in Yozgat-Sorgun. When I was 11, my mother made me come here to look after my brother who won the university exam. Since then I have been living in Ankara. I was very young and I couldn't resist my mother; also my father had just died. Then, I have spent my life in this way..."

Regarding ties with the rural area, if migration dates back earlier, ties with the rural are getting weaker or totally lost. All of the respondents state that their network with their villages are either collapsed or keeps on decreasing over time.

Remziye (67,I): "...24 yıl olmuştur, tabi özleriz ama doğduğun değil, doyduğun demişler, artık gidemeyiz, bi de buraya artık alışmışız, biz oralarda naporız bilinmez, zaten bugün gitsen çalacak kapın da yoktur..."

Remziye (67,I): "...It was 24 years ago, we, of course miss but not the place that you were born, the place where you make your stomach full, we can not go back anymore, and also we got used to here, it is not clear that what we can do overthere, if you go there today, there is noone's to door left to knock on..."

The respondents who report a still somehow ongoing network with their villages state that from time to time they receive some food items from their villages. Moreover, some of them still long for their home villages. Although this group longs for the village, most of the women in this group never want to go back to the village

due to the intensivity of their domestic burdens there whereas other women state that they neither long for nor wish to go back to their villages.

Neriman (64,I): "...1962'den bu yanna burdayım. Tabii oraları çok özlerim ama oraya bak git desen gidemem, alıştık biz bu pislik, bok kokusuna, yok olmaz artık... Ama keşke hiç gelmeseydim hep oralarda olsaydım, ah ah sorma..."

Neriman (64,I): "...We have been here since 1962. Of course I miss that places but if you ask me to go there, I can not go, we got used to smell this dirt and shit, it is not possible anymore...But, I wish I had never come and I would have stayed in those places, oh don't talk about it anymore..."

However, women who already migrated to urban area are still exposed to burden and only the type or level of this burden changes in the city in accordance with the new requirements of the new environment.

Derya (33,P): "...1986 da göç ettim. Hala oradan yardım ne bissürü şeyler gelir. Her yaz çocuklar gidip, gelir. Ama o kadar. Koyun işi pek çoktur, valla bi de hayvana, tarlaya, tapana git, hiç te dönmek istemem. Burda sanki iş yok mu, burda da başka türlü ama napacaksın, mecbursun..."

Derya (33,P): "...I migrated in 1986. They still send many things to me. Every summer my children go to village; but that's all. There is a lot of work in the village such as working in field. I don't want to go back. We can work here; it is different but what can we do; we have to..."

5.3. Marriage Relations

Marriage is an important source of stress and level of this stress increases when financial conditions worsen. This also affects the relations between members of the family in a negative form. According to Conger and Conger marital quality and the stability are affected by the economic problems which is an important source of pressure as a chronic stressor.

Afife (45,I): "...Yokluk yüzünden birbirimizi yiyoduk, çalışmıyodu, kavga ediyoduk, beni dövüyodu, 15-20 gün, 1 ay küs kalıyoduk. Aldırmıyodu, gidiyo, yine iş bulamadan geliyodu, nolacak onca boğaz nereden doycak, ya üstleri başları..."

Afife (45,I): "...We drove each other to destruction as he didn't have a job. We had quarrels. I got a beating. We were put out with each other for 15-20 days and even 1 month. He didn't mind anything; he went to find a job but he didn't find. What would happen? Who would allay our hunger?..."

Nilgün (62,I): "...Aramızda tartışma olur tabii, herifin dövmesi ama yoktur.Evin derdi biter mi, hiç bitmez, bi yandan çoluk çocuk, bi yandan da maddi sıkıntı, bi yandan da herifi güdersin, of, of..."

Nilgün (62,I): "...Of course, we have a discussion. But he doesn't beat me. There are a lot of problems at home. My children, money, I also shepherd my husband... Of, of..."

Furthermore, patriarchal authority becomes another important source of stress. As a result, women are being exposed to the pressure of these stressors. On the other side, buffering roles of women as being mothers (Kiray, 1976) should be also taken into consideration as well as the other stress sources.

Deniz (40,I): "...Nolcak, bizim kavgamız hep yokluktan çıkardı, bi de anası doldurur benim üstüme salardı. Saçımı süpürge ettim, o kaynanam olacak kadını ayaklarına kadar yıkardım, ama yine nafile hora geçmezdim. Yok yemeğin tuzu eksik, yok bu çok geziyo, hem onlardan dayak yerdim, hem de kocadan yerdim. Çok çektim, bi de küçük yaşta evlenmişin, nereye karşı gelece de pek zor. Bi de çocuklar oldu, nereye bırakıpta gidecen. Her yük benim üstümdeydi. Bu bebeler durmazlar, ben dayak yerdim. İşte böyledir benim hikayem..."

Deniz (40,I): "...Our quarrels always resulted from poverty. Also his mother turned him against me. I worked hard to serve and please them; I washed even her feet; but it was no use! They said "the meal lacked salt, you went out very often, etc" and I got beating both from them and my husband. I suffered very much; also I got married when I was very young. Then I gave birth to my children; where could I go leave them behind? I took on every task at home. My children behaved naughtily but I got a beating. This is my story..."

On the other hand, when women don't have an opportunity to go out and work, they don't also have any power to make the existing conditions be to their own advantages. Therefore, together with increasing poverty, the field of activity of women is becoming narrow and as they don't want the relation networks which can give them power their life conditions are becoming more difficult. On the other hand, the same conditions of deprivation affect not only women but also men, and it also

hinders the men's role to provide the cost of living and this situation becomes a source of stress; and it affects the family relations in a negative way seriously (Bora, 2002). The next step is that preferences and choices of the next generation are also highly affected by the relations within the family.

Esin (33,I): "...Ben ananın ilk, babamınsa üçüncü evliliğinin en büyük çocuğuyum. 11 yaşında beni Ankara'ya abime hizmetçilik yapayım diye gönderdiler. Sonra abimin kayınbiraderi ile evlenip burada kaldım. Evlendiğimde 13-14 yaşlarındaydım. Onunla bi arada büyüdüyduk, biz istedik, karar verdik, istiyoz deyince verdiler. Söz kesince önce dini nikah sonra resmi, o da düğünden önce yapıldı. Biz çok kavga ederdik, alkol yüzünden kavga çıkardı,oğlanı nasıl döverdi ben de araya girerdim. O sıra ben de yerdim dayağı. İşi olmadığı zamanda pek çok kavga olurdu, birbirimizi yerdik. Ben kafamda kırılrsa, arada huzursuzluk olmasın diye bi saat bile küs duramazdım. Çünkü çocuklar vardı. Boşanmayı istedim ama cocukları nereye bırakacaksın.... Yaşım da küçüktü pek gençtim. Ne yapılır, kime gidilir bilmezdim ki... Ama ne zaman kendi paramı kazanmaya başladım, daha güçlü hissettim kendimi, sonra neden bilmem herifte el kaldırmaz oldu..."

Esin (33,I): "...I am the eldest child of my mother's first and my father's third marriages. At the age of 11 they sent me to Ankara to work as a maid for my brother. Then I got married with my brother's brother-in-law and began to live here. When I got married I was 13-14. We had grown up together; we asked for each other in marriage; we decided and they approved. When my family agreed to give me in marriage we had a religious wedding firstly and then official wedding. We used to have quarrels very often; these quarrels were usually because of alcohol. When he beat my son, I tried to reconcile them. Then I got a beating as well. When he was unemployed, we had a lot of discussions and we drove each other to distruction. Even if my head was broken, I couldn't be put out with him even for an hour as I didn't want any lack of peace. Because there were children. I wanted to divorce but where could I leave my children? I was also very young. I didn't know what to do and where to go... However when I began to earn my own money, I felt more powerful; and then I didn't understand its reason but my husband began not to raise his hand against me..."

The most important point we met during our research was that marriages were held through the agency of a matchmaker or without the approval of the families. Also the marriages with relatives were widespread very much. Almost all the interviewees saw their marriages as unhappy marriages and stated that if they had had capacity of reasoning they wouldn't have married again. On the other hand, they said that marriage was a necessity and people had to get married according to customs and traditions. Here a conflict was under consideration. Additionally,

women who got married by running away from their houses, they would not run away from their parent's home to get married, i.e. they would not get married with their dates unless getting their parents' approvals. Here the most important point which must be emphasized that especially when the new family was excluded by their families, it got poorer. However, together with the approval of the families in time the family networks could become active again. On the other hand, when they are asked the reasons of their discussions at home they stated that they usually resulted from poverty. The most important aspect we met here was that the more difficulties a woman had in her childhood (in financial and moral senses) and the more loveless environment she had, the more unluckiness she could have in her marriage and she could become unhappy. For example, after she talked about her childhood in misery Elif (55,I) said that she saw the marriage as an escape but what she experienced later on in her marriage showed that this wasn't true:

Elif (55,I): "...Annemle babam ben küçükken ayrılmış. Babam annemden sonra 3 kez evlenmiş, annemde 5 kocaya varmış. Beni amcamın karısı büyüttü. Çok döverdi. Ben evlenmeden önce bir kere nişanlandım, köy yerindeydi. 2.5 milyon lira para verdiler. Beni kuma alacaklardı, ailemde beni verdi ama evlenmeden kaçtı köyden. Bende kaçtım. Bir ailenin yanında beslemelik yaptım. Yazın sığır güder, kışın ev işi yapardım. Onlar da çok döverdi beni. Annem 40 yaşında babam 60 yaşında hastalıktan ölmüşler. Babam davar güderdi, rençberlik yapardı, dağdan odun kesip eşeklerle satardı. Annemde köyde odun satardı. Beni 4-5 yaşındayken bıraktı. Yalnız kaldığı için kötü yola düştü...1 kere evlendim, şimdi dulum. Ben 17 yaşındaydım, o da 23 yaşındaydı. Bir kadın aracı oldu, öyle evlendik. Gençlik parkında garsonluk yapıyordu. Dünyalar benim olduydu, sandım, herşey tamamen değişecek. Hem dini hem resmi nikah oldu. Şimdiki kocamın aklıktan nefesi kokuyordu. Ne para verdi, ne takı taktı. Zaten ailem benle ilgilenmiyordu. İçip içip beni döverdi. Kadına giderdi. Çaresizdim. Çocukları bırakamazdım. 8 çocuğum vardı. Bir 6 aylıkken öldü, biride araba kazasında 10 yaşında öldü. Çocuğun kan parasıyla da bu evi satın aldık. Sonra herif ölünce Allah seni inandırısın pek rahat ettim. Ne güzel şeymiş, huzurlu yaşamak dedim..."

Elif (55,I): "...My mother and father divorced when I was very young. My father got married three times after he divorced my mother; and my mother married five times. The wife of my uncle brought me up. She beat me very much. Before I got married I got engaged once in the village. They gave 2.5 million TL. They would take me as a fellow wife; my family gave me in marriage but they went away from the village before the marriage. Then I went away as well. I worked as a servant girl in a family's house. In summer I shepherded cattle and in winter I did domestic work. They beat me as well. My mother died at the age of 40 and my father died at the age of 60 because of an illness. My

father used to shepherd cattle's, work as a farmer and cut firewood in the mountain to sell. My mother used to sell firewood in the village. She left me when I was 4-5 years old. As she was alone she became prostitute...I got married once, and now I am widow. I was 17 and he was 23. A woman was a matchmaker and we could get married in this way. He worked as a waiter in the park of Youth. I was very happy; I thought that everything would change. Both a religious wedding and an official wedding were held. My husband was poverty-stricken. He gave neither money nor a piece of jewellery. My family wasn't curious about me. He beat me after he drank alcohol. He went to another woman. I was in desperate straits. I couldn't leave my children. I had 8 children. One of them died when it was 6 months; another died in a car accident at the age of 10. We bought this house with the money paid for my child's death. Then my husband died and I relaxed very much. I realized that living peacefully was very good..."

Neriman (64,I) summarized her childhood in difficulty and her unhappy marriage like this:

"...Köyde 6 kardeştik. Ben 4'üncüyüm. Kardeşlerimin 3'ü öldü. Ben en büyük kızdım. Anne iş tutmuyosun diye kızardı. Babamla erkek kardeşlerimle hiç konuşamazdık. Ya annemi yada beni döverlerdi. Ama köyden hepimiz dağıldık. Babam rençberdi. Yazın da ırgatlığa giderdi. Davarcılık yapardı. Sen iş tutmazsın diye beni döverdi. Annem beni kurtarırdı babamın elinden. Annem ev işine bakardı. 40 senelik evliyim. 40 senedir hala çekiyom. 22 yaşında evlendim. Kocam askerliğini yaptı idi, gece bekçisiydi. Bizim oraya geldi, beni beğendi, istedi. Babam hiç istemedi. Sıçacak tuvaleti bile yok dedi. Ama benim aklımı çeldi, bende kaçtım. Jandarma gelir dediler, 10 gün sonra evlendik. Önce belediye nikahı oldu, sonra gerdeğe girceğimizde de imam nikahı yapıldı. Hiç başlık parası vermedi kocam, 5 kuruş para etmedim. Ne takısı, yok anam zaten kaçtım ben. 2 görümce, 2 kaynım, kaynana ve kaynata bir evde yaşadık. Kaynanam iyiydi, şimdi kötü diyemem. Ama ben de ona pek iyi baktım, bi dedigini iki etmedim valla. Hala severim. Şimdi görümcemin yanında oturuyo. Şimdiki aklım olsa ne kaçar, ne kocaya varırdım, adamın altına yatmazdım. Zaten 9 senedir kocadan ayrı yatıyom. Ameliyattan sonra adamdan nefret ettim, evlilik ne olacak ki. Hep dövdü beni. Gerdeğe girdiğimde de dövdü. Şunu şuraya niye koymadın diye hep döverdi. Bitirmek istedim ama anam babam sahip çıkmadı. Kendin ettin, kendin buldun, çekeceksin dediler Zaten aylarca küs kalırdık. Sonra çocuklar doğunca biraz yumuşadılar barıştık. Biraz daha iyi olduk. Ama hiçbi şey değişmedi herşey yine aynıydı.. Hala daha da çekiyoz gözü kör olsun ne çileymiş bitmedi, kendimi şu tepeden aşağı bile atmayı düşünmedim desem yalan olcak..."

"...We were 6 children in the village. I was the fourth one. Three of my sisters and brothers died. I was the eldest daughter. My mother was angry with me as she thought I didn't do house work. We couldn't talk to my father and brother. They beat either me or my mother. My father was a farmer. In summer he went to work as a farmer labourer. He used to shepherd flock of sheep or goats. My

mother used to do house work. I have been married for 40 years. I have suffered for 40 years. I got married at the age of 22. My husband had done his military service, he was a night watchman. He came and liked me. He wanted to marry with me. My father didn't want to give. My father said that he didn't have even a toilet to shit in. However he persuaded me and I went away with him. They said that gendarme would come and we got married 10 days later. Firstly official wedding was held, and then before the bridal chamber a religious wedding was held. My husband didn't give any bride-price; I wasn't worth 5 kuruş. I didn't have any jewellery because I had escaped for him. We lived with 2 sister-in-laws, 2 brother-in-laws, mother-in-law and father-in-law. My mother-in-law was a good person. But I looked after her very well; I did everything she asked for. I still like her. Now she is living with my sister-in-law. If I had had a competence to reason, I wouldn't have gone away; I wouldn't have married and I wouldn't have had sex with him. I have been sleeping in a separate bed for 9 years. I hated him after operation. What will a marriage be? He always beat me. At wedding night he beat me. He asked why I didn't put something there and he always beat me. I wanted to finish it but my mother and father didn't look after me. They said that if you get yourself into trouble then you have no right to complain. We had been put out with them for months. Then after I gave birth to my children we made a peace. Everything was better. But nothing changed so much; everything was same... Damn it! What a suffering! It hasn't finished yet. It would be a lie if I said that I didn't think to throw myself down a hill..."

On the other hand Satı (37,LP) said that she married in spite of customs; she had a lot of difficulties but on the other side if she had had a competence to reason in those days she would have never married:

"...Babam biz küçükken öldü, ölünce biz amcaı babalık bildik, beni babaannem büyüttü. Ama amcalarımdan biri deliydi, ölesiye döverdi, annem de bi yandan iş tutmuyon diye döverdi, babaannem kızınca döverdi, herkesten dayak yedik. Bizde görücü usulü hem de akrabayla evlenilir...Sonra kocama tutuldum, ona mektup gönderdim, beni istemeye geldiler ağladım, ağladım ben o adamı istemem diye, ama mektup gönderdiğimi görünce beni ayaklarımdan astılar, kemerle sopayla dövdüler yine vazgeçmedim, kocamın ailesi kaç kere gitti geldi, sırf vazgeçsin diye babannem koyun ağırlığı altın isterim dedi, tam kaynanam vazgeçiyodu, kocam çok üstüne düştü. Sonra zorla kabul ettiler, hemen hoca nikahı yapıldı, çok sonra resmi nikah yapıldı. Ben gün yüzü görmedim, kocamın hiç doğru dürüst bi işi olmadı, aile desen zaten senelerce konuşmamışlar, çok çektik. Yokluk pek zordur, o arada bi de cocuklar oldu. Bunca şey yetmez gibi bi de kalıtsal hastalık çıktı başıma, küçük kızda da var. Önce akıllarını yitirip, sonra belden aşığa tutmaz oluyo. Delirdim delirdim kendimi yerden yere vurdum bak gözümün önünde görümcem var hergün biz bakarız, altını temizler, yemeğini veririz, benim kızımda mı böyle olacaktı dedim. Ama nafiye işte oldu bi kere....bu hastalığı öğrenmeden önce çocuklar küçükken para yüzünden pek kavga ederdik. Ama bu hastalık çıktı, ondan beri çok daha az kavga ederiz. Ah ah ben de sizler gibi olacaktım, alırdım elime mesleğimi, ne

evlenirdim, ne de şu koca kahrı çekerdim. Arkanda duran olmayınca sen napcan, bu yaştan sonra da zordur bize boşanmak. Biz bağıırır, bağıırır, susarız...”

“...My father died when we were very young. When he died we knew our uncle as our father. My grandmother brought up me. However, one of my uncles was crazy; he beat me violently. My mother beat me as I didn't do house work. My grandmother beat me when she was angry. I got beating from everybody. In our family a marriage was arranged through the agency of a matchmaker and with a relative...Then I fell in love with my husband; I sent a letter to him... They came to ask for me in marriage; I cried as I didn't want that man. However, when they learnt that I had sent a letter, they hung me from my feet; and they beat me with a belt and stick. However, I didn't give up. My husband's family often came and went. My father said that I was worth a sheep's weight in gold and asked for gold to make them give up. When my mother-in-law was going to give up, my husband insisted very much. Then they were obliged to accept; a religious wedding was held immediately. Official wedding was held a very long time later. I didn't have better days; my husband didn't have a good job. My family hadn't talked to me for years; we suffered a lot. Poverty was very difficult; and then I gave birth to my children. As if all these problems were not enough, my little daughter had an illness pertaining to heredity. They firstly go mad and then the part below their waist becomes paralyzed. I suffered very much: Look! My sister-in-law is here. We look after her every day; we clean her; we feed her; will my daughter be like this? But it is no use! She will be... Before we learnt this illness, when the children were very young we had quarrels because of money a lot. But after this illness, our discussions became less. Ah! I wish I could be like you; I have my own job; I neither got married nor put up with the pain he unjustly caused. If there is nobody behind you, what can you do? At this age it is very difficult for us to divorce. We shout, shout and then become silent...”

Other examples similar to this one were the marriages of Derya (33,P) and Afife (45,I):

“...Evliliğim ve ilk evliliğim. Babam beni başından savmak için evlendirdi. Ben daha 15 yaşındaydım. Beyim de 22. Görücü usulüyle evlendim. Kör topal bahtına ne çıkarsa. İki nikahım da var. Önce resmi oldu, sonra imam nikahı. Babam nereye verirse ona varırım. Karşı çıkmak olmaz. Razi olmak lazım. Babamın kestiği yerde kan kalır. O yasta nereye karşı çıkacaksın. Kaynana, kayınpeder ilk evlendiğimizde onlarla yaşadım. Çok çektim, çok. Bu herif nasıl can verecek bilmem. Benim bigun kolumu kırdı. Ama sonradan düzeldi. Bak herif ama içmez ha hep bizim kavgalarımız senin anan, senin baban yüzünden bi de paradan çıkar valla. Uzaktan ikinci dereceden akrabam olur. Aklım olsa evlenmezdim ama netcen babaya karşı çıkılır mı?...”

“...I am married and this is my first marriage. My father gave me in marriage to get rid of me. I was 15 years old. My husband was 22. I got married through the agency of a matchmaker. Blind

or crippled... What comes out for your luck? I had two weddings. Firstly an official wedding was held; and then a religious wedding was held. I would marry to anybody my father would give me to. I couldn't resist him. I had to accept. How could I resist him at that age? I lived with my mother-in-law and father-in-law when I got married. I suffered very much. I don't know how this man will die. One day he broke my arm. However, he got better in time. He never drinks alcohol; our discussions always result from our mothers, our fathers and poverty. He is one of my distant relatives. If I had had reason of today, I wouldn't have married; however, how could I resist my father?..."

"...Biz 5 kız, bi erkektik. Bi amca, bi de baba vardı. Anne yoktu, hepte çile gördük. Annemin ölümü 7 yaşındaydı. Ondan önce herşey iyiydi, geçim edip gidiyoduk. Babamı da hiç karşıma almadım. Ne zaman annem öldü, herşey ters, düz oldu. Sonra çok küçüktüm, beni everdiler. Herifi hiç görmedim, o Ankara'daydı. Ailesi istedi, bizimkilerde razı oldular. Sonra buraya gelin geldim. Bana başlık parası da vermediler çünkü görümcemi de babam aldıydı. Bizim işte öyle bi hikayedir. Sonra herif bi baltaya sahip olmadı, çalışmadı. Biz de kavgalar da hep yokluk yüzünden, herifin çalışmamasından çıkardı. 15-20 gün, bi ay küs kalırdık. Ama ona nerde etki edecek, ne iş bulur ne bişey ederdi. Dayak ta vardır bunda alır eline bıçağı kızınca biraz da içince çeker bıçağı. Çok dayağını yedim, hala daha da yerim. Bi kere kız araya girdi, onu da öldürüyodu, sorma ..."

"...We were 5 daughters and 1 son. There were one uncle and one father. We had no mother; we suffered so much. My mother died when I was 7. Before her death everything was good; we could get along. I never resisted my father. When my mother died, everything changed. Then I was very young and they gave me in marriage. I hadn't seen the man; he was in Ankara. His family asked for me in marriage; and my relatives accepted. Then I came here. They didn't give any bride-price because my father got married to my sister-in-law in return. Yes this is our story. My husband didn't have any profession; he didn't work. We always had quarrels because of poverty and his unemployment. We used to put out with each other for 15-20 days or 1 month. But this didn't affect him; he didn't try to find a job. He also beat me; when he was drunk, he threatened me with a knife. I got beating from him a lot. I still get beating. One day my daughter worked to reconcile us; he was going to kill her. Words fail me!..."

On the contrary to the four women above, Betül (39,I) talked about a happy childhood while telling us about a happy marriage:

Betül (39,I): "... Babam hiç çalışmazdı, o Almanya'ya gitti. 6 ay sonra hastalandı, geldi. Biz hep beraber kavun, karpuz, tarlalarımız vardı onlarda çalışırdık. Babamı çok severdim, aramızda hiç sorun olmazdı. O benim koruyucu meleğimdi, hep beni anama karşı korurdu. Ama annemle de aramız hep çok iyiydi..... Evlendiğimizde ben 17 yaşındaydım, kocam 23 yaşındaydı. Biz de öyle pek severek olmaz, görücü usulüyle oldu. Uzaktan akrabaydı. Önce dini, sonra da resmi nikah yaptılar. ...

çok şükür bizim hiç büyük bi tartışmamız olmadı, öyle ufak tefek şeyler olur, o da genelde paradan, çocukların harçlığıymış neymiş ondan çıkar. Çok şükür biz öyle büyük bişey yaşamadık...”

Betül (39,I): “...My father never worked; he went to Germany. He got sick 6 months later and came back. We had fields of melon and watermelon and we worked there. I used to like my father very much; we never had any problems. He was my protective angel; he always protected me against my mother. However, my relation with my mother was also good....When I got married I was 17 and my husband was 23. Our families arranged our marriage; our marriage was held through the agency of a matchmaker. He was a distant relative. Firstly a religious wedding and then an official wedding were held. I thank God! We didn't have any serious discussions; there are some unimportant discussions and they usually result from money and children's pocket money. I thank God! We didn't have a serious one...”

In addition to all these interviewees, Yeliz (42,P) stated that the major reason of their poverty and sufferings was her marriage in spite of the disapproval of her parents and talked about her regret in this way:

Yeliz (42,P): “...Görücü usulüyle evlendik. Ben 17, eşimde 26 yaşındaydı. Babam çok karşı çıktı. Babamı dinlemedim, şimdi sefalete düştüm.O bak bu adamın doğru dürüst bi işi yok, mesleği yok, napacaksın, güzel kızsın, beceriklisin, daha neler çıkar karşına, iki çulsuzdan nolur çocuklarınız sıkıntı çekerler dedi. Ama dinlemedim. Önce resmi sonra dini nikah yapıldı. Nitekim şimdi çocuklar çekiyolar. Şimdiki aklım olsa babamı dinlerdim. O ileriye görürdü ama gönül bu işte.”

Yeliz (42,P): “...We got married through the agency of a matchmaker. I was 17 and my husband was 26. My father resisted it very much. I didn't obey my father and now I suffer extreme poverty. They said 'this man doesn't have a good job; he doesn't have any profession; you are a beautiful girl; you are talented; you will meet better chances of marriage; both of you are poor and so your children will suffer a lot.' However I didn't listen to any advice. Firstly a religious wedding and then an official wedding were held. However, now our children suffer a lot. If I had had a competence to reason, I would have obeyed my father. He used to foresee the future but this is love affair...”

On the other hand, although Keriman (35,I) had a happy childhood and got married with the approval of her parents, she talked about her unhappy marriage and emphasized that her husband had changed after migration to big city and she had had no such problems in the village:

Keriman (35,I): "...Benim çocukluğum çok güzel geçti. Ben ilk evlendiğimde 15 yaşındaydım. Eşim de 15 idi. Komşuyduk, evlerimiz hep bitişikti.2 sene hoca nikahlı kaldık, sonra da köye gelen hükümet memurları resmi nikah kıydılar. Ailem de istedi, işte öyle evlendik.... Biz çok büyük sorunlar yaşadık. Herif gitti üstüme evlendi, beni bıraktı. Şimdi de bi başkasını buldu onunla dost hayatı yaşıyo. Eve gelir ama haftada 1-2 gün orada kalır. Çok kötüydüm. İnsan ölüme gidip te geliyor. Çocukların bile kafa sağlığı bozuldu. Beni köpeği gibi döverdi. Tutup saçımdan sürüklerdi, bigün dayanamadım, bu herif bi daha saçımdan sürüyemesin diye tuttum belime kadar inen saçları aha şu makasla kökünden kestim. Sonra da gidip o saçları ateşe verdim. Bi daha görmek, hatırlamak çünkü istemiyodum. Şimdi yaşlandı heralde artık dayak atmıyor ama fazla da karşı gelmem, gelsem yine atar.... Bu köyde böyle değildi sonradan azdı, şehre geldi gözü açıldı. Arkadaş insanı vezir de eder, rezil de. Bunun işte kötü arkadaşları hep kötüye alıştırdılar..."

Keriman (35,I): "...I had a very happy childhood. When I got married I was 15. My husband was 15 as well. We were neighbours; and he lived next door. We began to live together after the religious wedding. Then an official wedding was held by a civil servant who had come to the village. My family wanted as well; and we could get married.... We had serious problems. My husband got married again and he left me. Now he found another woman; he had taken a mistress. He came home; but he stayed at her house for 1-2 days a week. I was in a very bad situation. I might die. Even our children had had psychological problems. He used to beat me as if I was his dog. He used to grab my hair and drag me along the ground; and one day I was fed up with his beating and I cut my hair reaching to my waist with this scissors completely not to let him grab my hair and drag me. Then I burnt it; because I didn't want to see it and remember what happened. Now he is old and he doesn't beat me. But I don't resist him very much; if I do, he beats again.He wasn't like this in the village; he changed later; after he came to city he became shrewd. A friend can make a person either a vizier or an awful person. He had friends who had bad habits and they made him have bad habits as well..."

However, one of the most important findings met during the research was that both of the women that experienced poverty below poverty line were those who were left by their husbands in some way and who lived alone and with her children. Here instead of seeing marriage as an important element which can rescue women from poverty, it is necessary to focus on why these women experienced poverty in a way different from other women's. If we look at this matter from this aspect, the other point was that the relatives of these women were as poor as them and the kinship relations had become less. In this sense, kinship and citizenship relations other than marriage made women stronger against poverty. Also in other parts of the interview

these women said that they had a childhood full of difficulties and they regretted their marriages even if they had married with love:

Saliha (45,P): “...Evlendiğimde ben 17 yaşındaydım. O da 22 yaşındaydı. Anlaşarak evlendik. Hem resmi hem dini nikahımız var. Ailem razı olmasaydı kaçardım. Kafama koyduğumu yaparım çünkü. Maddiyatsızlıktan çok dayak yedim. Şimdi ki aklım olsaydı beni ayağımdan vursa yine evlenmezdim ama gençlik oldu işte bi hata...Kocam bizi bırakıp gitti, bi kadın peşinden. Sonra onu da bıraktı ya, zaten varken de yok gibiydi. Çocuklarla da ilgilenmiyor. Çalışmayı çok istedim ama hasta olduğum için bu yaşta kimse iş vermedi bana. Çocukları nereye bırakıym?. Gördünüz daha yarım saat olmadı kavga kıyamet. Hiçbi gelirimiz yok, herif emekli parasından bi miktar para verdiydi onu faize yatırdık, neye yetecek...Ekmek ve çay tüketiyoruz hep. Gelecekte hiçbi beklentim yok. Evde banyo bile yok, ahıra benziyo. Hayvan bile bağlasan durmaz... Kim bize yardım edecek, bak kardeşim kanser, onun ilaçları çok pahalıdır, anamın aylığı ona gider, masraf az olsun diye bi arada kalırız, kolay mıdır, bu kadar paraya bunca boğaz doyurmak, ama biz taş yeriz yine kimseye demeyiz....Konu komşuya da güven olmaz zaten ben kimseyle görüşmem. Görüşsem bile sende olmayınca o mu sana verecek te. Gülerim valla...”

Saliha (45,P): “...When we got married I was 17 and he was 22. We had an arranged marriage. We had both an official wedding and a religious wedding. If my parents hadn't permitted, I would have gone away for him. If I get hold of some idea, I do it. I got beating very much because of poverty. If I had had a competence to reason as I can have now, I wouldn't have married him; but if you are young, you can do it...My husband left us and went with another woman. Then he left her as well. There was no difference between his existence and absence. He didn't concern himself with the children either. I wanted to work very much; but as I was ill nobody wanted to give me a job at this age. Where could I leave my children? As you have seen, it is just half an hour but they have made a hell of a fuss. We don't have any income; my husband gave some amount of his pension to me and I invested it at interest; however, how can it be sufficient? We always consume bread and tea. I don't have any expectation from the future. There isn't even a bathroom at home; it is like a barn. If you tie an animal in it, it doesn't endure...Who will help us? Look! My sister has cancer; her drugs are very expensive; my mother's salary is spent for her; we live together to decrease the expenses. Is it easy to allay all these people's hunger? However, we eat stones but we don't say anything to anybody... You can't trust in neighbours; I visit none of them. Even if I visit them, will they help me? I can just laugh!...”

Ece (41,I): “...Biz severek evlendik, ailemde karşı çıksa yine aynı şeyi yapardım ama hiçbişey görüldüğü gibi gitmez ki. Şimdiki aklım olsa varır mıydım yapar mıydım böyle bi hata. Ama oldu işte napcan da....Hep döverdi, içkisi de vardı. Şimdi ayrı yaşıyo, biriyle dost hayatı. Kendi benim dayımın oğludur aynı zamanda...Ümitsizim. Parasızlık da bi yandan. Şimdiye kadar hiç çalışmadım.

Kime gidilir de. Daha yeni köyden geldim, ne yol ne iz bilirim. Akrafa, bilmemne kimse yoktur bize yardım edecek, onlar da hep köyde kalmışlardır. Köydeyken tarlaya giderdim pancar işine. Ama burda napılır bilmem. Etrafta yardım eden de yok, devlet de görmüyo bizi. İşte sığıntı olduk görümcemin yanında. Allah ondan razı olsun ama kadın kendine mi bakacak, yoksa bize mi. Bilmem nereye kadar. Köyden de yardım gelmez bize. Baba ölmüş, kardeşler desen kendi derdinde... Hiç fatura ödemem, görümcemin evindeyiz dedim ya. Kışı nasıl geçiririz onu da bilmem daha geleli 3 ay oldu...”

Ece (41,I): “...Our marriage was a love-match. If my family had resisted I would have done the same thing. However, nothing comes to a conclusion as it is seen. If I had had a competence to reason in those days, would I have made such a mistake? But I made it; and this is the point of no return...He was always beating me; he was also drinking a lot. Now he lives apart; he has a mistress now. At the same time he is the son of my uncle...I am hopeless. We are a poverty-stricken family. I haven't worked so far. Who can I consult with? I have just come from the village, I don't know anything. There are no relatives to help us; they are all in the village. When I was in the village I went to fields of beet to work. However, I don't know what to do here. There isn't anybody to help us and the government don't see us either. We are in my sister-in-law's house. I thank her! Will she look after herself or us? I don't know how long it will last. There isn't any help from the village. My father died; my brothers are interested in their own problems... I don't pay any bills; as I have said before we are in my sister-in-law's house. I don't know how we can spend winter time; we have been here for three months...”

During my study, it is also observed that norms and values are transferred through the generations. In order to clarify this point, some questions about the women's thoughts and preferences about the marriage have been asked. Moreover, most of the women told that they would not approve their children to get married with someone from a different sect, especially for their daughters. For example, a group of respondents stated that the group is endogamous and any marriage without the consent of the families is never approved and if it happens, it is strictly punished. These women also stated that according to their customs, a religious wedding does not match with their customs; instead, an open title deed is organized by the bride's father before the marriage and this document is kept forever by father for the validation in case of ending of a marriage in order to protect his daughter's rights. Findings also showed that a group of women observes very rigid rules related with marriage from a different sect. Freedom and openness of women is accompanied by strict honor codes. Moreover, premarital sex is strictly forbidden and punished by

moral codes of the group. On the other hand, women mostly seemed to be more tolerant for their sons to have such a marriage while they were strictly against the idea for their daughters. Other than imposing a sect restraint, most of them told that they would let their children to marry whom they would like to. Besides, they stated that they would prefer them to marry someone from their environment while a few of them implied that they would be very glad if their children would marry someone who is rich and respectful with a good career.

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Evlilik konusuna gelince, oğlum kimi isterse onu alır, ama bizde Aleviden kız alınmaz, eğer öyle severse biz istemeyiz, kızını alsın kaçsın o zaman. Hem de kız oğlan kız olacak. Bize gelmez başka türlü şeyler pek terstir. Kızını yalnız hayatta vermeyiz, çünkü bizim dinlerimiz bir değil. Ama şöyle okumuş, kültürlü, helal süt emmiş biriyle evlensinler..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...When we focus on the matter of marriage, my son marries anybody he wants. However, we don't accept a girl who is a member of Alevi sect. Even if he wants her, we can't accept it; then he takes her and goes away. Also she will be virgin. Otherwise, it is very wrong for us. We never give our daughter in marriage to a person from this religious group; because our religions are different. But I let them marry a cultured and worthy person who has graduated from a school..."

Helin (47,I): "...Allah etmesin bizde yok öyle şey. Hele Aleviye hiç kız vermeyiz. Bizden olsun isteriz, anlaşsın onlar o önemli, helal süt emmiş, geleneklerine bağlı olsun. Maddi durumu da iyi olursa hiç fena olmaz onlar rahat edecekler sonuçta, bana ne faydası olacaktır..."

Helin (47,I): "...God forbid! We don't have anything like this. Especially we don't give our daughters in marriage to a person who is Alevi. We want a person like us. The important point is that they understand each other. We want a worthy person who obeys the customs. And if his financial situation is good, they will have peace at home. How can it be useful for me?..."

Satı (37,LP): "... Biz Ermeni degiliz ama dilini konuşuruz. ...Ananelere göre bizde dışarıya ne kız ne oğlan verilir. Hem de ikisi de birbirini evlenmeden önce göremezler. Eğer aileler anlaşılırsa, kıza oğlanı şöyle bi uzaktan gösterirler. Oğlan ama yine de kızını göremez. Sonra kız için bi açık senet tertip edilir, biz de başlık parası yoktur bu onun yerine hazırlanır. Kızın güvencidir bu ve kızın babasında kalır. Eğer herhangi bişey olacak olursa yani oğlan kızdaki ayrılmaya ne kalkarsa, bu senet işleme konur. Bi nevi güvencedir, bu. Bak bizim büyük kızın da babasında durur. Herhangi bişi olursa işleme konur..."

Satı (37,LP): "...We aren't Armenian, but we speak their language. .. According to traditions, we give neither our sons nor our daughters in marriage to people different from us. Also both of them can't see each other before marriage. If the families make a good relation, they show the boy to the girl from a distance. However, boy can't see the girl. Then a voucher whose money amount is not written is arranged for the girl; we don't have any bride-price and this voucher is arranged instead of it. This is a guarantee for the girl and the girl's father takes it. If any problem arises, in other words if the boy tends to leave the girl, this voucher is put into operation. It is some kind of guarantee. Look! The voucher of my eldest daughter is under her father's control. If there is any problem, it will be used..."

Moreover, all of the respondents had both official and religious wedding, although most of them had the religious wedding first. Some women stated that official weddings were held because of the bureaucratic procedures while their children were going to school; some stated that they were held by the civil servants who came to their villages.

Keriman (35,I): "...2 sene hoca nikahlı kaldık, sonra da köye gelen hükümet memurları resmi nikah kıydılar..."

Keriman (35,I): "...We had lived together with a religious wedding for two years; and then our official wedding was held by the civil servants who came to the village."

Satı (37,LP): "...Hemen hoca nikahı yapıldı, çok sonra resmi nikah yapıldı. O da hükümette gerekti hatırlamıyorum pek ama galiba çocukların okulu için lazım oldu. Resmi nikah bana göre lazım zaten hiçbir güvencemiz yok, yarın bigünde herif bırakıp gitse nolcak bu işler..."

Satı (37,LP): "...A religious wedding was held immediately. Official wedding was held later. And it was held because of necessity; I don't remember exactly but I think that it was necessary for the children to go to school. In my opinion official wedding is necessary; we don't have any guarantee... What will be if my husband leave me one day?..."

Afife (45,I): "...Biz senelerce hoca nikahlıydık. İstemediler, bu yeter dedi benim herif te. Ama çok sonra çocuklar ne zaman okula yazılacaklar o zaman resmi nikah oldu. Resmi nikah kadının güvencesi o yüzden bu erkekler istemez dururlar..."

Afife (45,I): "...We had had a religious wedding for years. They didn't want; and my husband said that this was enough. However later on when our children went to school, we needed an official wedding. Official wedding is a guarantee for a woman and so men don't want it..."

According to the research, society's norms and rules are perpetuated through the behaviors of the members. Furthermore, the ideal authority patterns are patriarchal and the level of patriarchy depends on the structure of the members. However, during the study, respondents' inclinations related with the marriage mostly showed that patriarchy is also reproduced by women without questioning. For example, most of the women were exposed to violence and they claim that violence is an indicator of the man's power and it usually happens in every marriage. This shows that patriarchal authority is not questioned by women and reproduced in their lives once again.

Neriman (64,I): "...Kocadan korkulur. Bişey ettimi de kütür kütür döverler. Erkek, kadından güçlüdür de ondan döver. Aha kimin bebesi, onun bebeleri de ona benzer, onlardan da dayak yerim. Küçük oğlanla küsüz. Dediğimi dinlemedi, gitti birine vardı. Bunların kahrı hiç bitmez, bi de hastalık sahibi olursun..."

Neriman (64,I): "...Women are afraid of their husbands. If you do something they beat you. Men are stronger than women and so they can beat. Look! Whose child is this! His child resembles him; I get a beating from them as well. I am put out with my youngest child. He didn't listen to me and he went to marry a girl. Their grief is endless; also you will have an illness..."

On the other hand, during our research most of the women stated that they would feel more comfortable and their financial situation would be better if they had fewer children than now.

Hüsniye (38,I): "...4 çocuğum var, ben ama 3 olsun isterdim, fakat kaynanam çok istedi, o çocukları çok sever o yüzden 4 yaptık. Biz de kız, erkek farketmez, sağlıklı olsun yeter ama biz 3 erkeği 1 kıza biz değişmeyiz, bak kayınvalideme yine kıızı bakıyo, bize kim bakacak yine kız bakacak, oğlan çocuğuyla bi değil ki. Kocam da hep böyle istedi. Ben hiç kürtaj da olmadım, çok şükür ölü de yok..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...I have 4 children but I wish I had 3. However, my mother-in-law wanted very much, she likes children very much and so we had 4. There isn't any difference between a girl

and a boy; That s/he is healthy is sufficient but we don't change three sons for a daughter. Look at my mother-in-law! Her daughter is looking after her. Who will look after us? Of course our daughter will. She doesn't resemble a son. My husband always wanted like this. I have never had an abortion. I thank God, none of my child died..."

Only one woman stated that she wanted to have more children because she loves children so much and lost one of her children because of a serious illness despite the fact that her husband never confirmed because of the household's insufficient material resources.

Aslı (41,I): "...17 yaşında bi oğlum var, tamirhanede çalışıyo. 15 ve 3 yaşlarında iki kızım var. 2 sene önce 15 yaşında sakat oğlum vardı, öldü. Sağlıklı olsun da hiç kız-oğlan ayırt etmem. 3 sefer hastanede kürtaj oldum. Ben çok istiyodum ama o istemedi hatta birinde dayak ta attı. Nasıl besleyecek bunca boğazı diye istemedi ama benim çocuğum da olduğu için çok istedim çocuk napalım kismetmiş..."

Aslı (41,I): "...I have a son at the age 17. He works as a repairman. I have two daughters at the ages of 15 and 3. Two years ago I had a disabled son; he died. I think that there is no difference between a son and a daughter; I just want him or her to be healthy. I had an abortion three times at hospital. I wanted very much; but he didn't want them. He even beat me once because of this. He thought how we would allay their hunger and so he didn't want. However as they were my own children I wanted them very much. What can we do? It was destiny..."

Another important finding was that the bride-price was very widespread despite their families' limited financial resources. (The bride price or dowry¹ could even be paid in a form of cash money, or in a form of a piece of gold or some household material like woollen mattress, quilt etc.) Just when they got married without the approval of the parents, any bride-price was not given. The women felt even worthless in such a situation. They said that the bride-price was given to meet the expenses made for the wedding and in this way the phenomenon of bride-price was legitimized by the women themselves.

Neriman (64,I): "...Hiç başlık parası vermedi kocam, 5 kuruş para etmedim. Ne takısı, yok anam zaten kaçtım ben..."

¹ In some parts of this text, dowry is also used with the same meaning of the bride-price.

Neriman (64,I): "...My husband didn't give any bride-price; I wasn't worth 5 kuruş. I didn't get any piece of jewellery; because I went away for him..."

Elif (55,I): "...Ben evlenmeden önce bi kere nişanlandım, köy yerindeydi. 2.5 milyon lira para verdiler. Beni kuma alacaklardı...Şimdiki kocamın açlıktan nefesi kokuyodu. Başlık parası nereye verecekti de...Ne para verdi, ne takı taktı..."

Elif (55,I): "...Before I got married I got engaged once in the village. They gave 2.5 million TL. They would take me as a fellow wife...My husband was poverty-stricken. He couldn't give any bride-price...He gave neither money nor a piece of jewellery..."

On the other hand the reason not to give any bride-price was explained in this way:

Afife (45,I): "...Bana başlık parası da vermediler çünkü görünçemi de babam aldıydı..."

Afife (45,I): "...They didn't give any bride-price for me as my father got married to my sister-in-law in return..."

My research showed that these women's marriages are very similar and patriarchy is reproduced by norms and rules both within the society and within the institution of marriage. Through the marriage, extra burdens are also brought to the lives of the women. All these stressors make women locate in a vulnerable position within the family. In line with these arguments, Payne claims that men retain control over income while women manage the benefits and for women poverty is a different experience, in that it draws on their skills as a manager, a "good housekeeper" and exacts a price in terms of stress, anxiety and sheer hard work and also argues that "managing" also creates an emotional burden- the worry of finding goods, entertaining children with no toys, keeping their minds off their hunger, and feeling guilty about everything etc. (Payne, 1991). All these reasons explained caused an unhappy marriage. And this situation made women more vulnerable; because the woman who spent most of her time with the domestic responsibilities at home had to try to find the strategies to cope with these problems on the one hand and to cope with the patriarchal culture on the other hand. If they fail to develop

these strategies, they become more vulnerable against poverty. For example, the health problems of psychological and physiological origins were the best examples which showed how they became more vulnerable when they couldn't cope with the responsibilities on their shoulders and when they couldn't develop strategies to cope with.

5.4. Social Life - Everyday Life

Regarding social relations and participation in social activities, none of the respondents have an active social life and they mostly spend their times at their homes. The depicted picture shows that women's lives are very limited and full of restrictions. These are much related with women's poverty experiences. The most socially rooted activity they carry on is the neighborhood relations. However, it could be said that these relations are the outcomes of the fact that women do not have many alternatives other than neighborhood relations. The cited reasons for their inactive social life are due to the imposed restrictions as being a female and the material facts as they state that they can not afford it. Most of the women state that they do not go to any social or public place unless they have a purpose such as medical treatment or health care. Some of them tell that they even do not know Ulus and/or Kızılay. When women go to Ulus which is claimed to be the only place they visit, they never go there alone, but with their neighbours or relatives, especially with their daughters.

In the neighborhood, men and women lead very separate lives. Men spend time in the public world of the streets like the mosque, coffee houses, shops and the association in the neighborhood, and they mostly would not go home until dinner time. Women are not excluded from the shops. However, they access as very well covered, when possible in groups whenever it is necessary. Women attend the mosque on special occasions, like Quran courses or during the month of Ramadan. The others are inviolate for women. The world of women is the private world of the house, the garden of the house and the front of their gates. During the summer time, women mostly meet outside of their houses. Their main reason to come together is

the common preparation of some food items which are mostly consumed for the subsistence of household, such as preparing noodle, tomato paste etc. Women also come together during the preparation of some special foods which needs hand skills intensively like stuffed leaves (which is called “*dolma*”) and “*baklava*” (a special kind of Turkish desert prepared by hand) for special occasions. All these activities are being carried out in gardens during the summer time while inside the houses during the winter time. Mostly tea and specially prepared food such as “*dolma*”, “*baklava*”, “*manti*” (a special kind of Turkish ravioli), is served during the meetings. Tılıç and Kalaycıoğlu (2003) claim that women play the main role in establishing and sustaining the kinship and neighborhood networks which are vital for the survival of the poor households. In line with these arguments, my findings showed that women form their neighborhood networks and they point that when they come up with material or health problems they mostly apply to their neighbors first and then to their relatives whom they are still living within the same neighborhood because familial networks are very limited and networks are built on reciprocity. Since families do not have so much to submit as an aid because of living also in poverty, neighborhood networks are operated. On the other hand, these relations are also built on reciprocity. If women can not operate both family and neighborhood networks, they become more vulnerable against poverty in the cases of women Ece (41,I) and Saliha (45,P). Ece (41,I) has recently migrated to Ankara and she can not operate neighborhood networks because she is not very familiar with her new environment. Moreover, she can not either operate her familial networks because she does not have any relative living in this new environment other than her sister in law. But, her sister in law can not provide sufficient support because she does not have so much to give them. Furthermore, Ece (41,I) has been left by her husband and she has moved to Ankara in order to follow him. Under these conditions, both Ece (41,I) and her children experience poverty more severe than other women.

Ece (41,I): “...Şuraya geldik geleli, biri bizim kapımızı açmadı, derdin nedir diye sormadı. E ben de böylesine komşu mu derim...Kimsem yoktur Allah’tan başka, beni sokakta görmezden gelenin ben kapısını nasıl çalarım ki. Başımız dara girse, görünçem vardır, ondan başka da yoksa kimsem yoktur...”

Ece (41,I): "...Since we came here nobody hasn't come to our house. Nobody asked what our problems were. Well, I can't call them neighbours...I don't have nobody except for God. How can I knock the door of somebody who ignores me in the street? If we have any problem, I have a sister-in-law to help us. I don't have anybody except for her to help us..."

In case of Saliha (45,P), has been living in the same environment for a long time. Since her family is living in poverty, she can not operate these networks. On the other hand, her relations with her neighbors are not in a good condition, she is not involved by the neighborhood networks. Moreover, if these relations are based on reciprocity, she does not have so much to give her neighbors. She also claims that expression of her poverty is a shame and she states that "I eat stone in my house but nobody knows it because of the pride". Then, she can not operate the relevant networks and she experiences poverty more severe than other women.

Saliha (45,P): "...Ne komşuluğu ölmüş, komşuluk, momşuluk. Sen de varsa o zaman iyisin, bak gör kapını o zaman her gün nasıl çalarlar. Ama sen de yoksa kötüsün...Aha yeşil kart dersin adamın altında Mercedes vardır, ama muhtarla arası iyidir, gider yeşil kartını da alır, her bi bokunu da, bizim gibiler de aha böyle işte sürünürler...Ben taş yesem, taş yedim demem, hem ayıplarlar, hem de benim grurum var. Asıl sen fakirim diyenden kork, esas fakir onlar değildir, şu mahallede de fakir, makir yoktur, hepsinin durumu da pek iyidir. Ama yok demeye alışmış bunlar, öyle kendilerini acındırırlar..."

Saliha (45,P): "...There is not any neighbourhood; it disappeared. If you have money you are a good person for them. Look and see how they knock your door every day! However, if you don't have any money you are a bad person for them... He has a green card but he also has a Mercedes. But he has a good relation with the chief of the neighborhood. He goes and takes everything he needs and the people like us suffer like this... If I eat a stone I don't say even a word. They gossip about me and also I have a pride. You must be afraid of those who say that they are poor. They are not really poor. There aren't any poor people in this neighbourhood. Everybody's financial situation is very good. However, they have gotten used to saying that they don't have anything. They try to arouse people's pity for themselves..."

Regarding using women's networks, they state that they would apply to their neighbors other than their familial/private problems. This neighborhood network is operated by the female members, especially the mother of the households. Within

their neighborhood network they also engage in subsistence production activities which were mentioned in the previous lines. Women also state that when they have a trouble they would apply to their siblings and the chief of the neighborhood as well (like in case of emergency such as, earthquake, flood etc., they stated that they would apply to the chief of the neighborhood, however, if they had any problem related with their husbands they would apply to their sibling - firstly their brothers). It means that both advice and emotional support are provided by the neighbors. Whenever women go in trouble they benefit from these networks. However, women could be very selfish and very jealous in terms of using the advantage of the networks for the aid. For example, when Derya (33,P) applied to the chief for the financial aid for her daughter who is a student at the secondary school, he was refused by him. Then, he applied to the Municipality for the aid. When she applied for the aid she said that her husband passed away. Then, her application was approved and she started to get aid. After a short while, women began to wonder how she benefited from the aid of the Municipality. Then, Derya (33,P) confessed that she lied for the aid because she needed so much. Now, most of the women do not talk to her and she is one of the important sources of the gossips in the neighborhood. However, during the interview, Derya (33,P) confessed it and stated that she feels so sorry because of lying but she needed this money so much and does not care about the women's behaviors against her because when they were suffering except a few of her close neighbors nobody helped her. She also adds that they needed money so much because of her daughter's education and her daughter's education is more important than gossips in the neighborhood.

Derya (33,P): "...Ne yapacaksın, ben de gittim yokluktan yalan söyledim, tok açın halinden anlamaz. Bunlar kıskanırlar beni çekemezler...Dedim gidin siz de söyleyin siz de alın. Kaç tanesi gitti benden habersiz neler aldılar, gız bunlar çekememezlikten, ben gidip te onlara sordum mu? Gittim muhtara o da şuraya bi başvuru dedi, aha bi sabah bebeleri okula gönderdim, herifin arkasından çıktım gittim, verdim dilekçeyi, sonra şu gün gel dediler, gittim baktım yardım çıkmış...Yok yok bunların komşuluğuna güven olmaz, bugün yüzüne güllüp yarın arkandan lafını ederler..."

Derya (33,P): "... What could I do? I told a lie because of poverty. The rich doesn't know about the poor. My neighbours are jealous of me, I know...But I told

them to go and take the help of money. Many of them took this money without telling me anything because they are jealous. And I didn't ask them anything. I asked the chief of the neighborhood and he told me where to apply. One day, after my children had gone to school, I went there and I gave a written application. Then they gave me it... I never trust in my neighbours. Today, they smile at you, but tomorrow they gossip about you..."

On the other hand, many women were making a gossip about Derya (33,P). During the interviews, some of the women warned us about not to visit to Derya (33,P)'s house because it was full of dirt. Some of them also claimed she was exposed to adultery with her brother in law. However, these women were also continuing to speak and visit to her. Regarding this, it could be said that women could not live either without being involved in neighborhood network or with being involved in neighborhood network. It seems that relations already established within the frame of neighborhood networks are very fragile.

On the other hand, most of the women stated that if they would come up with marital problems most of them indicate that they would rely upon their children or their own siblings and parents while few of them mention that they have nobody to rely on and would hope for help of the God. However, in case of health and material problems, they prefer to go to their neighbors and it gives an idea when the network of the neighborhoods is operated. Other than marital problems, they mainly state that they would trust to their husbands. Women are also reported to be the main operator in the entrance to the public networks with the aim of obtaining aids. However, if women could not go outside, children become very effective in the entrance to the public networks and they are mostly led and directed by their mothers. (For example, Hüsniye (38,I)'s two sons have watched us for a few days. Then, they came closer to us and said that their mothers wanted to have an interview with us. Moreover, they asked us whether they could benefit from our aids of some books and stationary material. While Hüsniye (38,I) was not going out of the house, her children were trying to be involved in some public networks. On the other hand, Afife (45,I)'s daughter provided to get an aid for her family by learning the ways of applying to the

subject organization from her teacher in the community center. Then, she transferred all the information to her mother so she provided some food aid for her family).

Dilan (31,H): "...Bugün evliliğim bitse ilk sığınacağım kişi annem olur, başka kime sığınacam.....Borcu ben bulurum. Önce komşulara giderim, onlardan isterim, annem zaten şu yaşımdayım hala yardım eder, sonra onu ona derken öderiz..."

Dilan (31,H): "...If I divorced my husband, the only person I could take shelter would be my mother. There aren't any people that I could take shelter except for her.... I would find some money to borrow. First of all, I would go to my neighbours and want help from them. I'm too old to want help from my mother, but I know she helps me. Then we can pay our debts..."

Afife (45,I): "...Ben bakkala borçlanırım, 5-10 milyon komşulara borçlanırım, borcu ben bulurum. Açlıktan ölsek herif gidip te istemez, almaz. Borcu da oğlan maaşı alınca öderiz. Ödeyemezsem de gider sabredin, kusura bakmayın derim..."

Afife (45,I): "... I become indebted to the grocer or I lend 5-10 million Turkish Liras from my neighbours. My husband never goes and barrows money even if he starves to death. We pay our debt when my son gets his salary. If I can't pay, I tell them to be patient and say sorry..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Allah yazdıysa bozsun, bugün evliliğim bitse, ben kendimi de öldürürüm...Allah'tan başka sığınacak kimsem yok, kime sığınayım da. Allah etmesin yazdıysa bozsun..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "... I hope God doesn't permit! If I divorced today, I would kill myself. There aren't any people except for God to take shelter...God forbid..."

This makes women play an active role in neighborhood networks and could be very effective in determination of the structure of relations within the neighborhood. For example, the chief of the neighborhood asks for the vote from women living in the neighborhood, during the day time. Moreover, he also asks them to convince their husbands and sometimes threatens them with disregarding them for the aid in case of not voting for him. As it is the women who are seeking to obtain

benefits from the public networks, it is also usually them who face the negative outcomes when externalities arise.

Women mostly spend their time in the gardens and in front of their door, gates with their neighbors after completing their household duties, in the summer time. However, during the winter time, they usually see each other when they go for shopping, specifically while they were going to the grocer in the neighborhood or Dışkapı open air market. They spend most of their time inside their houses in winter time with the household duties. However, visits are also paid to the neighbors' houses. Moreover, a few of the women state that they also attended to the reading-writing courses offered in the neighborhood, but they left it as they could not show any success. Additionally, none of the interviewed households buy newspapers but female household members have the opportunity to read it occasionally when any of the family members bring one from some place. It is also stated that television is the most widely used communication tool and then the radio. However, most of the women stated that they watch TV only during the night time when the members of the family gather because of the electricity bill. They mostly watch some television series-product of popular culture, mainly linked with life in rural regions of Turkey like *Berivan*, *Kınalı Kar*, *Gelin* etc.

On some certain days of the week, an open air market is established on the widest street of Çandarlı. Women go to buy vegetables, sometimes in groups on their way to grocery. They mostly prefer to go in the morning in order to select the freshest vegetable. They strongly bargain with the sellers and mostly they succeed to pay fewer prices than the price declared on the tag. Additionally, women spend their time outside of their houses as forming their groups in parallel with their ethnic identities. It is also possible to witness some serious quarrels among women. During the summer time, it is more possible to observe these chaotic events which are mostly caused by women's children's disagreements and the troubles, when children use some common places like their gardens or front of their gates etc. Quarrels are appeared among the women and any of the men never participate in the quarrels. Women mostly yell and swear each other. Then, it is also possible to see more women involved in the quarrel in order to support their mates in a short while. After the quarrel, the atmosphere becomes very silent, as if this kind of event never

happened before and women go back to their usual lives. The day after the quarrel happened, it is possible to see these women together in the same place while they are chatting.

Dilan (31,H): "...Olmaz mı bu mahallede hep kavga olur. Birbirlerini yerler. Haymana'lılar, Kürtler kendi aralarında hep kavga ederler...Bunlar çocuk yüzünden bile kavga ederler. Yok senin bebe, bizimkini dövdü diye. Ertesi gün de bir arada oturup dedikodu yaparlar, bunlar böyle valla..."

Dilan (31,H): "... There are always quarrels in this neighbourhood. People from Haymana and the Kurdish always quarrel among themselves. They argue about even their children because their children fight with each other... Then, they sit together and gossip tomorrow. These are commonly experienced in this neighbourhood..."

Saliha (45,P): "...Kavga olmayan yer olmaz, burda da olur. Kendi arasında çözülür. Çingeneler pek kavga ederler. Hele Kürtler'le hiç geçinemezler. Pek kötü birbirlerine girerler. Taş, sopa bana mısın demez. Çocuktan kavga çıkar. Arabamı koyacak yer kalmadı diye, ondan bundan kavga ederler. Çözemezlerse de polis gelir....Sonra yatışırlar. Güvenli bir muhitte oturmak isterdim. Burası esrarcı dolu. Siz gelmeden yan eve polis baskın yaptı. Sahte para basılıyordu. Biraz önce kopan kıyameti duymadın mı, aha gözünüzle gördünüz, güvenli mi sizce?..."

Saliha (45,P): "...There is quarrel everywhere; we have quarrels here as well. Then it is solved on its own. Gypsies have discussions a lot. Also they have problems with the Kurds. They always fight with each other using stones and sticks. The quarrels result from children. For example, they can't find a place to park their car; they begin to discuss because of this. If they can't solve their problem on their own, policemen come....Then they calm down... I wish I could live in a safe neighbourhood.... The poor who don't have any money like me live here. Who comes here except for people like us? Here is full of hashish smokers. Before you came, policemen made a surprise attack on the next door. They printed fake money. Didn't you hear the uproar a little time ago? You saw with your own eyes. Is it safe?..."

On the other hand, quarrels between men could be more harmful. It is allegedly said that some tools such as gun, stick, and stone are used. However, quarrels between men rarely occur, in case of a very serious dissensions, like chastity, honor etc. Moreover, people could be severely injured or wounded during these fights. Women never take part in these quarrels and these quarrels mostly

happen on the widest street of Çandarlı where school, coffee-houses, mosque and shops are located whereas women's fights appear in the narrow streets of Çandarlı.

Additionally, some special ceremonies like wedding, circumcision, engagement are carried out in the gardens during the summer time. Women and men are mostly separated during the ceremony. Arrangements are carried out by the host woman and her mates. Shrivill pipe and drum are played by the men. People sing and dance with the accompanying pipe and drum sounds. Additionally, men shoot their guns to the air by using their guns. Regarding the wedding ceremony, the night before the wedding, 'henna evening' is organized. During that night, bride's hand and feet are similarly decorated by women. While henna is applied to the bride's hands and feet, the applying woman also prays for fertility and continuity of the marriage. Only women and girls are allowed to attend to these nights. After the application of the henna, participants sing, dance and have fun. According to the believes of some groups like Eastern Kurdish people, alcohol is not definitely served, while some groups like Tebers are more tolerated about serving alcohol during the ceremonies. It is also very common to pray before the beginning of the ceremonies. This is mostly organized one day before the ceremony within the household with the participation of fewer amounts of people than the ceremony. The hodja is invited to the house for praying. During the praying, women and men are welcomed in separate locations. After the pray, specially prepared foods and nonalcoholic beverages are served for the guests. However, during the interviews, most of the women stated that ceremonies cost so much and most of the people living in that area can not afford that ceremonies. Therefore, wedding ceremonies are usually organized by people who have better material conditions. However, prays are definitely organized by any of the family even living in a good or bad material condition. It is also stated that attending to the ceremonies also cost so much because of finding a suitable suit for the wedding and buying a gift for the hosts. Therefore, women confess that they do not go to these events because of its cost. Additionally, some women also stated that they help for the preparation of the food instead of buying a gift for the host so they can participate in these events. For example, Ece (41,I) says that: "I do not go to any ceremony because I do not know either many people in this neighborhood or I do not have money to buy food for my children". On the other hand, Saliha (45,P) states

that: “I can not find either a dress to put on or food to eat, I do not go and they do not come”. Finally, it could be said that relations are mostly built on reciprocity.

Afife (45,I): “...Düğün demek para demektir, eli boş gidilmez. Eeee üstüne giyecek entarin yoksa, paran yoksa nereye gitcen. Ama komşu olmaz işte davet eder. Çoğu zaman ben de bi oya örer, onu hediye diye alır, giderim. Ama öyle benim herif zaten gelmez, ben bi gapıdan bakar dönerim. Ama bak duaları hiç geçiririz...”

Afife (45,I): “... Going to a wedding requires money and you cannot go to a wedding ceremony without money. If you don't have new clothes and money to give as present, how can you go there? However, neighbours invite you to the wedding so I usually make embroidery and give it as a present to the bride. My husband never comes and I stay for a short time there. Nevertheless, I always follow prays...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “...Düğün demek para demektir. Ah bak oğlum askerde dönünce ona düğün etmek lazım. Şöyle bi yerden bi para bulsam da yüzümün akıyla çıkabilsem. Ama nerde...Belki sadece bi mevlidini okuttururum, o da paradır, ama hiç değilse, eş, dostla beraber hazırlanırız, değil, bugün bana yarın onlara...zordur parasızlık...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “... Wedding requires money. My son is in the army now, but when he returns, we have to make him marry. I wish I found some money to perform this duty, but it is a difficult issue. Perhaps I can only have Mevlit chanted. It also requires money but at least we can be prepared together with our relatives, can't we? What has happened to me may happen to them... It's hard to be poor...”

5.5. Women Coping with Poverty

The permanent activities which the individuals and families carry out in a silent and illegal way to afford basic needs like accommodation, consumption and job in poor households gain importance in terms of the heaviness of women's burden; and very heavy burdens wait for women in the frame of these activities (Bora, 2002). On the other hand, Bora has declared that the cost of living doesn't depend on not only income in cash but also many resources that can be reached by

the woman. It is possible to reach these resources by making informal relationships and strengthening them. In this frame, conventional relationships create an action and strategy area for women. However, in the case of weakening the relationships or woman's being kept outside of these relationships, woman become much more deprived and more impoverished. But it should be noticed that it is reciprocal even in the case of being formed solidarity relationship networks. Within the reciprocal relationship, it shouldn't be forgotten that the things two poor people can give each other are limited.

On the other side, it is possible to say that two women who experience the poverty deeply at the bottom have been left outside of the informal relationship networks and these relationships have quite weaken. (According to our observations during the interviews, these two women's houses they live with their children in were really worse than the other women's. Both the houses themselves and a little furniture in them were quite old and they couldn't be used. As far as we could observe, they took nourishment insufficiently and unhealthily, and they can hardly find even this one for many times. In addition, the poverty restricted their field of activity. For example, they didn't go out to the street in front of their houses because of the fact that they did not have any shoes or they were tired due to hunger. (During the interview, they said that they didn't go outside of the neighbourhood for a long time). As a matter of fact, it hasn't been seen a security network to keep them alive. Although one of the women talked about her sister-in-law who helped them when they were first here and gave them her house without money, she stated that it was temporary and she had to save herself in a short time. She summarised this condition using this saying "food coming from a stranger cannot be meal". At this point, it is very clear that citizenship doesn't come out in a solidarity relationship. The reason of this can be summarised that solidarity networks appear in a reciprocal style so the poverty of these people stays outside and it is experienced far from other people.

Ece (41,I): "... Dedim ya herifin pesinden bi 6 ay oldu geldik, o bi karı buldu buraya karının peşine geldi, ben de çoluğu çocuğu toparlayıp buraya geldim...Kimseyi ne biz tanırız, ne de bizi birileri tanır. Çok aç kaldım, ama kimsenin kapısını bile çalamadım, nereye çalcan, sokakta yüzüne bakmayan adam bana yardım mı edecek te...Inanır mısın şu küçücük çocuklarla bile arkadaş olmuylar, kime gitcem de....Tanıdıklar hep köyde kaldılar da, o da çok yoktur, bi de herkes kendine

zor yeter, hiçbi faydaları yoktur. Allah razı olsun ben görünceye güvenip te bi başıma şuralara geldim, onun da şu ev boşmuş, pek kötüdür ama napcan idare ediyoz. O bile bi şeydir. Daha da fazla kadından ne isteyeyim yüzüm yoktur. Görümcem de nereye kadar edecek onun da bissürü çoluk, çocuğu vardır, pek zordur, pek...”

Ece (41,I): “...We came here 6 months ago following my husband. He followed a woman; I understood it couldn't go on in this way and I came here with my children...I don't know anybody and nobody knew us. I was very hungry; but I couldn't knock any door to ask for help. Also, does a man who doesn't look at your face in the street help you...? Do you believe that even their children don't accept my children as friends? Who can I go for help?... All people whom I know are in the village now. They are also very few. Everybody can hardly feed themselves so I cannot want any help from them. Thank God, I trusted in my sister-in-law and I came here on my own. We stay in her house which she doesn't live in. Its conditions are not very suitable but there isn't anything to do. I cannot ask much more things from her. How long does my sister-in-law help me? She has children as well. It is very difficult...”

Another woman defined herself poor but she stated that even if she starved to death at her home nobody would come to help her. According to her, nobody could help her because these were in a few amounts and temporary. It can be said that in each case, since there aren't anything to transfer reciprocally people stay outside of the conventional solidarity networks and they experience the poverty mercilessly.

Saliha (45,P): “...Kocam bizi bırakıp gitti, bi kadın peşinden. Sonra onu da bıraktı ya, zaten varken de yok gibiydi. Çocuklarla da ilgilenmiyo. Çalışmayı çok istedim ama hasta olduğum için bu yaşta kimse iş vermedi bana. Çocukları nereye bırakayım?...Anam bakamaz, kardeşim kanser, o da ona bakar, akrabamız hiç yoktur, kimseyle görüşmeyiz...Hiçbi gelirimiz yok, herif emekli parasından bi miktar para verdiydi onu faize yatırdık, neye yetecek...Ekmek ve çay tüketiyoz hep. Evde banyo bile yok, ahıra benziyo. Hayvan bile bağlasan durmaz...Ne komşuluğu ölmüş, komşuluk, momşuluk. Sen de varsa o zaman iyisin, bak gör kapını o zaman her gün nasıl çalarlar. Ama sen de yoksa kötüsün...Aha yeşil kart dersin adamın altında Mercedes vardır, ama muhtarla arası iyidir, gider yeşil kartını da alır, her bi bokunu da, bizim gibiler de aha böyle işte sürünürler...Ben taş yesem, taş yedim demem, hem ayıplarlar, hem de benim grurum var...Dediler su deniz fenerine filen başvuru diye, ölürüm yine olmaz, aleme bi de rezil mi olcam, hayatta olmaz...Zaten kimsenin kimseye yardım edeceği filen yoktur, sende varsa iyisin, yoksa kötüsündür, bu işler böyle napcan...Asıl sen fakirim diyenden kork, esas fakir onlar değildir, şu mahallede de fakir, makir yoktur, hepsinin durumu da pek iyidir. Ama yok demeye alışmış bunlar, öyle kendilerini acındırırlar...”

Saliha (45,P): "...My husband left us and went with another woman. Then he left her as well. There was no difference between his existence and absence. He didn't concern himself with the children either. I have wanted to work very much; but as I am ill nobody wants to give me a job at this age. Where can I leave my children? My mother cannot look after them. My brother suffers from cancer so she looks after him. We don't have any relatives and we don't meet anybody. We don't have any income; my husband gave some amount of his pension to me and I invested it to interest; however, how can it be sufficient? We always consume bread and tea. There isn't even a bathroom at home; it is like a barn. If you tie an animal in it, it doesn't endure...There is not any neighbourhood; it disappeared. If you have money you are a good person for them. Look and see how they knock your door every day! However, if you don't have any money you are a bad person for them...He has a green card but he also has a Mercedes. But he has a good relation with the chief of the neighborhood. He goes and takes everything he needs and the people like us suffer like this. If I eat stone I don't say even a word. They gossip about me and also I have a pride. Some people told me to apply Deniz Feneri (a TV programme) but I never do that because I have a pride and I don't want to be disgraced in front of millions of people. I believe that nobody helps anybody. Everybody has to succeed in surviving on his own. Indeed, you must be afraid of those who say that they are poor. They are not really poor. There aren't any poor people in this neighbourhood. Everybody's financial situation is very good. However, they have gotten used to saying that they don't have anything. They try to arouse people's pity for themselves..."

We have said that traditional relationship networks create a field of activity in terms of woman; however, it has been seen in our research that poverty really limit their field of activity. For instance, many of the interviewees stated that there was a price of meeting neighbours and when they visited them they also had to invite them to their houses, and this cost a lot of money. On the other hand, the visits of the relatives or friends who live far away also bring them a financial burden. This situation has also shown that there is a serious cost to keep up the traditional relationships. Under these circumstances, it is unavoidable to weaken these relationships in the course of time. It shouldn't be forgotten that this weakness increases the poverty. During the research, when we asked the interviewee if there was a women's at-home day (like sugar, rice or money) and if they attended in them, all of them said there weren't any occasions like that or if there had been they wouldn't have known or if there were they couldn't attend in them because of financial burden. Therefore, it is possible to say that money is the most important factor to restrict field of activity.

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Sen benle dalga mı geçersin? Ben eve şekerimi neyim zor alırım, bi de aleme mi alacam da...Ne bana alsınlar, ne de ben onlara alayım...Komşuluk tabii vardır, olacak amma ben oyle gidip gelmem, bak şimdi sen bi gitsen o da bi gelecek, ben isterimki onu da güzel ağır layayım, bu işler hep paraya bakar, ne ben gideyim ne de onlar gelsinler...."

Hüsniye (38,I): "... Are you kidding me? I can hardly buy sugar or other things for my family so how can I buy them for also other people? Neither they'll buy for me nor will I buy for them...Neighbourhood is certainly important, but I don't often visit my neighbours. If I visit them they'll also come to visit me. When they came I would want to entertain them at my home so it also requires money. As a result, neither I want to go their homes nor I want them to turn up my home..."

Afife (45,I): "...Ah gızım nasıl, ne günüdür, biz günde 20 den fazla ekmek tükettiğimiz olur, ben ona zor para yetiştirirken nasıl gidipte mahallede şeker, piriñ günüymüş katılayım. Elalem ne der...Zaten yoktur bizim buralarda öyle şeyler, herkesin hali bellidir...Olsa da zor giremeyiz..."

Afife (45,I): "... What! Is it women's at-home day? We eat more than 20 breads a day and I can hardly afford it. So how can I go to women's at-home day to buy sugar or rice together in turn in order? What people say...? There isn't anything like this here... Even if there was we could not attend..."

Meanwhile, one of the most important arguments that poverty restricts woman's field of activity is that almost all of the women don't know where Kızılay or Ulus are and they have never gone to these places. When it was asked the reason for this, the first thing they said was that going there required money. In addition to this, some of the interviewees stated that they only knew Ulus and they had to go there when there was a duty to perform. They also said that these were very rare and if there were they walked to Ulus for many times.

Ece (41,I): "...Ne Ulus ne Kızılay bilirim. Ankara'ya geldim geleli ne yol, ne iz bilirim. Para yoksa zaten nereye gicten. Arada görümçeme giderim, o bize gelir, öyle işte..."

Ece (41,I): "...I know neither Ulus nor Kızılay. Since I came to Ankara I have never known how to go to different places. Also if you don't have money, where will you go? I only go to my sister-in-law's house and she also comes to visit us, that's the way it is..."

Yeliz (42,P): “...Kızılay’a zaten gitmeyiz. Ayda bir taksit yatırmaya, kızımınla beraber Ulus’a inerim...Tabii o da paradır. Yazın hadi yürürsün de kışın mutlaka binmek lazımdır...Bak düşün hergün inmeye kalksan yol parası çok tutar...”

Yeliz (42,P): “... We never go to Kızılay. I go to Ulus with my daughter to pay the instalments once a month... Of course it also requires money. You can walk in summers but you have to get on the bus in winters. If you go there everyday, it costs a lot of money...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “...Ben Kızılay’ı hiç bilmem. Ulus’u azıcık bilirim de, ona da bebeler olmadan gitmem....Oraya inmekte paradır. O da para ister...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “... I know nothing about Kızılay. I know little about Ulus but I don’t go there without my children. Going there also requires money...”

On the other hand, Şenses (2000) mentions about the producing of food related to the strategies of living. For this purpose, he talks about the increase of families’ solidarity or the visit of the village at least once a year to get enough food to consume for a period. As a matter of this fact, some of the interviewees stated that they were still in relation with their villages and some food for winter was brought by them during their visits to the village or sent to them by the relatives in the village. Meanwhile, some women said that they helped their relatives on the farms during their visits to the village in reply to get some food for winter. Moreover, it talked about the producing tomato sauce, home made noodle, also tomato and pimento in summer time for winter with the help of the neighbours. However, this help is again reciprocal so you also have to go and help your neighbour to make this food then. They do not share the productions, but sometimes very few of the products are given to the person who helps another one to make it.

Derya (33,P): “Köyden bulgur, un gibi şeyler gelir. Her yaz zaten kızı oraya gönderirim. Ben gidemesem de o gider. Sonra onla birlikte gönderirler, pek iyi olur...Kışlık çıkmış olur...”

Derya (33,P): “... Our wheat and flour come from the village. I send my daughter to the village every summer. Even if I cannot go there, she certainly goes. The relatives in the village send some wheat or flour with her so we eat them in winter and it is good for us...”

Deniz (40,I): “...Yazın tarhanamı, eriřtemi yaparım pekte iyi olur, kışa hazır olur...Sağolsun komşular pek yardım ederler valla. Ama ben de onlara ederim. Karşılıklıdır. Yaptığımız zaten azdır, kime yeter...Ama ben de ona yardım ederim ödeşmiş oluruz...”

Deniz (40,I): “... In summer, I make noodle, tomato and pimento to be ready for the winter... I thank them very much, my neighbours help me and I also help them. Of course, it is reciprocal. Since those we make are hardly enough for my family I cannot give them any but I also help them to make preparation for the winter and we settle accounts with each other...”

Dilan (31,H): “...Yazın hiç sebze para vermem, meyveyi de unutma...bak hepsi bahçemde pek güzel yetişiyo, onlara gözüm gibi bakarım, valla kimseye de vermem... Bana veriyolar mı da?...”

Dilan (31,H): “... In summer I never pay for vegetables, don't forget the fruit... Look, I grow them in my garden, you see? I give them to nobody... Do they give me?...”

Another significant point was that Hüsniye (38,I) who heard about a man who had a bakery and distribute bread free in Hacı Bayram stated that she got up early in the morning, walked to Hacı Bayram and queued to take bread. In addition to this, the women who took bread as assistance from Big City Municipality told us they walked a long distance to Bentderesi everyday and queued. They took bread and returned walking the same long distance. These activities were usually performed together with close neighbours. Therefore, during these activities, they could pass the time with neighbours. Walking, waiting in a queue, and then going back were the collective activities they did together with the neighbours during taking bread free. This shows that these kinds of activities are important in terms of socialization.

Hüsniye (38,I): “...Sabah erkenden kalkarım, şurda aha bi komşu var, bi de şurda elim, onun da iki komşusuna haber verir, hep beraber yürüyerek Hacıbayram'a gideriz, sıraya gireriz, ekmeğimizi alır, döneriz...Onlar da orada ekmek dağıtıldığını benden duydular...Beraber yürümek hele yazın pek zevklidir, bazen yolda bi yer vardır, orda ara verir, iki oturur laflarız. Pek güzel halleşir, hem de dertleşiriz. Döndüğümüzde de çay demler bazen bahçeye davet ederim...Ben bu sırada şu elimin, dedim ya çağırıldığı 2 komsusunu tanıdım, hele birini pek sevdim, iyi oldu nolcak kötümü ya?...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “...I get up early in the morning and tell my neighbour, my sister-in-law and her two neighbours, and we walk to Hacı Bayram. We line up and take bread, then go back our homes. I informed them that there was bread there. It is enjoyable to walk together especially in

summer. Sometimes we stop to sit somewhere on the way and chat. When we return, I make tea and invite them to the garden. By means of these trips, I knew about my sister-in-law's two neighbours. I liked especially one of them so it is good..."

Furthermore, another strategy that women developed to contribute to household's living was to go shopping to Dışkapı Bazaar together with the neighbours around the evening. They went around the evening because food was the cheapest at that time. Usually fruit wasn't bought since it was expensive. Another significant finding was that some women bought stale bread from grocer as it was much cheaper. Also, doing shopping on credit from grocer was commonly seen to get food for the household.

Neriman (64,I): "...yiyecek alışverişini Dışkapı pazarından yaparım. Pek iyidir, haftada bir burdan servis kaldırılır, ona biner giderim, para da vermem. Ama akşam üstüne doğru gideriz, çünkü daha ucuz olur biliyon mu? Pek seçtirmezler ama olsun, hiç değilse ucuzdur..."

Neriman (64,I): "... I go shopping for food to Dışkapı Bazaar. It is quite good there was a service bus once a week. I get on it and I don't pay any money, and I go shopping. But we go about late afternoon because the food is cheaper at that time. The sellers don't allow choosing food, but it doesn't matter because it is cheaper..."

Afife (45,I): "...Bizim evde günde bazen 20 den fazla ekmek tüketilir. Yardım almadan önceydi, bakkalla anlaştıydım bana önceden kalmış ekmekleri daha ucuza veriyodu, başka nasıl başa çıkcan hala biri miri gelirse napcan yine öyle yaparım. Bakkalımız çok iyidir, vermezsen de bişi demez, yazdırırım sonra da öderiz yoksa nasıl bana bedavadan mı verecek. Allah razı olsun..."

Afife (45,I): "... Sometimes over 20 bread is eaten at my home. Before I got help I had come into an agreement with the grocer to buy stale bread much cheaper. How can I cope with this poverty? If someone visits my home, I will again do the same thing. Our grocer is very kind-hearted. If I cannot pay money for the product I buy, he agrees to sell it on credit and I can pay later. Of course he doesn't give it to me free. May God be pleased with him!..."

When it comes to nourishment which is one of provisions to be healthy, it was clearly seen that being nourished well was very far from the poor. As a result of the research, we saw that the commonly consumed things were tea, bread, pasta, wheat and legumes. Meanwhile, pastry was one of the most commonly consumed

and offered food to the guests. These were usually made in a cool place in summer with the help of the neighbours. But then they weren't given to the neighbour or very little was given. All the women said that the rice was very expensive so they consumed durum wheat instead of it. They also added that the guests' food wasn't different from theirs, either and they had to eat what they were offered. Mince meat and chicken were among the food some families could rarely buy. These foods were cooked when an important guest visited them or their married children come; in short when the family came together. As the women asserted that chicken was mostly preferred to mince meat because it was much cheaper and its water could be used to cook another meal later. Another important point was that the women whose husbands were seller in a bazaar mostly consumed fruit and vegetables. These women both thought that they were lucky because of not paying for these foods and complaint about eating leftovers. On the other hand, W21 asserted that they had experienced very hard times when they first had come to Ankara. She expressed that they had bought dry bread much cheaper from grocer and wetted it while eating to prevent from damaging their throats. She also added that after she had eaten it herself and had fed her children they went to bed hungry for many nights. She said that now her son started work and they got some help so they didn't eat dry bread any more but meat or chicken were still a dream for them.

Afife (45,I): "...Biz en çok, ekme  yeriz. En  okta onu yeriz, yazın bazen ocakta yapar, kendim pişiririm, hem daha ucuza gelir. Ama kışın bu iş pek zordur, soğukta adamın eli kolu donar, nasıl yapacaksın ki bu işi. Bulgur yeriz, makarna yeriz. Biz hasret kalmışız, tavuk , et yemeyeli pek  ok olmuştur. K ydeyken  ocuklara s t i irirdim ama Őimdi burlarda o da  ok pahalıdır..."

Afife (45,I): "... We mostly eat bread. Sometimes I make it myself so it costs much cheaper. But in winter, this is very difficult since your hands get colder so how can you make it? In winter, we eat durum wheat and pasta. We feel the absence of meat and chicken as we haven't eaten them for a long time. When we were in the village, the children could drink milk. But now, it is also very expensive here..."

H sniye (38,I): "...Biz en  ok bulgur, makarna yeriz. Beyaz pirin  pahalıdır. Bize en ucuz sebzedir  unk  herif pazarcı, kaynım da  yle, akşam eve gelirken bir ok meyve ve sebze getirir. Bakma onlar da artıklardır, ama hi  yoktan iyidir..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "... We mostly eat pounded wheat and macaroni. Rice is expensive. The cheapest food is vegetable for us because my husband is a seller in the bazaar, and is my brother-in-law. While he is coming home in the evening, he brings lots of fruit and vegetables. In fact, they are leftovers but better than nothing at all..."

Deniz (40,I): "...Hamur işi pek yaparım ama evde olduğumda, bi de yağ, un varsa yaparım. Onun dışında pek çok makarna, bulgur tüketiriz. ...Oğlan gelceğinde, ya da kız tatile eve gelceğinde, kırk yılın başı, bazen azcık tavuk alırım, sonra onun suyuna da pilav, çorba yaparım..."

Deniz (40,I): "... When I am at home I often make pastry if there is oil and flour. Except for pastry, we mostly consume pasta and durum wheat... When my son or my daughter comes for holiday, just once, I bought a little chicken and cooked rice and soup with its water..."

At the same time, some views we saw during the research could give an idea related to the dimension of the poverty and which household experience this situation. When we entered Derya (33,P)'s house, they were having breakfast. On the breakfast table, there was dry bread, some green grass in a small plate and a few olives in a small plate again. The children were wetting the dry bread plunging it into the tea which is quite light-coloured and eating some grass with it, and then sipping their tea again.

Saliha (45,P) sent her daughter to the neighbour to barrow some tea and some glasses because they didn't have any. And she stated that they had forgotten meat and chicken and they thought about feeding their empty stomachs but they didn't say anything about it to anybody. They lived their poverty lonely. Another important point was that none of the women drank alcohol and very few of them smoked. However, they said that their husband smoke and many of them drank alcohol, too. They told us that these addictions were also important expense components but neither they nor their husbands could do anything to give up these addictions although they struggled. Neriman (64,I) expressed in tears that during an argument because of money she had told her husband to give up smoking but he had said that he would have divorced her but he wouldn't have given up smoking.

Saliha (45,P): "...Ekmek ve çay tüketiyoruz hep. Et, tavuk biz çoktan unutmuşuz. Ah şu küçücük toruna acırım, hadi biz ne bulsak yeriz, ama bu çocuk yazıktır ona..."

Saliha (45,P): "... We always consume bread and tea. We forgot about meat and chicken. I feel sorry about my little grandchild. We eat what we find, but he is only a child. What a pity to him!..."

Neriman (64,I): "...Bizim eve gelen para elektrik, su, boğazdan sonra bi de herifin sigarasına gider. Allah'tan ickisi yok bi de o olsa nolcakti. Çok yalvardım, az kavgalar etmedim, tabi dayakta yedim, bırak şu pisi dedim ama nafiye, bana "seni boşarım, yine sigaradan vazgeçmem" dedi, valla..."

Neriman (64,I): "... Our income is spent for electricity, water, nourishment and then my husband's cigarettes. Fortunately he doesn't drink alcohol. I begged so much and argued many times to make him stop smoking. But I got a beating and he said that he divorced me but he never gave up it..."

Meanwhile, they asserted that some neighbours who were sellers in the bazaar gave those fruit and vegetables when they brought in the evening but a few meals cooked at home were given as reciprocal. And they supported this situation that there had to be give-and-take in every friendship. The other assistance from those whose husbands are seller in the bazaar was to give broken wooden boxes to the neighbours to set on fire in winter. However, they only gave them when they didn't need and if they needed to throw those boxes away. The other significant point was that women usually bought clothes from Dışkapı Bazaar or from Samanpazarı in Ulus by instalments or from mobile sellers who came to the neighbourhood again by instalments. Nevertheless, many of them said that they bought these clothes for their children and rarely for their husbands and mother-in-laws (when they needed), and they wore old clothes given by friends or relatives. They explained this situation that they didn't go anywhere and they didn't even go out so it didn't matter to wear new clothes or not. Regarding this all of the women declare that when they are short of money, first they will restrict their clothing expenses. Besides, the majority of them state that its impossible to restrict the food expenses while the minority of them indicates that they can reduce their food expenses only for the favor of educational expenses.(Those who declared this situation had stated that they rarely ate meat. The restriction they talked about was most probably meat they could rarely eat.)

Aslı (41,I): "...Ben pek üste başa bişey almam, alırsam da kıza, kırk yılın başı da adamın ihtiyaç olursa alırım. Onu da pazardan alırsız, bazen de kapı önüne arabayla gelirler, peşin nasıl alayım

taksitle alırım, sonra da peyderpey öderim...Valla boğazdan kesilmez, Allah göstermesin, bişey olsa bugün ilk kısacağımız üst baştır, ölelim mi açlıktan...Ben yiyeceğe de aksam üstü dışkapı pazarına gider alırım. Bazen de pazarcı komşularımız var, Allah razı olsun bak onlar da verirler, bak onlardan birinin getirdiği kasalarla kışlık yakacağımız da çıktı, daha ne olsun...Ben de onlara bazen ekmek yapar, hamur işi yapar bizim memleketin pek güzel olur, ondan veririm.”

Aslı (41,I): “... I don't often buy new clothes for myself. If I bought, I would buy for my daughter and for my husband, just for once, when he needed. We buy clothes from bazaar and sometimes from mobile sellers who come to the neighbourhood by instalment. How can I buy in cash? Food isn't restricted so if we are short of money, we restrict clothing firstly. I also go to Dışkapı Bazaar about the evening for the food. There are our neighbours who are seller in the bazaar. Sometimes, may God be pleased with them, they give vegetables and fruit. One of them also brought us some wooden boxes for winter. Sometimes I also make bread or pastry for them and give them these foods...”

Betül (39,I): “...Biz giysilerimizi pazardan alırsınız...Bazen de kıza alcağım da Samanpazarı veya Ulus'a da inerim. Orda bazen daha ucuza olur, hem de taksitle alırsın, iyidir. Haftada bi dışkapı pazarına giderim. İyi oluyo bi gün yüzü görüyoruz...”

Betül (39,I): “...We buy our clothes from the bazaar...Sometimes I go to Samanpazarı in Ulus to buy clothes for my daughter. Sometimes clothes there are more expensive and I can buy them by instalments. I go to Dışkapı Bazaar once a week. It is the only way for us to go out so it is good...”

On the other hand, it was seen during the research that the use of electricity and water illegally among the activities the poor did to continue living were commonly performed. The most commonly used method for this was to demolish apparatuses using a magnet or to compress the apparatus using a wire to stop turning of it. During the research, some women asserted that they had been caught because of these illegal usages so they had to pay a fine and delay interest beside the debt, and they tried to pay this debt for many years but it was difficult. They also said that they were afraid of execution of the house. Besides, during the research those who had telephone expressed that their telephones were blocked off because of debt. However, they said that indeed it was good because it stopped using phone.

Hüsniye (38,I): “..Elektrik faturası en son bi 50 milyon geldi ödeyemedik, kapandı, saatte bozuk bu arada. Yani anlıcağın kaçak kullanıyoz. Su parası yaklaşık 20 milyon lira gelir. Telefonun da şu anda 30 milyon lira borcu var ama onu da ödeyemedik bak kapalı...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “... We couldn't pay the last electricity bill –it was 50 million Turkish Liras so the telephone was blocked off. Electricity's apparatus is out of order, too. As you see we use it illegally. Water usually costs about 20 million Turkish Liras every month. There is also 30 million Turkish Liras debt for the phone but we couldn't pay so it is blocked off now...”

Betül (39,I): “...Televizyon dizileri seyrederez ama gündüz açmayız, elektrik parası gelecek diye bak icralığız, hala onun borcunu ödüyöz...Oğlanla, adam valla aramızda kalsın bişeyler yaptı, sonra biri şikayet etti, milyar borç geldi, valla eş, dosttan borç bulduk, hala onu ödüyöz. Napcan bu devlet bi yandan veriyo, diğer yandan verdiği aliyo...”

Betül (39,I): “... We watch T.V series but we don't turn it on in the daytime to reduce the cost of electricity. Our house is executed because of its cost and we are still paying its debt...Don't tell others but my husband and son did something and then somebody complained us. Therefore, we are in debt to the government and we lent money from our relatives so we are still paying it back to them. The government both gives and then it takes what it gives...”

One of the most significant factors related to earning poor people's living was the working life. During the research, I run into two women who worked regularly. One of them worked in a cleaning firm, and another worked as au-pair and did the cleaning of an apartment. Both of them said that although their husbands opposed their working, they could hardly find these jobs with the help of some friends and continued working. They stated that they tried hard to make their husbands accept it. In spite of this difficulty, they told us that they never repent of working because their financial situation was better now, and also they have felt better since they worked. The woman who worked in the cleaning firm expressed that her husband didn't work now and she met the needs of the household. And she added that if she hadn't worked the situation would have been worse because her daughter was a student at university and her son was at a high school. Besides, both of these women advised the other women to work and stated that working changed their lives in a positive way. They asserted that they earned their own money, could separate more time for themselves, met new friends, and they could object their husbands and support their

rights against them. However, she added that the working life was difficult because they were tired both at work and at home, and it was almost impossible for them to work when the children were quite young. Moreover, they said that everything was easy if there was a person to look after them.

Seçil (43,LP): “ ...Benim çalışmamı hayatta istemedi. Ben konu komşuya haber saldıydım. Bigün onlardan haber geldi. Herife hiç söylemedim, başladım, bi kaç gün baktım iyi gidiyo, öyle söyledim...Sonra eve para gelmeye başlayınca, sesi çıkmadı. Keşke daha önceden çalışabilseydim, ama nafile çünkü çocuğun küçük, anam burda yaşamaz, uzaktadır, kime bırakıp gitcen bebeleri...Şimdi bak adam çalışmıyo, eve ben bakıyorum. İyidir çalışmak, boş duranı Allah sevmez...Tabii çalışmanın da zorlukları var, dışarda el derdi, evde koca derdi, ama napcan çok şükür, Allah sağlık versin de daha ne isterim....Bu paraya ihtiyacımız var. Kız üniversitede onun masrafları, bak oğlan da şimdi dershaneye gidecek, kolay mı bunlar neyle olacak... Çalışınca hayatımda pek çok şey değişti, yeni arkadaşlarım oldu. Bak her sabah bi Kızılay’a inmek bile değişikliktir, valla...İnsan etrafta ne olup, bitiyö, ne var, ne yok daha bi bilgili oluyo. Evimi şimdi daha bi seviyö, koşarak geliyö, hafta sonlarını iple çekiyö, çocuklarımla vakit geçirecem diye.... Evdeyken valla böyle değildi, herşey daha sıkıntılıydı...”

Seçil (43,LP): “... My husband never wanted me to work. I told my neighbours that I looked for a job. One day they informed about a job but I didn’t say anything to my husband. After I worked a few days I said my husband. Then he didn’t say anything when he saw money coming home. I wish I had worked before but it was impossible because the child was a baby. Since my mother didn’t live here I couldn’t leave him to anybody and I couldn’t work. Now my husband doesn’t work so I meet the needs at home. Working is good and God helps those who help themselves. Of course there are difficulties of working –the trouble of stranger at work and the trouble of husband at home. However, thanks to God, I work as far as I am healthy. We need this money because my daughter is a student at university and my son is in high school but he’s going to have private lessons in order to be prepared for the university entrance exam. That’s why our duty is important and isn’t easy...After I started working, lots of things changed in my life. For example, I made many new friends. Besides, I go to Kızılay every morning and this is also a change. You also are aware of more things about the world. I love my home very much now and I long for the weekends to pass my time with my children. When I was at home I didn’t feel like this and everything was much more worrying...”

Esin (33,I): “... Beyim hiç istemez ama oğlum çok destek arkamda, onun sayesinde bişeyler yapıyö. Yarım gün öğretmen çocuğuna bakıyö, 3 binayı süpürüp, temizliyö, çok ta güzel nakış yaparım, onları satıp para kazanıyö, hiç değilse kira parası çıkar, boğaza bişeyler almır...Fena mı oldu. Eve para girdi. Valla şimdi kendime güvenim de geldi. Çünkü kendime ait kazandığım bi param

var çok şükür oğlum da arkamdır. Artık sırtım yere gelmez...Apartman işi düzenli iştir, bundan sonra artık bana bişey olmaz...Inan evden çıkıp, yürüyüp, bi başka yüz görmek bile değişiklik. Bi de çocuklar büyüdü, artık gözümde arkada değil. Ev işi, yemek yine benim üstümdedir ama onları da hafta sonu hallederim, bana pek sorun olmaz....Hem para kazanmaya başladıktan sonra herifte değişti. Artık daha az içiyö ve benle kavga etmiyo, daha ne olsun ki...”

Esin (33,I): “... My husband never wants but my son supports me to wok. I look after a teacher’s child for half of a day, and then I clean three buildings. I can also embroider very beautifully and I sell them to meet the cost of rent or to buy some food. I am very happy with working and I began to trust in myself because I earn money on my own and my son supports me. From now on I never am overcome. Cleaning apartments is a good job. I am not afraid of my future from now on...Believe me, even going out from home and seeing a different face is a change. Housework and cooking are again my jobs. But it doesn’t matter because I perform these duties at weekends. After I started earning money my husband also changed. Now he drinks alcohol less and doesn’t quarrel with me. What else do I want?...”

Some of the activities done outside of the house to provide income for household are to go cleaning other people’s houses and selling something to people as mobile. (They put the product in packages and carry them on their back to show other women at their homes and to sell.) One of the women who go cleaning mentioned that she found a scholarship from an important university for his daughter who studied at university by the help of the host of the house she was cleaning. And also she got some clothes and furniture again from those hosts whose houses she was cleaning.

Deniz (40,I): “...Yokluk belimizi büker, ben çalışmıyorum ama baktım olmayacak bu kızın üniversite masrafı da, nasıl okuyacak. Arada temizlik işine gidiyom. İyi oldu biraz beli doğrulttuk...Bak o sayede bizim kıza Allah razı olsun, burs bulmama yardımcı oldular. O da yetmiyomuş gibi küçük kıızı iyi bi doktorun yanına sekreter olarak yerleştirdiler. Allah onlardan bin kere razı olsun, kim yapardı bunları bana...Ben çalışmasam bunları nereden bulacaktım da...”

Deniz (40,I): “...We suffer from poverty very much. I didn’t work but now I sometimes go cleaning. My daughter studies at university. My working is good for her education. By means of the hosts whose houses I clean, we have found a scholarship for her. They also found a job for my younger daughter. She works as a secretary in a doctor’s office. May God be pleased with them! Who helped me? If I didn’t work I couldn’t find these facilities...”

Betül (39,I): "...Herif istemezdi çalışmamı bugün yükledim sırtıma bohçayı habersizce çıktım. Çıkış o çıkış sora alışı para gelince sesi çıkmadı. Geçen sene de o paradan bi dikiş makinası aldım. 1- 1,5 olsun önemli değil az da olsa kazanırım ah bi de düzenli işim olsa ne isterim..."

Betül (39,I): "...My husband didn't want me to work. One day, I loaded the package on my back and went out without telling him anything. Then, he got accustomed when he saw money coming home. Last year, I bought a sewing machine with this money. It doesn't matter if it is more or little. I wish I had a regular work. Then what do I want?..."

On the other hand, some of the activities done at home to provide income for the household are handicrafts, lacework and knitting. However none of the women saw these activities to provide income. Some of them said that they paid the debt of the goods they bought for the house without informing their husbands. Some of them said that they gave pocket money to their children at school. And some told us that they separated this money for their daughter's dowry.

Zarife (38,P): "...Ben çalışmıyorum. Ama bak elişi yapıyorum, gerekirse kapı kapı gezip satıyorum. Pek iyi oluyo, o da boğaza gider ama olsun, pek iyi oluyo valla..."

Zarife (38,P): "... I don't work. However I produce handicrafts like lacework or embroidery. And I sell them going to every house. It brings some money to buy some food so it is quite good..."

Nilgün (62,I): "...Ben hiç çalışmadım, ama arasıra dışarıya, ama çok yakınlara, gizlice bişeyler yapıp satıyorum...Pek kimse bilsin istemem. İyi oluyo, bak bi köşede param oluyo....Sonuçta o da çocukların masraflarına bilmemneye gider ama olsun. Akmasa da damlar. Bak geçen gün B' ye İstanbul'a giderken pek güzel bişi ördüm valla, kızın lastik ayakkabı parası çıktı. Daha ne olsun..."

Nilgün (62,I): "... I never worked but sometimes I make something and sell it secretly to the people who live very near here...I don't want anybody to know this. Therefore it is good since I earn a little money. It is spent to meet the children's needs but it doesn't matter. It doesn't come in a great amount but it comes one by one. For example, a few days ago I produce quite beautiful handmade for B while she was going to Istanbul and I could afford my daughter's rubber shoes..."

Furthermore some of the women used to work on the fields as a family worker before they migrated to Ankara. But they do not regard this activity as a job

either. Most of the women argue the difficulties of working in the urban area by implying a fear on working in a public work place and state health problems as an excuse. They also state that they do not have any idea about the procedures of finding a job and believe that they cannot recruit to one without having any help. But still most of them state an inclination to work if they could and if their husbands approve. An interesting point regarding their perceptions of the working women is that even the women with most strong disapproval (who indicate women are traditionally disapproved to work outside home) state that they strongly wish their children to find a good job. They do not want their children to become like themselves but find good jobs and save themselves. Indeed, they tried to make also their future under guarantee.

Ece (41,I): "...Ben hiç çalışmadım, bi işim olmadı. Köydeyken tarlaya giderdim pancar işine. Üç beş kuruş öyle harçlık olurdu işte. Ama burada ne yaparım, kime başvururum bilmem, bura şehirdir, büyüktür, küçük köy yeri değildir ki..."

Ece (41,I): "...I never worked and had a job. When I was in the village I went to work in the fields which were planted with beet. I earned a little pocket money but here I do not know what I can do or who I appeal to. Here is the city so it is big and it isn't a small village..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Ben hiç çalışmadım, biz de çünkü çalışılmaz hem ayıp, hem günahdır. Erkek çalışır, o getirir, biz yeriz. Zaten ben çalışmam, hastayım, gücüm de yok, çalışmak ta istemem. İstesem de nereye gidilir, kime başvurulur bilmem ki. Ben bak herkese baktım, bana kim bakacak. Kadın olarak ta güçsüzüm benim hiçbir şeye gücüm filen yetmez. ...Ben çile çektim, çocuklar çekmesin isterim ama pek zordur, inşallah onlar iyi bir iş bulurlar..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...I never worked because according to us, working is a shame and a sin for women. The man work and we spend it. I already cannot work because of my illness and also I don't want to work. Even if I want to work I do not know who is appealed to or where is applied. I looked after everybody, but who looks after me? I am also weak because I am a woman... I suffered very much and I want my children not to suffer, but living is hard. I hope they find good jobs..."

Aslı (41,I): "...Ah ben çok istedim çalışmayı ama bu adam bırakmadı. Biz de kadının çalışmasına pek iyi gözle bakmazlar biliyon mu?...Ah bugün izin verse hemen çalışırım, evde çocuk bile bakarım, konu komşudan yardım isterim, bana iyi, güvenilir bi iş bulun diye. Ama o aç mısın, açık mısın deyip hep kavga çıkarır...Böyle herifin eline bakarız..."

Aslı (41,I): "... I wanted to work very much but my husband didn't permit. Do you know that our people have a bad opinion of the working women?... If he permitted today, I would work immediately. I would even look after a child to earn money or I would want help from my neighbours to be able to a good job. However, he always argues about this issue telling that I am not homeless or hungry... So I depend on him for living..."

The commonly encountered strategy of the household's living was to make more people from the members of the family participate to provide income. Since men usually did informal, low-qualified and low-paid jobs they could not maintain crowded population of the house. (In addition to this, we have seen during the research that very few men had a regular income and worked with insurance. These were either night-watchmen or office-clerks as these jobs didn't require quality.) At this point, usually their sons had to work when they were very young. They also did informal, unqualified and low-paid jobs under bad circumstances.

Afife (45,I): "...Elimize gelen boğaza gidiyo. Faturaları da ödeyince bişey kalmaz. Kuru ekmek parası. Biz kalabalığız çok ekmek yenir, işte geriye bi 20-25 ya kalır ya kalmaz, bakkala borçlanırım, 5-10 milyon komşulara borçlanırım, borcu ben bulurum. Bu herif bi baltaya sap olamadı. Adamı çalışmaya alıştıramadım. Tembel biri getirsin o yesin. E bu ev neyle dönecek. Neyse ki büyük oğlan bi iş buldu da imdada yetişti. Borcu oğlan maaşı alınca öderiz...Şimdi öbürü de ayağından bıçaklandı, platin vardır, o haliyle çocuk yük taşır, napalım bunca boğaz neyle doycak...Ah şu kıza da bi iş bulunsa ... Ama kahrolasınca çalıştırmaz ki, biz çile çekmeye gelmişiz, böyle gelmiş, böyle gideriz..."

Afife (45,I): "...All money coming home is spent for nourishment. After paying the bill, there isn't any left –only very little for dry bread. We are so crowded at home so we eat lots of bread. There is only 20-25 million Turkish Liras from the wage. I always indebted to the grocer or I lend 5-10 million from the neighbours, and I find money from other people –my husband doesn't. My husband didn't succeed in any work. He is too lazy to work hard. So how can you afford living at this home? Fortunately, my older son found a job and came to the help. We pay our debts when my son gets his wage... The other son was stabbed on his leg and there is platinum on it. However, he is still working and carrying heavy things to bring some money home. If only my daughter also found a job, but I know her damn father doesn't permit. We were born to suffer a lot and this never changes..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Kocam, pazarda çalışıyo. Bazen haftada 20 milyon bile getirdiği oluyo. Bazen hiç getiremiyo, çalışmadığı da oluyo. Oğlan askere gitmeden önce o da pazara giderdi ama

şimdi o da yok. Başka türlü nereye bu kadar boğaz doyacak. Aha kaynanam da bizle oturur. Kim bakacaktır onlara. Devlet bize hiç bakmıyo, zenginlere bakıyo, Bu para hiçbi şeye yetmiyo, bak kaç nüfus tek maaş, nasıl olacak ki sürünüyo. Elektrik faturası en son bi 50 milyon geldi ödeyemedik, kapandı, saatte bozuk bu arada. Yani anlıcağın kaçak kullanıyo. Su parası yaklaşık 20 milyon lira geliyo. Telefonun da şu anda 30 milyon lira borcu var ama onu da ödeyemedik bak kapalı...Ah şu oğlan bi dönse de bi an önce çalışmaya başlasa. Küçükler iyi okuyolar onlar okusunlar. Kız zaten çalışamaz, çalıştırmazlar da. Nolcak biz bi herifin eline kaldık...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “...My husband works as seller in the bazaar. Sometimes he earns only 20 million Turkish Liras a week but sometimes he doesn't earn any money, and sometimes he doesn't work. Before being a soldier, my son also go to bazaar to work but now he isn't here. If he didn't work how could feed these many people? My mother-in-law also stays with us so who looks after them? The government isn't interest in the poor but in the rich. The money we earn doesn't meet our needs. We couldn't pay the last electricity bill –it was 50 million Turkish Liras so the telephone was blocked off. Electricity's apparatus is out of order, too. As you see we use it illegally. Water usually costs about 20 million Turkish Liras every month. There is also 30 million Turkish Liras debt for the phone but we couldn't pay so it is blocked off now. I hope that my son come back soon and starts to wok. My little children are successful at school so I want them to study and save themselves. My daughter already cannot work because her father and her brothers don't permit...”

When the matter is health, many of the interviewees said that they had hypertroid, urological health problems and illnesses related to stress. They also added that health services were very expensive and they didn't have health insurances so they made use of their husbands' or sons' insurances. Meanwhile those who made use of green cards told us that green card was good but the offered service was insufficient. Those who hade green cards mostly went to Ankara Hospital because it was near to their houses so travel expense was much cheaper. They also added that green card didn't pay the cost of medicine this was a burden for them since medicine was very expensive in Turkey. Therefore, green card didn't provide them with a big advantage. Many of those who hade green cards explained this situation with these words: “I never go even if I die and we only go in an urgent case so it is good for children, indeed.” Since we couldn't make a deep research related to these helps during the research the most significant thing which could be said was that the votes in local elections were formed by these helps. Moreover, there were serious problems

related to benefiting from these helps so in the future a detailed study should be absolutely done about the quality and procedure of these helps.

Hüsniye (38,I): “...Yeşilkartım var bu hastalanınca iyi oluyo. Ankara hastanesine gideriz hastalıkta ama kaybettim, yeniden çıkarmak lazım. O kadar uzun sürer ki o napcaz bilmem. Askerde oğlum beni üstüne yazdırdı, Allah razı olsun onun sayesinde de muayene oldum ama gelecek o da. En son geçen sene kadın hastalığından ameliyat oldum ve kordonlarımı bağlattırdım. Ankara hastanesinde 8. ayın 3’ünde oldum. Hala sara tedavisi görüyom, bu da 2 senedir sürüyo, zehirli guvatrım var. Bu devirde kendi paranla nasıl tedavi olcan zor, bak boğaza zor yetiyo...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “...I have a green card so I make use of it when I am ill and we go to Ankara Hospital. However, I lost it so I have to take out it again. Moreover, taking it out again takes so much time that I don’t know what to do. My son is in the army now so, may God be pleased with him, I can be cured by means of him now, but he will come in a short time. I last had an operation because of a gynaecological disease. I had my cordons tied in Ankara on 3 August. I have been cured because of epilepsy for two years and it is still going on. It is hard to have an operation using your own money because we can only meet our food needs with this money...”

Afife (45,I): “...Yeşil kartımız var, valla mecbur kalmadıkça gitmeyiz. En çok Ankara hastanesine gideriz, genelde yürüyüp ineriz çünkü çok yakındır, ama acil bi durum varsa tabii arabaya bincen, o da paradır. Bi de yeşil kart olunca ilaç vermezler çok pahalıdır... Geçen oğlan yaralandığında, bacağından bıçakladılar, kan davasıdır, apar topar SSK ya gittik, inan para istediler ödeyemedik, çocuğu sonra çıkarmadılar, sağdan soldan borç ödedik, ama hala biraz daha borç var, ondan çocuğun nüfus kağıdı hala orda kalmıştır...”

Afife (45,I): “...We have a green card. We don’t go to hospital unless we have to go. We mostly go to Ankara hospital. We usually go on foot; because it is very near. However, if there is an emergency situation, we get on a taxi but it needs money. Also, they don’t give medicine to those who have green cards; and medicine is very expensive. When my son was wounded –they stabbed him on his leg because of blood feud-, we went to SSK. They asked for money but we couldn’t pay that amount. They didn’t let him go out of the hospital; we borrowed money to get him out of the hospital. However, we still some debt to the hospital; and so the identity card of my son is still there...”

One of the strategies a woman who had no guarantee developed was to make use of the health services by using the green card of a relative when a member of her family became sick. Satı(37,LP) stated in tears that she couldn’t do anything after she learnt the illness of her son, and if she hadn’t taken the green card of her sister-in-

law's daughter, she wouldn't have had any analysis made. However, she stated that almost when this situation came on the scene 1.5 years later that way was blocked for his son as well; she couldn't do anything for her son throughout a year, which was very bad for him; then after her daughter began to go to the course of sewing and embroidery at the society centre, she decided to talk to this centre about her problem and they helped them to get a green card. Then she added that she wished she had gone before and she expressed her regret.

Satı(37,LP): "...Bizim yeşil kartımız vardı, birileri bizi bunlar çok zengindir diye şikayet etti, muhtar da zaten bizi pek sevmez, bizim yeşil kartı iptal ettiler...Benim kızımın çok ciddi bi hastalığı vardır, irsidir, babadan gelir, halada ve amca çocuklarının hepsinde var. Tedavi çok pahalıdır. Bende eltimin kızının üstüne yeşil kartla onu doktora götürdüm. Bi seneye yakın bu böyle devam etti. Sonra bugün kızın resmini isteyince eltim daha vermedi, dedi herifi işten atıracaksınız olmaz öyle şey dedi. Bi de doktor anladı ama pek iyiydi, kendi de hamileydi, bize bi daha yapmayın oldu mu gidip bi yeşil kart çıkarttırın öyle gelin dedi, böylece kızın tedavi yarım kaldı...Napiym başka çarem yoktu, çocuğumun sağlığı herşeyden daha önemliydi, ben de onu yaptım valla..."

Satı(37,LP): "...We had a green card; someone complaint that we were very rich; the chief of the neighborhood didn't like us very much; they cancelled our card... My daughter has a very serious disease; it is hereditary; it is on her father's side of the family. Her aunt and the children of her uncle all have this disease. Its treatment is very expensive. And I took her to a doctor with the green card of my sister-in-law's daughter. It had lasted in this way for about one year. Then one day when they asked for my daughter's photo, my sister-in-law said that we didn't have any photo. And then the doctor understood the situation but she was a very good person; she herself was a pregnant as well and she told us not to do it again and to get a green card immediately. So treatment of my daughter was uncompleted... What could I do? I didn't have any other solution; the health of my child was more important than everything; and I behaved in that direction..."

Also some of the women said that they were pleased with the village clinic in their neighbourhood very much; whenever they had a problem they went there; they provided them with all kinds of support. On the other side, they emphasized that service was given in very difficult conditions; and the components such as apparatus, equipment used and cleaning had to be improved. The financial aid and moral support consisted of providing them with free examination and medicine (those who worked in the village clinic bought the medicine with their own prescription or they

gave the medicine in the small first-aid cupboard of the village clinic) and distributing second-hand clothes and furnishings.

Hüsniye (38,I): “...Valla mahalledeki sağlık ocağı pek iyidir. Herşeyimize yardımcı olurlar. İlaç yazarlar, bazen muayene eder para almazlar.Hatta aramızda kalsın, bazen kendilerine diye yazdırıp, bize verirler...Ama pek küçüktür, biraz genişlese, birçok şeyi de burda yapamaz hastaneye gönderirler, fena mı olurdu...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “... I swear it is true! The village clinic in the neighbourhood is very good. They help all of us. They give medicine; and sometimes when they examine us they don't get money. Also don't tell anybody but they sometimes prescribe any medicine for themselves and then give it to us...However, the building is very small; I wish it is a bit larger. They can't perform many tasks here and so they send us to the hospital. I f it was larger, would it be bad?...”

Satı(37,LP): “...Ben mahalledeki sağlık ocağına hiç gitmem pek pistir, aman Allah düşürmesin, leş gibidir, zaten yıkıldı yıkılacak ta ...”

Satı(37,LP): “... I never go to the village clinic in the neighbourhood; it is very dirty. God forbid, it is very smelly. It is about to be demolished....”

On the other hand, when we look at about all of the women who participated in the research the number of birth, stillbirth and miscarriage was very large. Some of them stated that according to what their doctors had said the problems of urology resulted from them. All the women except for only one (she stated that her child had died very young and as her husband didn't want any child, she couldn't give birth to any) said that if they had had a competence to reason before, they wouldn't have given birth to such a number of children. On the other hand, they stated that living was very difficult in this era and the increasing number of children also increased their burdens financially and psychologically. Even Neriman (64,I) among other women summarized her burdens using these words: “My husband goes out; he doesn't mind how you will cook, how you will allay all these people's hunger; you try to manage; also you can't go out by leaving all these children at home. If you want to work, how can you leave them at home?”. On the other side, the old ones among the women stated that they hadn't known what birth-control was in old days; when they got pregnant, it was said that it was a sin not to give birth to it; and also to

know about and apply these kinds of things in a village were difficult and even impossible.

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Biz de köy yerinde habire doğururlar, onlar geri kafalı işte napsın ki öyle görmüş, bi de tarlaya gidecekler. Ben de orda olsam halim haraptı. Şehre geldik, doktordan, sağdan soldan bissürü şey öğrendik. 4 çocuğum var, ben ama 3 olsun isterdim, fakat kaynanam çok istedi, o çocukları çok sever o yüzden 4 yaptık. Biz de kız, erkek farketmez, sağlıklı olsun yeter ama biz 3 erkeği 1 kıza biz değişmeyiz, bak kayınvalideme yine kıza bakıyo, bize kim bakacak yine kız bakacak, oğlan çocuğuyla bi değil ki. Kocam da hep böyle istedi. Ben hiç kürtaj da olmadım, çok şükür ölü de yok...Keske daha az olsaydı ama bak bunlar büyüyünce derdi de büyümüştür. Boğaz ne kadar az olursa dertte o kadar azdır, değil mi?..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "... In the village they always give birth to children. They are all reactionary; but what can they do? They have learnt it. They will also go to field. If I was there, I would be exhausted. We came to the city; we learnt a lot from other people and doctors. I have 4 children but I wish I had 3. However, my mother-in-law wanted very much, she likes children very much and so we had 4. There isn't any difference between a girl and a boy; that s/he is healthy is sufficient but we don't change three sons for a daughter. Look at my mother-in-law! Her daughter is looking after her. Who will look after us? Of course our daughter will. She doesn't resemble a son. My husband always wanted like this. I have never had an abortion. I thank God, none of my child died...I wish I had fewer; but look when they grow up their problems will be more serious as well. The fewer people are at home, the fewer problems are as well..."

Neriman (64,I): "...Benim 4 çocuğum var....Hiçbiri de okumadı, şimdiki aklım olsaydı bu kadar yaparmıydık ama napcan, cehalet.Şimdi bak derdim daha az olcaktı ama olmadı, herif sabah gider, akşam gelir, bu evde ne pişer, bu ev neyle, nasıl geçinir, bu bebeler nasıl büyür hiç düşünmez ki, bırak Allah aşkına....."

Neriman (64,I): "... I have 4 children...None of them go to school; if I had a competence to reason in the past would I have given birth to such a number of children... but what could I do? It was ignorance...Now I would have fewer problems but I couldn't. My husband goes out in the mornings and comes back in the evenings; he never minds what I will cook, what I will make a living out of and how these children will grow up. Give up! For heaven's sake. I beg you..."

On the other hand, in an atmosphere where the relation with the formal employment market has almost finished and the conditions of informal working conditions have become narrow extremely, the strategies the women follow in their

relation with the social aid institutions gain a great importance (Bora, 2002). In other words, they are among the components which can ease the life of a poor woman. From this aspect, for example the relation with the the chief of the neighborhood in the neighbourhood is very important. As the unit of the chief of the neighborhood is the first step of the aids taken from the governmental institutions, the decision the the chief of the neighborhood will make is very significant. Women try to develop good relations with the chief of the neighborhood in order to make use of the aids such as bread, food, firewood or coal. However, in this network of relation a cruel competition and jealousy are under consideration. As it has been said before, that Derya (33,P) who made use of aid through her good relations with the chief of the neighborhood got aid from another governmental institution, led to the spoil of her relations with other women in the neighbourhood and gossips about her. Derya (33,P) explained this situation using these words: “As they couldn’t manage to get, they are jealous of me; what can I do? Will I be a prostitute? How can I ally my children’s hunger? I went and applied to aid. They said that aid would be given and I went and asked for it. They do it as well. I don’t understand why they behave like this”. On the other hand, other women excluded her by limiting their relations with her and by not helping her when she needed. Also, the chief of the neighbourhood was subjected to reproaches of other women because of Derya (33,P) in front of our eyes, which showed that the chief of the neighbourhood could sometimes be a key person to perform the informal relations in the neighbourhood in a healthy way. In short, the relation between women and the chief of the neighbourhood was an important factor in the performance of the informal relations networks in the neighbourhood. That the chief of the neighbourhood had asked for votes from women before the election even during daytime in the street and he had promised some gifts in return was one of the most important proofs of it. Also the most significant common point in the examples of Deniz (40,I) and Derya (33,P) was that they had been living for more than 15 years in Ankara and in the same environment; and so being directly proportional to this period, being located within the present networks and making use of them could get easier.

Derya (33,P): “...Ne derlerse desinler , herşey desinler, ben namusumla gittim bu yardımı buldum. Nolmuş yalan dediysem, tok açın halinden anlamaz, işte bu paraya ihtiyacım vardı ben de

gittim aldım, geldim, napayım varsa başka çıkar yol söyleyin yapayım...Ben Ankara'ya geldiğimde hiçbi şey bilmezdim, zaten koca, kaynana dayağından iyice pıstıydım. Ne zaman evimizi ayırdık, bi de tanıdık, çevre derken bissürü şey öğrendim. Yoksa bunlar durduk yere olmuyo, biliyon mu?..."

Derya (33,P): "...I don't mind whatever they say. I went there with my virtue to find this aid. What would happen if I had told a lie...? The rich don't know about the poor. I needed this money and I went to take and I took it. If there is any other solution I do it... When I came to Ankara I didn't know anything; I had already fed up with the beating of my husband and mother-in-law. When we began to live apart, I began to learn a lot from my new environment. If you don't try, you can't achieve anything..."

On the other side, one of the two women who came on the scene during the research and experienced poverty extremely said that they didn't have a good relation with the chief of the neighbourhood; and he didn't help them as he didn't like them. To clarify the principle of reciprocity in the relations Pınar's mother stated that "If you don't have anything the chief of the neighbourhood doesn't do anything for you. However, look at those who live next to the village clinic. They have a Mercedes and a lorry. He helps them to get aid. I don't have a green card; but they have. What sort of order is this?" the other woman said that she had just come to Ankara; she didn't know the chief of the neighbourhood and she didn't know where to apply for aid. At this point it can be said that women a great responsibility in the sense of establishment, improvement and operationalization of relations for the peace of the household. However, Ece (41,I) who had just migrated here said that she didn't know where to apply to get any aid and she didn't know anybody.

Ece (41,I): "...Dedim ya daha yeni gelmişiz. Yol bilmeyiz, iz bilmeyiz, ne yardımından bahsedersin, neredeyse söyle de oraya gidelim. Valla ben bilmiyom, ah bi yol gösteren olsa...Muhtarı da tanımayız, o da bizi tanımaz, nasıl olur bu işler bilmem ki.zaten paran yoksa bu memlekette yay haline..."

Ece (41,I): "... As I said before we have just come here. We don't know anything. What aid are you talking about? Tell us where it is and we go there. I swear it is true but I don't know anything. I wish there was somebody to teach us what to do. .. We don't know the chief of the neighbourhood and he doesn't know us either.... If you don't have money, what will your situation be in this country...?"

Saliha (45,P): “...Aha yeşil kart dersin adamın altında Mercedes vardır, ama muhtarla arası iyidir, gider yeşil kartını da alır, her bi bokunu da, bizim gibiler de aha böyle işte sürütürler...Neden iyidir, çünkü muhtarı da görür arada onun da cebini doldurur, sen de varsa iyisindir, yoksa neylesin...Bizim de yok işte herif bizi niye sevsin de yardım etsinki...”

Saliha (45,P): “...Aha you talked about green card but that man has a Mercedes; he has a good relation with the chief of the neighbourhood and he goes and gets his green card; he gets everything he wants. And those like us suffer like this...Why does he have a good relation? Because he gives some amount to the chief of the neighbourhood as well. If you have, you are a good person; if you don't, why does he mind?...We don't have either; why does he help us?...”

The aid can consist of food, bread, firewood or coal, school aid or green card. In our research almost all the interviewees made use of the aid distributed by municipality and rank of head official of the district in various ways. When they are asked their ideas about the ways of distribution and utilization of aid, although they had to walk a long distance and wait in queues for hours for the aid of bread in winter or summer, they expressed their gladness saying “Thank God” and they stated that everything had a price and aid were very functional.

Yeliz (42,P): “...Valla bu yardımlar çok iyidir. Eskiden öyle gelir atar, giderlerdi. Ama bu hükümet sırasında düzene girdi, şimdi gelirler düzgünce dağıtırlar, milleti sıraya sokarlar, böylece karışıklık da olmaz, kimse de birbirini yemez, sonra giderler. Afedersin, bizim milletimizde iş yok, görgüsüzdürler, burada oturanlar da aha siz gördünüz işte biraz öyledir. Sonra da şikayet ederler...”

Yeliz (42,P): “...I swear it is true that these aids are very useful. In the past they used to come and throw them and go. However, this government has put it in order. Now they come; they distribute them in order; they put the people in queues and in this way there is no disorder. Nobody does have any discussion with each other. And then they go back. Our people are rude; you have seen them as well; they are rude. Then they complain...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “...Olsun ne güzel bak bize yürüyüş oluyo, yavrum herşeyin bi zorluğu var, ekmek artık aslanın karnındadır, kim kime bedavaya kolayca bişi verir. Kötü mü, hem de komşuları görmüş oluyoz. Allah bin kere Melih Gökçek'ten razı olsun...”

Hüsniye (38,I): “...It is no problem; it is a walking for us. Everything has a difficulty; it is very hard to get. Who gives anything free to anyone? Is it bad? We can see our neighbours in this way. Thank Melih Gökçek a thousand times...”

That the strategies of living in the sense of aid are directed by women is very clear just as they do in most of the situations. Also while making use of aid; a woman can meet many difficulties. However, when the matter is considered from two aspects, on the one side while a woman has to enter the public area and to overcome various bureaucratic difficulties to make use of these aid, on the other side she meets a lot of different individuals; she enters different networks of informal relations and these individuals sometimes help her and show her how to overcome these bureaucratic difficulties. For example, Satı(37,LP) who didn't know how to read and write well, before going to head official of the district for her daughter's green card, went to society centre by chance and met an employee who had worked in a profession related to aid there; and this employee gave her some information about how she could get other aid and helped her to prepare a written application. While Satı(37,LP) was trying to get a green card, she had a chance of getting another aid. However, entering these networks and making use of them were limited to a woman's "cultural capital". However, If Satı(37,LP) hadn't been helped to prepare a written application; it would have been very difficult and time-consuming to be able to apply to get aid. For example, that Neriman (64,I) who can't differentiate even the letters on the signboard of the busses and Hüsniye (38,I) who is afraid of going out as she doesn't speak Turkish can make use of these networks seems to be almost impossible.

Satı(37,LP): "...Valla Allah sizden razı olsun. İyi ki gittim, toplum merkezine, valla demeseydiniz hayatta gitmeyecektim, sizler ikna ettiniz. Orda o gün sabah gittiğimde Allah gönderdi heral, pek temiz yüzlü bi adam halimi gördü, pek de iyi giyimliydi, sen ne için başvuracan dedi, dilekçe yazabilir miyim sordu bana, valla okumam yazmam var ama yazdıracak birini buluruz napalım dedim. Sağ olsun, odaya gittik, aldı kağıt, kalemi eline yazdı benim dilekçeyi, sonra da aha bunu şuraya götür dedi. Gittim, oraya dediğine götürdüm, öbür bi yardım daha dedi, onu da sakatlara veriyolarmış. Ona da ordaki adam yardım etti. Valla o gün pek şanslıydım. İnşallah sonu da iyi olur. Bi an önce çıkar..."

Satı(37,LP): "...I thank you. Fortunately, I went to the centre of society. If you hadn't told me to go, I wouldn't have gone; you persuaded me. That day when I went there, a man who had an honest and good-hearted look saw me and he asked me what I would apply for. Then he asked me if I could

write an application; and I said that we could perhaps find someone to write it. Thank him, he went to room; he took a sheet and a pen and wrote my application; and then he told me to take it somewhere. I went there and gave it. He talked about another aid which was given the disabled. He helped for it as well. That day I was very lucky. I hope it will be good. I hope I will get it..."

Neriman (64,I): "...Ne yardımı nere başvurulur bilmem, benim yerime herifle kız yapar.....Anam ben okuma yazma bilmem şurdan çıkıp şuraya gidemem, otobüsün üstünü okuyamam diye yalnız sokağa çıkamıyom, nereye gidip te kime başvuracam ki..."

Neriman (64,I): "...What kind of aid is this? I don't know where to apply. My husband and my daughter did it instead of me. ...I don't know how to read and write. I can't go out and go somewhere. I can't go out alone as I can't read the signboards of the busses; how can I go out alone to apply?..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Devlette bi işim olursa da bebeler elimden tutup götürürler, ben ne okur yazarım, ne de Türkçe yazarım, yavrum nerden bileyim kime başvurulur, nereye gidilir, napılır..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...If I have something to do in any governmental institution, my children hold my hand and take me there. I can neither read nor write; I can't write Turkish either. How can I know where to apply, where to go and what to do..."

In recent years, United Nations World Health Organization-WHO (1986) has focused on the quality of life. The main idea is that capacity for individual help is largely dependend on community quality of life; the more equitably the benefits of social and economic development are distributed among people, the better the health of the general population will be and the higher will be the quality of life of the whole community (Wisner, 1999:110) . In the light of these aims, access the adequate food, clothing and shelter, purity of water, soil and air, educational opportunities, assistance with care for dependent or ill family members, sources of productive, safe and satisfying work, possibilities for an adequate income were taken as some of the indicators for providing people's basic needs in order to survive a quality life. However, when these criteria are considered, we see that these women don't know about their existence, let alone posses them. Under these conditions, one of the most important point that can be clarified is that the life of these women is very different from the concept of "quality of life" which is defined by WHO and

which is necessary before all else for a healthy community. In a residence which is a place where poverty is experienced in the cruellest way women spend most of their time. And those who have experiences related to poverty deeply are women and children who always stay with them. In this direction January 2002 attracts the attention to the point that the illnesses and problems of women and children are more residential, and emphasized the effects of the residences on the life of women.

5.6. Relative Deprivation / Capabilities

Although a concept of relative deprivation is talked about under this heading, here we will talk about how women experience deprivation among themselves and in a way different from their husbands. Since the research is carried out among women and their daughters, how women experience deprivation differently compared to the men is left to be limited to the research.

In this section, essentially, the criteria² of Robeyns (2003) have been utilized on a vast scale to be able to understand how women experience deprivation relatively when compared to men. These criteria are basically dependent on Sen (1992)'s "functionings" and "capabilities" approach which focuses on the lives that individuals can and do choose to live³. According to this approach, capabilities are people's potential functionings and functionings are beings and doings. The difference is similar to the difference between an achievement and the freedom to achieve something, or between an outcome and opportunity. For example, being well fed, taking part in the community, being sheltered, relating to other people, working on the labor market, caring for others, and being healthy are good examples of functionings (Robeyns, 2003) and in line with this argument, Robeyns (2003) defines a list of capabilities which are used for post-industrialized Western societies for the conceptualization of gender inequality. However, it was impossible to explain the gender inequality in terms of all criteria of Robeyns because we did not have

² These criteria are used in a detailed manner in the methodology of Kardam and Alyanak's (2002) poverty study which was implemented in some of Ankara's squatter areas.

³ However the focus on capabilities does not deny the fact that inequalities in resources can be significant causes of inequalities in capabilities (Robeyns, 2003).

sufficient information related with some of these criteria. Hence, in following paragraphs, although there are more criteria of Robeyns, we have only analyzed the relevant criteria in accordance with the information which was provided by the field study.

1. Life and physical health: There are two dimensions of this item. One of them is being able to be born, and once born, being able to live a life of normal length in good health. Research using general health indicators finds that women experience more ill-health than men. However, some recent research has moved away from overall health indicators and gender inequalities are getting less clear. Furthermore, men's life expectancy is lower than women's but Robeyns (2003) argues that it is linked to social causes, such as suicide or high risk social behaviour like excessive drinking, fast driving, participating in armed battles etc.

In this direction, in the research we have carried out, there was a disease in almost every house; but the person who got sick most, had a chronic disease and had an operation was mostly women. Although the finding we have isn't sufficient to explain the points such as morbidity rate in the region, it is easily seen that this poor life condition has affected their life on a vast scale. However, as much as we could observe, we saw that some women had grown up in very difficult conditions especially before marriage, and these difficult conditions went on in different forms after marriage; and so when these women were compared to men and other women, they seemed to be more disadvantageous. The easiest point observed was that these women seemed to be older and more exhausted than the women at the same age physically. On the other hand, they stated that they had chronic diseases more than the women at the same age. For example, Neriman (64,I) was one of them; she seemed to be very old and exhausted when her age was considered and during the interview she talked about her diseases and operation she had had.

Neriman (64,I): "... Bu evde en çok ben hasta olurum...Evin kahrı hiç bitmiyo, bi çocuklar, bi de herif. Bunlara hora geçilmez, bi de hastalık sahibi olursun. Bak o bi tane bile ameliyat geçirmedim, ama benim başım hastalıktan kurtulmaz, eh onların ne umurlarındadır ki.....Ben bi kaç sene önce çok büyük ameliyat geçirdim. Onda bissürü yerimden bissürü şey aldılar. Ondan beri pek eski gücüm yoktur..."

Neriman (64,I): "...In this house I get sick most. There is always a problem at home. My children and then my husband...They don't understand your value; then also you get sick. Look! He didn't have any operation. However, I have always been ill. They don't mind anything...I had a serious operation a few years ago. They cut many parts of my body. Since then I haven't been as strong as I was in the past..."

However, Dilan (31,H) who was a graduate of a high school stated that she had had very happy childhood and youth but she hadn't understood its value; and then after she said that now she was the person who got sick most at home, she connected these diseases to the difficult conditions at home. But she seemed to be younger, more healthy and energetic when compared to the women who were the same age as her. Therefore, the negative conditions met throughout life could affect the health of a woman in a negative way; and they could make her more vulnerable against deprivation by decreasing her chance of coping with these negative conditions and gaining strength to remove them.

Dilan (31,H): "...Bu evde en çok ben hasta olurum. Hem de pek sık hasta olurum...Ah kafam ah, benim gözümün içine bakarlar, bi dediğimi iki etmezlerdi, hala anam üstüme titrer. Evlendikten sonra öyle mi ya, her gece , dayak, küfür, bini bi para, eh geçim gaylesi, bak hastalık sahibi olduk, psikoloğa da gittim...Erkekler vurdu duymaz, kabadır, onların umrunda değildir, onlara nolcak, işte sen hastalık sahibi olursun..."

Dilan (31,H): "...In this house I get sick most...Ah, ah...They used to s-cherish me dearly and they refused to do everything I wanted immediately. My mother still treats with tender. After I got married, everything changed. I got beating every night; swearings were abundant. Eh! Everything was for living. Because of this I got sick and I went to psychologist as well. Men don't mind anything; they are rude... They don't have any problems; we have diseases..."

2. Mental well being: Mental well being relates mainly to the absence of any negative mental states of beings and doings, such as not being able to sleep, worrying at feeling depressed, lonely or restless. Studies indicate that anxiety and depression are more common among women than man. The point we met during the research was that those who had had professional support in the sense of psychology and psychiatry were just women. They said that their husbands hadn't had such a support in this sense.

For example, Satı (37,LP) said that after she learnt about the disease of her daughter, she suffered a lot; and then she had a psychological treatment for a long time. She stated that she had cut all her relations with the outside world, although she had worked as a woman who peddled cloth and women garment in the past, she gave

up it after this illness and after the treatment she had never regained her strength. Then she said that as she gave up to work as a woman who peddled cloth and women garment, the income which entered the house decreased a lot immediately; but she was left very desperate straits and she couldn't do anything.

Satı (37,LP): "... G'nin hasta olduğunu öğrendim, kendimi yerden yere vurdum. Çok çok üzülüm....Erkek bi garip oluyo, onlar dışa mı vurmuyo nedir, adamın sesi bile çıkmadı...ama ben inan kafayı üşütmüşüm, beni kafa doktoruna götürdüler...eeee noldu, yine o halimle mecburdum, bu ev nasıl ayakta duracak. Yine kızı ben hastaneye götürdüm, o halimle içim kan ağlıyordu, valla bi kere bile gelmedi...Eh erkek, ne anlarki, ona pişirip, aşını önüne koydun ya, hiçbi şey dert etmez...Yok, bizim evde bi ben kafa doktoruna gittim..."

Satı (37,LP): "... I learnt that G was ill; and I suffered a lot. I was sorry very much. Men are different; perhaps they don't show their feelings.. My husband didn't say any word. Believe me! I went mad; they took me to a psychologist...Well what happened.. I had to accept the situation. Otherwise, how will the people in this house endure? I myself took my daughter to the hospital. I was suffering a lot. My husband didn't come once. Eh! A man doesn't understand such a situation. If you cook for him, he doesn't mind anything else.... No, in our house the only person who went to psychologist was me..."

On the other hand, Mercan (44,P) said that she had insomnia and also had psychological treatment. Later on during the interview she stated that it had resulted from the pressure of his husband; and discussion everyday led to her present situation. On the other hand, she attracted the attention to the point that her elder daughter had begun to get treatment also.

Mercan (44,P): "...Affedersin, onun umrunda bile değildir. İçer, içer, vurur, döver, herşeyi girar, sonra da kıcını dönüp uyur. Sen de sabaha gadar dön, dur, kimin umrundadır...Pek uykusuzluk çektim, sonra da baktım olcak gibi değil, doktora gittim, psikolojik dedi. Sonra da tedaviye başladım....Ondan sonra büyük kız çok kötü oldu. ..Onu da benim doktora götürdüm,tamamen evdeki şartlardan dedi...Onun hala devam eder...Herifin dedim ya umru değildir..."

Mercan (44,P): "... I beg your pardon but he doesn't mind anything. He drinks a lot; he beats and breaks everything. And then he sleeps. You freeze to death until morning; who cares about you! I had insomnia very much and then I went to a doctor and he said that it was a psychological illness. Then I began to have treatment... And then my elder daughter got worse... I took her to my doctor. He

said that it resulted from the conditions at home...Her illness still goes on. My husband doesn't mind anything as I have said before..."

Also Zarife (38,P) stated that she had left the work of a nurse's aide as she had to have a psychological treatment and she couldn't go back to her work again.

Zarife (38,P): "...Valla, ben huzurevinde çalışıyodum, hasta bakıyodum. Ama çok etkilendim, çok zor iş, hasta bakmak ta zor, bi de ben çok etkileniyom...En son psikolojik tedavi görmeye başladım, doktora gittim, doktor da, ailem de sağlığım için bırakmamı söyledi. Bende bıraktım...Erkekler daha farklı oluyo, o hiç kafaya takmaz, dert etmez, biz daha hassas oluyoz galiba, sonra da kendi kendimize ederiz..."

Zarife (38,P): "...I used to work at a rest home; I used to look after patients. However, I was affected very much. It was a very difficult job. It was very difficult to look after patients. Also I was affected very much. Then I began to get a psychological treatment and I went to a doctor. The doctor and my family asked me to give up my job. And I gave up it.. men are more different; he doesn't mind anything; he doesn't care about anything. We are more vulnerable; and then we give pain to ourselves..."

While the women above saw the period of their treatment as a loss, they stated that if they hadn't had any treatment their situation would have reached more dangerous dimension. In that period both of the women really became very vulnerable. If it had continued a lot, their life would have become more difficult and it would have become impossible for them to cope with these difficult conditions.

3. Bodily integrity and safety: This is adversely affected when people experienced all sorts of personal violence, such as attacks on the street, domestic violence, rape, sexual assault or stalking. Robeyns (2003) also claims that women bear a greater incidence of and more severe sexual violence than men, while men experience more physical violence of other kinds.

It is possible to divide the violence in this group into two types such as violence within family and violence in residence. The first one is the violence and pressure that a woman experience within her family before marriage; and the second one is the violence that she experience at her own home after marriage.

Elif (55,I): "...Annemle babam ben küçükken ayrılmış. Babam annemden sonra 3 kez evlenmiş, annemde 5 kocaya varmış. Beni amcamın karısı büyüttü. Çok döverdi. Bende kaçtım. Bir ailenin yanında beslemelik yaptım. Onun peşine şehre geldim... Çaresizdim. Sonra bi kadın aracı oldu, öyle evlendik. Ben 17 yaşındaydım, o da 23 yaşındaydı. Gençlik parkında garsonluk yapıyodu. Açlıktan nefesi kokuyodu...Zaten ailem benle ilgilenmiyodu...İçip içip beni döverdi. Kadına giderdi. Kimsemde yoktur diye etmediğini bırakmadı...Çocukları bırakamazdım ki...8 çocuğum vardı...Biri 6 aylıkken öldü, biride araba kazasında 10 yaşında öldü. Çocuğun kan parasıyla bu evi satın aldık...Ah keşke oğlum gitmeseydi de, bu evde olmayaydı...kadın güçsüzdür, hiçbi şeye gücü yetmez. Hele okumadıysan iyice zordur. Ha parayı da unutmamak lazım. Hep ezilirsin valla..."

Elif (55,I): "...My mother and father divorced when I was very young. My father got married three times after my mother married five times. The wife of my uncle brought up me. She beat me very much. Then I went away as well. I worked as a servant girl in a family's house. I came to the city following her...I was in desperate straits...A woman was a matchmaker and we could get married in this way. I was 17 and he was 23. He worked as a waiter in the park of Youth. My husband was poverty-stricken...My family wasn't curious about me. He beat me after he drank alcohol. He went to another woman. He treated me very cruelly as I didn't have any relatives. I couldn't leave my children. I had 8 children. One of them died when it was 6 months; another one died in a car accident at the age of 10. We bought this house with his blood money. I wish my son hadn't died and we couldn't have bought this house...Women are weak; they don't have power to do anything...If they don't go to school, it becomes more difficult. It is necessary not to forget about money; otherwise, you are oppressed..."

The marriages of those who had been exposed to violence and pressure within the family before marriage were affected by it negatively. As they saw marriage as escape from their families, early marriage and/or arranged marriage and/or marriage without the approval of family were very widespread. Then most of them stated that in their marriages they could be exposed to the same violence and they experienced a negative marriage. In our research most of the women stated that they were exposed to violence and this situation led to the description of women as powerless and too weak to do something. During the research they stated that streets were very dangerous for themselves later than a definite hour, and then they said that it was impossible to go out not only for themselves but also for the men after it got dark as they didn't have life security because of unsafe of their environment. Because of this, many women who said that they couldn't take the risk of leaving their children alone in the neighbourhood stated that they hadn't worked until that time.

After all the participants in the research stated that they weren't pleased with the residence and they didn't have any security of life and property, and then they identified this with their experiences of residence and poverty. Then they said that nobody except for the poor can live here.

3. Education and knowledge: Robeyns (2003) claims that girls and boys have equal access to formal education, but gendered social norms and traditions continue to make it more difficult for girls to acquire knowledge and obtain degrees. This point was observed clearly in almost all the women throughout the research. Especially when we looked at those who had grown up in rural areas, it was very widespread that the girls were taken away from school to make them work at home and in fields. And the most vulnerable ones (If there were more than one sister) were the elder daughters.

Aslıhan (31,D): "...6 kız kardeş, 2 de oğlan kardeşim var. Çok iyi anlaşırdık. Anne bize biraz kızardı ama babamız çok iyiydi...Erkek kardeşlerim okudu fakat ben hiç okumadım. Öğretmen olmak isterdim...Okuma-yazmayı geçen sene kursta öğrendim...Bana kız okumaz dediler, bi de köy yerinde nasıl olacak, zaten en büyük sensin her yük senin üzerinde bi yandan kardeşlere bak bi yandan da anaya yardım et, ev işinde işte okumadık. Sonra da erken yaşta evlendirdiler. El evi pek yamanmış, bu parasızlık çok zor, nolcak halimiz bilmem. İş desem bu yaştan sonra bana kim iş vercek, okumuşlar bulamıyo, biz mi bulcaz, işte böyle kocanın eline bakarsın..."

Aslıhan (31,D): "...I have 6 sisters and 2 brothers. We had a very good relation. My mother was sometimes angry with us; but our father was a very good person...My brothers went to school but I couldn't go to school. I wanted to be a teacher... I learnt how to read and write in a course... They said that girls couldn't go to school; also in the village it was very difficult. I was the elder girl at home and so every responsibility belonged to me. I looked after my sisters and brothers; I helped my mother to do housework; and so we couldn't go to school. Then they gave me in marriage when I was very young. A rented house was very difficult; also poverty was very difficult. I don't know what our situation will be. And who will give me a job? A person who is a graduate from a school cannot find a job... How can we find? And so we are obliged to be content with what my husband gives..."

One of the most significant points observed in the research was that the husbands of these women were at a very low level in the sense of education and they had graduated from primary school at most. However, in spite of this, even if they

were unskilled, the ones who worked outside were the men again. From the aspect of women, action capacity of especially the ones who don't have any education to find a solution was limited extremely. Above all, the participation of women in the informal sector which was already very limited was blocked.

Neriman (64,I): "...Okumam yazmam yok. Erkek kardeşlerimin hepsi okula gitti, bir tek beni göndermediler. Ah okumuş olsaydım, güçlü olurum. Gideceğim yeri bile okuyamıyorum, hiçbir yeri göremiyom....Yalnız evden çıkamam, çıksam da geri dönemem...Nerde çalışsan, gitcek yeri okuyamayana kim iş verir, verseler nasıl çıkcan ta burlardan, herifler zor buluyolar, biz mi bulcaz...Kocam ilkokul mezunu, o emekli..."

Neriman (64,I): "... I don't have any education. All of my brothers went to school; they didn't allow only me to go to school. If I had gone to school, I would have been stronger. I cannot read the signboards when I go somewhere. .. I can't go out alone. if I go out, I can't come back... Where can I work? Who gives a job to a person like me? While it is very difficult for men to find a job, how can we find one? My husband is a graduate of primary school; he is retired...."

On the other hand, Betül (39,I), who attended a course at a school with her children after she decided to learn how to read and write as she couldn't read the names of the streets and the signposts of the busses while working as a woman who peddled clothes and women's garments, stated that there was no other solution and she would get a diploma when she had time in the future; and she expected to find a better job after getting her diploma.

Betül (39,I): "...Valla tarlaya tapana gidecek diye bizi okutmadılar. Erkeklerin hepsi gitti, kimi ortaokul mezunu, kimi ise ilkokul 5 ten çıkma...Ama çocuklarla beraber okula gittim, okuma yazmayı da öğrendim, inşallah diplomayı da alcam...Okuma yazmayı ben niye öğrendim biliyon mu, çok gücüme gidiyordu, şu sokak adlarını, otobüsün üstünde yazanları okuyamamak, ona buna sormak, işte böyle karar verdim...Fena mı oldu, bak dikiş makinamı da aldım, şimdi 3-5 kuruş kazanıyorum fena mıdır?..."

Betül (39,I): "... I swear it is true that they didn't let us go to school in order to make us work in field. All the boys went to school; some of them are graduates of secondary school and some left at fifth grade...However, I went to school with my children and I learnt how to read and write; and I hope to get my diploma. .. Why did I learn how to read and write? Because I was hurt very much as I

couldn't read the names of the streets and I asked other people what was written there; and in the end I decided to learn it. .. Is it bad? Look! I bought a sewing machine; and now I can earn 3-5 kuruş...”

After Dilan (31,H) who is a graduate of high school stated that the only way to have a better life was to work, she showed her preparatory books for the exam and she added that she would attend an exam to be a civil servant that year; and then she said that she would have a better life in the end after she had a better job. Moreover, it was very important for the women who gave importance to education to provide their children with better education and they said that they could do everything necessary for this aim.

Dilan (31,H): “...Ben lise mezunuyum, o ilkokul mezunu...Ama bakma erkek ilkokul mezunu olsa da ona iş vardır, ama kadına öyle değildir, daha zordur...Biz de kadın çalışmaz evde oturup, yemek pişirir ya, herkezin kafada bu vardır...Bi düzenli işim olsa bi dakika durmaz çocuklarımı alırdır giderim, şimdi memurluk sınavlarına çalışıyorum, annem parasını da verecek. İnşallah bi işe de girerim, dakika durmam bu herifin yanında. Şu anda da el işi yapıp satıyorum, bayağı becerikliyimdir. Kadın isterse herşey olur, bence yoksuluz çünkü olanaklarımız kısıtlı bak herifin eline bakiyoz ama çözümü yine bizdedir. Bak bi iş bulayım, bavulu toparlayıp, çocukları da alıp, gizlice gitcem, bi daha da dönersem iki olsun...”

Dilan (31,H): “... I am a graduate of high school; he is a graduate of primary school. .. However, even if a man is a graduate of primary school, he can find a job; but a woman can't find it easily; it is more difficult for her... Women don't work according to our customs; she stays at home and cooks; everybody thinks in this way...If I had a regular job, I wouldn't stay for a moment and I would go away with my children...Now I am studying for the exam of being a civil servant... My mother will pay for its money. I hope I can find a job; and I don't stay with this man for a moment. Now I do some handicrafts and sell them; I am quite talented. If a woman wants, everything is possible...To me, we are poor because our alternatives are limited. We are dependent on men but the solution is us-the women. If I find a job, I will collect prepare my suitcase and take my children and go away. I won't come back again...”

4.Domestic work and nonmarket care: Robeyns (2003) states that this capability involves raising children and taking care of other dependents, especially the elderly, and also claims that this issue is highly gendered; women do more non market care for children as well as the elderly and the sick. However the largest inequality is in household works. She also adds that this activities which affect their functionings of life and health, education and knowledge, bodily integrity and safety,

social relations and leisure activities. However these activities could become monotonous and a great burden for the extended periods.

We saw in the research that all of these activities were performed by women. From time to time, this burden was reduced by women who shared this burden with their daughters by transferring to them. The interesting point was that none of the participants accepted this burden as a job and they saw it as a responsibility which had to be done by the women. There were many women who couldn't work because of all of these responsibilities although they wanted to work very much; because they had no time to work. On the other hand, the life of the women who worked in spite of all these responsibilities at home didn't get easier because this burden wasn't reduced and on the contrary, they had to carry out these activities after they came back home at nights, which affected the health of women in time both psychologically and physically and made them more vulnerable against the life.

Neriman (64,I): "...Ben (okula) gitsem ev işine kim koşacaktı, yapmıyon diye zaten bi araba dayak yiyoduk.Ben hiç çalışmadım...Nereye çalışcan da 40 senelik evliyim, kaynana-kaynata, çoluk, çocuk, ev, iş, aş hepsi sana bakar...Kimse de yardım etmez...Biraz kız büyüyünce rahat ettim ama nerde o zamana da hastalık sahibi çoktan olduk...Herşey senin üstündedir..."

Neriman (64,I): "...If I had gone to school, who would have done the housework? I already got a beating as they thought that I didn't do housework...I have never worked so far... How could I work...? I have been married for 40 years; and I have been responsible for my mother-in-law, father-in-law, children, housework...Nobody does help you...When my daughter grew up, she helped me; but I had had an illness until that time...Everything is on you...."

5. Paid work and other projects: Robeyns (2003) claims that on average women are less active in the labor market than men and do worse jobs. All the women who worked in our research worked as cleaning woman or baby-sitter. Still one of the facts that came to light at the end of the research that the working women felt more powerful and safe when compared to others. The husbands of these women were either unemployed men or the men who worked in informal sector. On the other hand, the women whose husband had a regular job or income (they were in minority) had never performed any salaried activity. Other husbands were either the unemployed ones or the ones who worked in informal sector in

return for a low salary. Therefore, Robeyn's assumption (2003) "men have a position better and more active than women" is a controversy phenomenon. However that the number of working women is very small is in harmony with what Robeyns has said.

On the other hand, the women who earned money by selling the necklaces they had made in Kızılay or Ulus said that they searched for a regular job and if they found one, they began to work immediately. There was a hope for these kinds of people; however, those who said "we don't work" using their illnesses and religious belief as an excuse were the ones who were affected by deprivation most; and there was no solution for them.

Zarife (38,P): "...Bak ben ekmeğimi taştan çıkarırım yeter ki Allah sağlık versin, aha şu gördüğünüz takıları her ay iner, Ulus'a, Kızılay'a kapı kapı dolaşır yine satarım...Üç beş kuruş ta olsa bize gelir sağlar fena mıdır?..."

Zarife (38,P): "... Look! I struggle to make a living. That God gives a healthy life is enough for me; I go to Ulus and Kızılay to sell these necklaces every month... It provides us with 3-5 kuruş..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Ben hiç çalışmadım, biz de çünkü çalışılmaz hem ayıp, hem günahdır. Erkek çalışır, o getirir, biz yeriz. Zaten ben çalışmam, hastayım, gücüm de yok, çalışmak ta istemem..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "... I have never worked; women don't work according to our customs; it is both a shame and a sin. Men work; they bring food and we eat. I can't work; I am ill; I am weak; and I don't want to work either..."

5. Shelter and environment: It is argued that housing is important for people's well being. At the instrumental level, good housing is positively related to good mental and physical health, and housing can also be evaluated as "the physical space which is most intimately associated with one's identity" (Bratt quoted in Robeyns, 2003:81). If it is thought that women spend most of their time at home or thereabouts with their children and parents, the quality of women's life will have increased with the increase of residence's quality. However, how can it be possible to talk about quality in a residence where sewer is poured out in the streets, garbage is collected

rarely, and water of fountain is used as drinking water? When we look at houses, squatter's houses are already buildings of poor quality which are usually constructed by their owners as it is necessary to finish them in a cheapest way and the women and their children who spend most of their time in this unhealthy environment are those who are affected by this poor quality most.

Afife (45,I): "...Senelerdir, ne boya, ne badana, evin her yeri dökülüyo...Çatıyı aktarmak lazımdır, sonra gışın pek nem vardır, ama bunlar hep para ister...Eh adı üstünde gecegöndü, bi gecede goyuyolar, aha böyle heryeri dökülüyo, apartumanımı kide sağlam olcak?..."

Afife (45,I): "... We haven't painted the house for years; it is in a miserable condition. ...It is necessary to repair the roof; then it is very moist in winter; but it requires much money. ... When you look at its name –squatter's house-, it is very clear; they construct them at one night; and so they are in miserable conditions; how can you expect them to be strong like apartment house?..."

6. Mobility: Robeyns (2003) defines these criteria as a criterion which is related with instrumental capability different than the other capabilities. She means the capability of being mobile. She also adds that mobility is very related with women's responsibility for taking care of children, the aged and the ill. If this capability is constrained, then women are more confined to their homes than men.

For example, during our interview Naciye stated that she didn't know how to read and write and she was afraid of getting lost when she wanted to go somewhere alone as she couldn't read the signboards of busses. In short, her lack of education limited her field of activity. If she had to go out, she took somebody with her and came back before it got dark. And this was a good example for the situation of how cultural capital affected women's mobility.

On the other hand, all the interviewees stated that they hesitated to go somewhere away from their houses and go outside their neighbourhood both at night and in winter as the neighbourhood was very unsafe and the transportation wasn't very easy. Therefore, the environment they lived in limited their mobility capability.

Saliha (45,P): "...Aha gördünüz biraz önce...Bura hep böyledir, şöyle güvenli bi muhitte otursaydık, fena mı olurdu da? Bak bunları bırakıp gitsen, gözüün arkadadır. Nereye gidipte çalışacaktık ki..."

Saliha (45,P): "...You saw as well a little time ago... here is always like this, I wish we lived in a safe neighbourhood, would it be bad? How can you leave these children and go out? So I can't work..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Bura çok tehlikelidir. Hele hava kararınca ne kendim çıkarım, ne de bebeleri sokağa çıkarırım..Silahı da patlar, adam da keserler, herşey olur...Bazen adam geç kalır, onu bile çok merak ederim, valla...."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Here it is too dangerous. And when it gets dark neither me nor the children go outside. They fire guns and kill people, every bad thing may happen. Sometimes my husband comes late and I am even worried about him..."

7. Leisure Activities: Robeyns (2003) states that material affluence gives people the opportunity to enjoy leisure activities, such as watching TV, reading, walking, doing physical exercise, playing games, practicing the arts, and so on which are very important in terms of relaxation, creativity and pleasure meaning intrinsic aspects of well being. It's also stated that men spend longer on leisure activities. However, during the research, we did not collect data related with time budget analysis. However, it is observed that any of the women do not participate in this kind of activities because they do not have either material affluence or sufficient time. They state that they only watch TV during the prime time because they don't want to consume so much electricity and they do not have enough time to participate in these activities because of their responsibilities related with the household. The women working with her said that their route for work was Kızılay and Ulus and it was a change for them as they could look at the shop windows and see different people. That is to say, working is in way socialization means for them.

Derya (33,P): "...O (kocası) hiç değilse işe gidip gelirken, bi yerleri görür, arkadaşlarıyla görüşür, biz şu mahalleden nereye gitcez, hiçbi yere çıkmayız, bazen şu yandaki komşunun bahçesinde laflarız, o da yazın oluyo biliyon mu?...Ne Ulus, ne Kızılay'ı, bu bebeleri nere bırakcan, bi de o işte para ister, kırk yılın başı bi iş olcak ta iner, ona da hemen geri dönerim, bebeleri napcan?..."

Derya (33,P): "...He (her husband) at least sees somebody and some different places when he goes to work. We only see the neighbours in the neighbourhood and chat from time to time and it is only in summers. Neither Ulus nor Kızılay, where will we leave the children?..."

7. Time Autonomy: According to Robeyns, the core of gender inequality is the gender division of labor, i.e., the gender division of time and responsibilities for market work, nonmarket work, and leisure (Robeyns, 2003) and the allocation of time within the household is usually a collective and not an individual decision and is influenced by many individual, household and community characteristics (Bubeck, 1995; Agarwal 1997; Robeyns 2001a quoted in Robeyns, 2003:82). As we have already mentioned in the previous item, since we do not have sufficient information related with the time use of women, it is so hard to make a detailed analysis about this subject. However, it is observed that women mostly allocate their time for domestic work rather than other activities and do not have any choice related with the use of time autonomy. It is also clear that women's time autonomy is dependent on the other members of the household.

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Napacaksın ki, ben sabah galkarım, namazımı gılarım, sonra kahvaltıyı hazırlar, hepsini kaldırır, birer birer yolcu ederim, sonra da sofrayı toplar, işe girişirim...Bütün gün evişi yaparım, sen yapmazsan kim yapcak ta...Zaten herifte çalışır, akşam yorgun gelir...Şurda bi akşam canım istemedi çorbayı ondan pişirmedim de kıyamet kopar. Öğlen sonu iki dakika kestiriyem dersin çocuklar okuldan gelir onlara yemek hazırlarsın..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...What else I will do, I get up early in the mornings, perform my pray, prepare breakfast, make everybody get up see them off and then start doing the housework. I do all the housework all day long. Who will do if I don't? My husband comes home and he is tired all the time...If you say that I did not cook soup because I didn't want to, at that time doomsday comes. You want to have a nap in the afternoon, at that time children come from the school then you prepare meal fro them..."

However, working women show some differences comparing to other women in terms of allocating their time both on market work and domestic work which means their burden becomes heavier than the others because of their responsibilities both within and outside the household. As we mentioned in the item above, it is

possible to say that working women are luckier as they have a chance for socialization.

Seçil (43,LP): “...Tabi çalışınca hayatımda pek çok şey değişti, yeni arkadaşlarım oldu. Bak her sabah bi Kızılay’a inmek bile değişikliktir, valla...İnsan etrafta ne olup, bitiyio, ne var, ne yok daha bi bilgili oluyo. Evimi şimdi daha bi seviyom, koşarak geliyom, hafta sonlarını iple çekiyom, çocuklarımla vakit geçirecem diye...Evdeyken valla böyle değildi, herşey daha sıkıntılıydı...Tabii çalışmanın da zorlukları var, dışarda el derdi, evde koca derdi, ama napcan çok şükür, Allah sağlık versin de daha ne isterim...Yine ev işleri seni bekler, hafta sonu da ben evde çalışırım...Herif çalışmaz ama hiç elini hiçbi şeye sürmez, hele çalışsa hiçbi şeyin ucundan tutmaz yine sen yapcan, başka kim yapcak ki?...”

Seçil (43,LP): “...Of course, many things changed in my life after I started working, I had new friends. Even going down to Kızılay every morning is a change. I know what is happening around. I love my house much more now. I am looking forward to the weekends and having time with my children. It was not like this when I was a housewife. It was too boring... Of course working is also difficult; you have to cope with the others outside and with your husband at home at the same time. Yet thanks god. I ask for help from God. Housework is still on me and I do them at the weekends... My husband does not work; still he does not do anything at home...”

8. Being respected and treated with dignity: Robeyns (2003) claims that the root of out gendered society is the fact that women are systematically devalued and not considered fully human. Since we do not have sufficient information it is hard to say something about this capability. However, during the interviews most of the women stated that they are second class citizens in the society because they have neither any right nor any freedom but men have and they came to this world as servants. On the other hand women’s exposing to violence and their limited capability related with their mobility could be some of the indicators of this capability.

Nil (36,P): “...Ama kadının gücü hiçbi şeye yetmez, hele bi de okumamışsa....Erkek olsaydım başkaydı... Biz bu dünyaya onlara hizmet etmeye gelmişiz, böyle de gider...Hep eziliriz...Ama onlar da bize muhtaçtırlar...”

Nil (36,P): "... Women cannot do anything and it is worse if she does not have enough education. I wish I were a man...We came on earth to serve them and it will go on like this. We will be the one surpassed the entire time but they need us..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Kadın olarak ta güçsüzüm benim hiçbir şeye gücüm filen yetmez. Erkek olsam babamın kapısında dururdum, ama nerde...böyle gelmiş böyle de gider..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...I am a weak woman. I cannot do anything. If I were a man I would stay with my father...but it goes on in this way..."

5.6.1. How Do Women Evaluate Poverty and Themselves?

After the analyses of interviews, in terms of capabilities, we focused on the differences among the women. According to our observations, some women are more deprived than the other women. I tried to make a classification according to the reactions against poverty experiences. Their perceptions about poverty and themselves helped in making a classification for women who already participated in my research. Then, I have already formed two groups of women in terms of poverty. This classification gave me a brief idea whether there is hope for these women or not. For example, in the first group of women there was no hope for them and the most vulnerable women against poverty took place in this group. They have already accepted their experiences related with poverty as a faith and haven't seen any way out of their poverty. For example, in the first group women approved the existing order without questioning. It is also observed that women in this group developed a defence mechanism in order to deal with the situation that already exists.

However, women have the most courage to push their limits in order to find the solution for their escaping from poverty shaped the second group. These women developed a resisting reaction against the existing order. These reactions were referring to the interactions in form of responding and interpreting the same situation in a different way from the other people encountering the same situation. Women in this group spend much more effort to deal with the problems aroused from the existing order.

However, sometimes it was so hard to qualify the characteristics of some respondents and I tried to reanalyze these women and located in a relevant group. Nevertheless, it should be never forgotten that its so hard to define rigid boundaries among these groups.

Regarding their perception about the social status, women in the first group located themselves at the most bottom strata. They also qualified themselves as poor while stating that poor is a person like them who does not have either property or money, or a person who could not find anything to cook for dinner. This group of women ranked their neighbors as superior than themselves. It is also stated that women do not have any power, especially uneducated woman.

Ece (41,I): “...Kendimizi en altta görüyom diğerlerine bakaraktan. Bizden kötüsü de olur mu...Açız, akşama ne pişcek diye düşünüyosan fakirsin...Burada da herkesin durumu bizden iyi. Biz en alttayız. Başkasının yanında sığıntıyım çocuklarımla. Koca yok başımda. Açız, sefiliz. Önümüz ne olur bilmem....Kadın güçsüzdür hiçbi şeye gücü yetmez. Yetse böyle mi olur...”

Ece (41,I): “...I see myself at the bottom when compared to the others. Is there anybody whose conditions are worse than us? We are hungry if you are worried about what you are going to cook for dinner you are poor. Everybody is in a better condition than us near here. We are the poorest. I am like a refugee with my children. I have no husband to look after me. We are hungry I am anxious about my future...Woman is powerless and can do nothing. Nothing will change...”

Saliha (45,P): “...Maddiyatsızlıktan dolayı yapmak isteyipte yapamadığım tek şey karnımı doyurmak... Başım derde girse kimseye gitmem, kan kussam söyleyemem.... Buradakilerin hepsi de bizden iyidir. Bak biz sürünüyöz, bizden başka en altta olan kim var ki...Bu memlekette kadının gücü hiçbi şeye yetmez, çünkü kadın değersiz, hayvan gibi itilip, kakılır. Hele okumamışsan hiçbi şeye gücün yok demektir...”

Saliha (45,P): “...Because of lack of material the only thing that I want to do but I cannot do is to make myself full. If I had any trouble I would not tell it anybody. I would keep it secret whatever happens. We are at the bottom; there is nobody worse than us...In this country women cannot do anything because they are too weak, they are worthless, they are pushed back and forward like an animal. If you don't have education, you have no power...”

On the contrary, women in the second group did not qualify themselves as the poor and they mostly blessed to God because of not being poor like

others. They also defined the poor as a person who sleeps on the street and could not find anything to eat. While they were ranking their neighbours, mostly Tebers had the lowest grade from the bottom, Kurdish people from Haymana had the second lowest grade, and East Anatolian Kurdish people had the third lowest grade and the others followed this ranking. It is also observed that this ranking is always reflected by the relations within both formal and informal networks.

Dilan (31,H): "...Bu mahallede iyilerin durumu iyi, kötülerin kötüdür. Bizim ki vasattır. Ben yoksul değilim, yoksul, ailesi olmayan, kimsesi olmayan yoksuldur. Bana göre paradan daha önemli maneviyat. 5 kardeşiz, kartal gibiyiz, her koşulda birbirimize ulaşırız, herşeyimiz ortaktır. Dertleşir, paylaşır , birbirimize çok tutkunuzdur. Mahallede benden kötüler var, Haymana'lılar, çingeneler biz onlarla görüşmeyiz... Kadının da gücü herşeye yeter ama çalışması lazım, biz niye onlar gibi çalışamayalım, yeter ki iş olsun..."

Dilan (31,H): "...In the neighbourhood, the rich are always rich and the poor are always poor. We are in the middle. I am not poor, the poor are the ones who have no family and who have nobody around to ask for help. Up to me, morality is much more important than money. We are like 5 ill fated eagles. We contact under every condition. We share everything. We love each other very much, we share sad things, and there are people whose conditions are worse than me. The Gypsies, the people from Haymana- we don't talk with them...Women are also powerful but they have to work to be powerful. Why should not we work like man? The important thing is that we have job..."

Esin (33,I): "...Bana göre yoksul başını sokacak yeri olmayan , aç kalandır. Bak günde kaç işe giderim Allah'a şükür çocukların boğazından helal para geçer... Bi de şu herif içmese. Bana göre kadının gücü herşeye yeter, bak bana, ben de kadını. Herif yeri geldi dövdü, çalışmayacaksın diye ben ama karşı durdum. İstersem herşeyi yaparım....Kadının da gücü herşeye yeter..."

Esin (33,I): "...Up to me, the poor are the ones who have no shelter and who are hungry. I do several works in one day and my children are fed by honest earnings.If only my husband did not drink alcohol. Up to me women can do everything. Look at me, I am a woman and I am powerful. My husband beat me to prevent me from working but I resisted. I can do whatever I want. Woman has enough power..."

Meanwhile, some women in the second group mostly responded similar to other women whereas they stated that women are not powerful enough to be stronger in the society.

Yeliz (42,P): "...Ben kendimi, burada yaşayanlardan daha üstün görüyom. Fikirlerim olsun, davranışlarım olsun, onlar daha bi değişikler, pek bi tutucular. Biz daha aydınız. Gerçi fazla da fark yok ama elde bi şey olmadığı için aynı seviyede sayılırız...Kadının gücü neye yeter ki hele okumadıysa. Ben kendimi hiç güvende hissetmiyom, keşke hissedebilsem. Ama iş yok, aş yok. Zamanında vardı, bakma herif tembelliğe alışıyo, diye bıraktık, şimdi de yakını dururuz. ..."

Yeliz (42,P): "...I am in a better condition here. I see myself superior to the others living here. I am different with my behaviour and life perspective. They are very conservative; we are more enlightened. Actually, there is no great difference because of the conditions we are in a way at the same level...If the women don't have education, they have no power in life. I don't feel in security at all if only I could. But there is no job and food. There used to be once upon a time, but I gave up working so that my husband did not get used to be lazy. And so now I am complaining..."

Nil (36,P): "...Yoksulluk parasızlık ama çok şükür diğerlerine bakarak biz iyiyiz... Hele şu Haymana'lılar bi de Erzurum'lular. Ne ben görüşürüm , ne de çocukları görüşürüm. Bi de çingeneler vardır ki en kötüsüdür. Bizden uzak olsunlar, biz onlara bakarak üstteyiz...Çocukların üstünü başını alıyoz okula gönderiyoz, karnımızı da doyuruyoz. Hala bu semtteyiz ama napalım yine de çoğuna göre iyiyiz, çocukları kursa bile gönderiyoz...Ama kadının gücü hiçbi şeye yetmez, hele bi de okumamışsa. Ben çalışmam da zaten herif çalıştırmaz. Çok şükür geçinip gidiyoz..."

Nil (36,P): "...We are poor but we are still better than the others.....And these people from Haymana and Erzurum, I don't talk to them and I don't let my children talk to them either. The Gypsies are the worst. They should keep away from us. We are superior to them...We pay for our children's clothing and send them to the school and we can feed ourselves. We are still living in this neighbourhood but we are better than most of the people here. We even send our children to private course...Yet women are powerless.....If she does not get education she is nothing. Even if I wanted to work my husband would not let me. Thanks God we are well..."

Another important point is that feeling of belonging to is almost decreasing or being disappeared in terms of citizenship in some of women in the first group. However, those women are living poverty at the lowest level.

Saliha (45,P): "...Kime başvurduysam yardım etmedi. PKK bana ekmek verse onun bayrağını meclise taşıyım. Hiçbi sosyal güvencem yok, yiyecek ekmek bulsam yeter. Bazen adam öldürüp hapisaneye girsem sıcak bir yer ve ekmek bulurum diye düşünüyom..."

Saliha (45,P): "...Whoever I applied did not help me. If PKK helps me, I carry their flag to the assembly. I have no social security, it is enough to find some bread to eat. I sometimes think that if I kill a man and go to the prison, I can find a warm place and something to eat..."

Furthermore, in the first group labor force participation rate is the lowest and most of the women stated that working outside the house is a taboo for them. Extended family structure is the most common family type in this group and working of woman is mostly not allowed by either her family or the husband.

Hüsniye (38,I): "...Ben hiç çalışmadım, bizde çünkü çalışılmaz hem ayıp, hem günahdır. Erkek çalışır, o getirir biz yeriz. Ben zaten çalışmam, hastayım, gücüm de yok, çalışmakta istemem. Ben bak herkeze baktım, bana kim bakacak, kadın olarak da güçsüzüm, benim hiçbirşeye gücüm filan da yetmez. Erkek olsam babamın kapısında dururdum, sonumuz çok zor, Allah iyi yazılar yazsın...Ben çile çektim, çocuklar çekmesin isterim ama pek zordur..."

Hüsniye (38,I): "...I have never worked because women's working is both a shame and a sin according to our tradition. Men work, bring our food and we eat. I can not work anyway because I am ill and have no power and also I do not want to work. I looked after everyone. I am weak as a woman. After a while, who will look after me. I have worries about the future. If I were a man I could stand by my father's door...I faced lots of difficulties but I do not want the children to have such difficulties although I know it is very hard. God help us..."

Neriman (64,I): "...Okumam yazmam yok. Erkek kardeşlerimin hepsi okula gitti, bir tek beni göndermediler...Ah okumuş olsaydım, güçlü olurdu...Gideceğim yeri bile okuyamıyom, hiçbir yeri göremiyom...Ben gitsem ev işine kim koşacaktı, yapmıyon diye zaten bi araba dayak yiyoduk...Oğlanlar da okusun diye yırtındım ama olmadı..."

Neriman (64,I): "...I have no education. All of my brothers went to the school but they did not let me go... If only I had had education, I would have been stronger...I can not read anything so the life is very difficult for me...If I had gone to school, who would have done the house-work? I had beating very much as they thought I didn't do house work...I wish very much that my children had had education but it did not happen..."

Selime (35,I): "...Evin dışında hiç çalışmadım. Zaten bizde kadın çalışmaz dışarda. Çalışmak istesem de nerden iş isteneceğini kime başvurulacağını bilmem. Sosyal güvencemiz yok.Allah verir rızkını, bak çok şükür bugün de karnımız doydu sabaha Allah Kerim..."

Selime (35,I): "...I have never worked because women do not work outside home according to our customs. Even if I want to work, I do not know where I can find a job and to whom I can apply. We have no social security. God gives our daily food, thank God that we are not hungry today, however God knows what will happen tomorrow..."

whereas in the second group, women stated that:

Zarife (38,P): "...Eşim, oğlum, ben hep çalışıyoduk, bi köşeye para koyuyoduk, ne günlerden bu hale geldik, ama çok çektim. Şimdi yine eski halimize döndük, eşim de benim de bi işimiz yok, işde bulamıyoz. Ama bak el işi yapıyorum, gerekirse kapı kapı gezip satıyorum...Evvel Allah'ın izniyle kadının gücü herşeye yeter, erkeğin yaptığı her işi yapabilir, o da çalışıp parasını kazanır..."

Zarife (38,P): "...We had lots of difficulties. My husband, my son and I always worked, and saved money, and we had a better life but nowadays we are in difficulty again. My husband and I have no job at the moment and also we can not find. However, I am doing handwork and I try to sell them...I think that women are able to do everything that a man can do and earn their own money..."

Deniz (40,I): "...Yokluk belimizi büker, ben çalışmıyorum ama baktım olmayacak bu kızın üniversite masrafı da nasıl okuyacak. Arada temizlik işine gidiyorum. İyi oldu biraz beli doğrulttuk."

Deniz (40,I): "...Poverty is very difficult. I had not worked until my daughter went to the university, but now I am working as a cleaner to meet her expenses..."

Esin (33,I): "...Benim düzenli bi işim yok. Keşke olsa...Beyim hiç istemez ama oğlum çok destek arkamda, onun sayesinde biseyler yapıyorum. Yarım gün öğretmen çocuğuna bakıyorum, 3 binayı süpürüp, temizliyorum, çok ta güzel nakış yaparım, onları satıp para kazanıyorum, hiç değilse kira parası çıkar, boğaza biseyler alınır..."

Esin (33,I): "...I have no regular job. I wish I had... Although my husband does not want, I am working owing to my son's supports. I am taking care of a child of a teacher as a part time job; also I am working as a cleaner and I am cleaning 3 buildings and in addition to them I am doing some handworks and I am selling them to earn money. By this way, I earn money for the rent and food..."

Regarding the fact of marriage, women who were recently left by their husbands also belonged to this group. Those women did not have any income and family pool was not working properly for their benefits. Our findings showed that there were two

women who were left by their husbands with different ethnic identities were experiencing absolute⁴ poverty rather than relative poverty.

Saliha (45,P): "...Kocam bizi bırakıp gitti, bi kadın peşinden. Sonra onu da bıraktı ya, zaten varken de yok gibiydi. Çocuklarla da ilgilenmiyor...Çalışmayı çok istedim ama hasta olduğum için bu yaşta kimse iş vermedi bana...Çocukları nereye bırakayım?. Gördünüz daha yarım saat olmadı kavga kıyamet...Hiçbi gelirimiz yok, herif emekli parasından bi miktar para verdiydi onu faize yatırdık, neye yetcek...Ekmek ve çay tüketiyoz hep...Gelecekten de hiçbi beklentim yok... Evde banyo bile yok, ahıra benziyo. Hayvan bile bağlasan durmaz..."

Saliha (45,P): "...My husband left us because of another woman. He left her as well. He doesn't mind the children...I wanted to work but, nobody gave me a job at this age because of my illness...Also, there is not anyone to look after the children.As you have seen that it has been just half an hour but they made a hell of a fuss...We have no income, my husband had given me some of his retirement, which I invest at interest, but it is not enough...We consume only tea and bread...I have no expectation for the future. We have not even a bathroom in the house. It looks like a barn. If you tie an animal in it, it can't endure it..."

Ece (41,I): "...Hep döverdi, içkisi de vardı. Şimdi ayrı yaşıyo, biriyle dost hayatı.... Kendi benim dayımın oğludur aynı zamanda...Zaten başımda koca da yok. Ümitsizim. Parasızlık da bir yandan...Şimdiye kadar hiç çalışmadım. Kime gidilir de. Köydeyken tarlaya giderdim pancar işine. Ama burda napılır bilmem. Etrafta yardım eden de yok, devlet de görmüyo bizi. İşte sığıntı olduk görümcemin yanında. Köyden de yardım gelmez bize..... Baba ölmüş, kardeşler desen kendi derdinde...Kışı nasıl geçiririz onu da bilmem daha geleli 3 ay oldu."

Ece (41,I): "...He always beat me; he also drunk a lot. Now he lives apart; he has taken a mistress..... At the same time he is the son of my uncle...I don't have a husband either. I am hopeless. We are a poverty-stricken family...I haven't worked so far. Who can I consult with? When I was in the village I went to fields of beet to work. However, I don't know what to do here. There isn't anybody to help us and the government don't see us either. We are in my sister-in-law's house. There isn't any help from the village...My father died; my brothers are interested in their own problems.... I don't know how we can winter time; we have been here for three months..."

⁴ According to SIS, the absolute poverty threshold is determined as 1\$. (As of year 2002 purchasing parities and 1\$=618,281T.L. Source:www.die.gov.tr)

Women also who did not have sufficient emotional support from her parent/parents during her childhood, women who had bad experiences related with her childhood, women who were grown up by her close relatives because of any of the parent's passing away or separation, and women who have serious illness or have to take care of patient or disabled person are also included by the first group.

Satı (37,LP): "...Babam biz küçükken öldü, ölünce biz amcaı babalık bildik, beni babaannem büyüttü...Ama amcalarımdan biri deliydi, ölesiye döverdi, annem de bi yandan iş tutmuyon diye döverdi, babaannem kızınca döverdi, herkesten dayak yedik...Bizde görücü usulü hem de akrabayla evlenilir...Sonra kocama tutuldum, ona mektup gönderdim, beni istemeye geldiler ağladım, ağladım istemiyom diye ama mektup gönderdiğimi görünce beni ayaklarımdan astılar, kemerle sopayla dövdüler yine vazgeçmedim, kocamın ailesi kaç kere gitti geldi, sırf vazgeçsin diye babannem koyun ağırlığı altın isterim dedi, tam kaynanam vazgeçiyodu, kocam çok üstüne düştü. Sonra zorla kabul ettiler, hemen hoca nikahı yapıldı, çok sonra resmi nikah yapıldı. Sonra çocuklar oldu, ama kocamdan gelen kalıtsal hastalık var, küçük kızda da çıktı. Önce akıllarını yitirip, sonra belden aşağı tutmaz oluyo. Delirdim delirdim kendimi yerden yere vurdum bak gözümün önünde görümcem var hergün biz bakarız, altını temizler, yemeğini veririz, benim kızımda mı böyle olacaktı dedim..."

Satı (37,LP): "...My father died when we were very young. When he died we knew our uncle as our father. My grandmother brought up me...However, one of my uncles was crazy; he beat me violently. My mother beat me as I didn't do house work. My grandmother beat me when she was angry. I got beating from everybody... In our family a marriage was through the agency of a matchmaker and with a relative...Then I fell in love with my husband; I sent a letter to him. They came to ask for me in marriage; I cried as I didn't want that man. However, when they learn that I had sent a letter, they hung me from my feet; and they beat me with a belt and stick. However, I didn't give up. My husband's family often came and went. My father said that I was worth a sheep's weight in gold and asked for gold to make them give up. When my mother-in-law was going to give up, my husband insisted very much. Then they were obliged to accept; a wedding performed by imam was held immediately. Official wedding was held a very long time later. Then I gave birth to my children. As if all these problems were not enough, my little daughter had an illness pertaining to heredity. They firstly go mad and then the part below their waist becomes paralyzed. I suffered very much: Look! My sister-in-law is here. We look after her every day; we clean her; we feed her; will my daughter be like this?..."

Since extended family type is the most frequent type of family in this group, women (mothers) were mostly sharing their burdens with their eldest daughters.

Women who were grown up in the rural area stated that this share of burden was more important in the rural area because of women's responsibilities both within the household and outside the household. These made them more vulnerable against poverty. Additionally, this shared burden limited daughters' accesses to some opportunities like education, health etc., and these women became more vulnerable against poverty. It is also observed that educational capital of women is the lowest in this group because of being excluded from educational opportunities. Furthermore, women who are excluded by the solidarity networks (like marriage without the consent of her family) are also included in this group.

Neriman (64,I): "...Kocam iş bulduğu için buraya geldik. Köyde 6 kardeşlik. Ben 4'üncüyüm. Kardeşlerimin 3'ü öldü. Ben en büyük kızdım. Anne iş tutmuyosun diye kızardı. Babamla erkek kardeşlerimle hiç konuşamazdık. Ya annemi yada beni döverlerdi. Ama köyden hepimiz dağıldık. Şehre gelince durumumuz daha da kötüye gitti. Burası memleket gibi değil...Babam rençberdi. Yazın da ırgatlığa giderdi. Davarcılık yapardı. Sen iş tutmazsın diye beni döverdi. Annem beni kurtarırdı babamın elinden. Annem ev isine bakardı. 22 yaşında evlendim. Kocam askerliğini yaptı idi, gece bekçisiydi. Bizim oraya geldi, beni beğendi, istedi. Babam hiç istemedi. Sıçacak tuvaleti bile yok dedi. Ama benim aklımı çeldi, bende kaçtım...2 görümce, 2 kaynım, kaynana ve kaynata bir evde yaşadık. Şimdiki aklım olsa ne kaçar, ne kocaya varırdım, adamın altına yatmazdım...Zaten 9 senedir kocadan ayrı yatıyorum. Ameliyattan sonra adamdan nefret ettim, evlilik ne olacak ki... Hep dövdü beni. Gerdeğe girdiğimde de dövdü. Şunu şuraya niye koymadın diye hep döverdi. Bitirmek istedim ama anam babam sahip çıkmadı. Kendin ettin, kendin buldun, çekeceksin dediler. Hala daha da çekiyoz gözü kör olsun ne çileymiş bitmedi, kendimi şu tepeden aşağı bile atmayı düşünmedim desem yalan olacak..."

Neriman (64,I): "...We came here as my husband found a job. We were 6 children in the village. I was the fourth one. Three of my siblings died. I was the eldest daughter. My mother was angry with me as she thought I didn't do house work. We couldn't talk to my father and brother. They beat either me or my mother. However, all of us left the village. When we came to the city, our situation got worse. Here is not like our hometown...My father was a farmer. In summer he went to work as a farmer labourer. He used to shepherd flock of sheep or goats. He beat me as he thought that I didn't do housework. My mom prevented him from beating me. My mother used to do house work...I got married at the age of 22. My husband had done his military service, he was a night watchman. He came and liked me. He wanted to marry with me. My father didn't want to give. My father said that he didn't have even a toilet to shit in. However he persuaded me and I went away with him...We lived with 2 sister-in-laws, 2 brother-in-laws, mother-in-law and father-in-law. If I had had reason of today, I wouldn't have gone away; I wouldn't have married and I wouldn't have had sex

with him..... I have been sleeping in a separate bed for 9 years. I hated him after operation. What will a marriage be? He always beat me. At wedding night he beat me. He asked why I didn't put something there and he always beat me. I wanted to finish it but my mother and father didn't look after me. They said that if you get yourself into trouble then you have no right to complain. Damn it! What a suffering! It hasn't finished yet. It would be a lie if I said that I didn't think to throw myself down a hill..."

Aslıhan (31,I): "...6 kız kardeş, 2 de oğlan kardeşim var. Çok iyi anlaşırđık. Anne bize biraz kızzardı ama babamız çok iyiydi. Erkek kardeşlerim okudu fakat ben hiç okumadım...Bana kız okumaz dediler, bi de köy yerinde nasıl olacak, zaten en büyük sensin her yük senin üzerinde bi yandan kardeşlere bak bi yandan da anaya yardım et, ev işinde işte okumadık. Sonra da erken yaşta evlendirdiler. El evi pek yamanmış, bu parasızlık çok zor, nolcak halimiz bilmem... İş desem bu yaştan sonra bana kim iş vercek, okumuşlar bulamıyo, biz mi bulcaz, işte böyle kocanın eline bakarsın..."

Aslıhan (31,I): "...I have 6 sisters and 2 brothers. We got on well with each other. My mother used to get angry with us but my father was a good man. All of my brothers went to school but I did not.... I was told that girls do not go to school. Since I was the oldest sister among all of the children, I had to help my mother to do the house-work. Then they forced me to marry at a very young age. It was very difficult for me to live at another home. It is very hard to live without money. I do not know what will happen in the future...I can not find a job because of my age. Even the educated people can not find a job. How can I find? Because of this I am dependent on my husband..."

Women with different ethnic identities who recently migrated to the urban from the rural area within a few years were also included in the first group. When the migration to urban area dated back, women started to move to the second group rather than the first group. It could be claimed that adaptation to the new environment becomes an important problem at the edge of settle down in an urban area. Regarding this, it is claimed that after the migration women mostly fill out the housewife roles and this is also supported by their social environment where her domestic responsibilities increase and this highly affects women's adaptation to the new atmosphere. This recent migration was a kind of obligatory migration because of terrorism and this had a great impact on women's lives as in the case of Helin (47,I):

Helin (47,I): "...10 sene önce biz bi buraya geldik, PKK var diye. Sonra teror bitti diye tekrar geri döndük, 2 sene oluyo ama nafile hala oralar kötüyümüş meğerssem. Gece PKK kapımızı ekmek

diye çalışıyordu, gündüz de asker çalışıyordu. Korktuk tekrar geri döndük. Ben geri gitmeyi de zaten istemediydim, terör mahvetti, herkes toprağını, malını, mülkünü bırakıp dağıldı, bi de koyun işi pek çoktur, ineğe git, çocuklara bak, boğaz doyur bak hastalık sahibi oldum bi gün yüzü de göremedim, şehre geldik, kan davasından oğlanı vurdular, sorma işte çoktur bizim derdimiz...”

Helin (47,I): “...10 years ago we came here as there was PKK. Then terror ended and we went back. 2 years have passed but it is no use because the situation is still very bad. At nights PKK knocked our door to ask for bread and during daytime soldiers knocked. We were afraid and we came back again. I hadn't wanted to go back there because terror destroyed everything there. Everybody went away leaving their land and property behind. Also there is a lot of work in the village such as raising livestock and raising children. Look! I got sick; I didn't see better days. We came to the city. My son was shot because of blood feud. Don't ask! We have a lot of problems...”

Crime also had negative effects on the lives of these poor people in urban area as it could be seen in the previously mentioned example. In this example, since the family did not have sufficient material resource, they could neither find a lawyer to defend the son, nor move to another place in order to protect him. Then, the son was sent to the jail. Now, he could not find any job because of the stigmatization and regarding this his mother states that “when he was in the prison, it was a big problem then he was released and the problem never ended, continued after the release. I do not know, what will happen in the future. I worry about him so much.”

Second group is formed by the women who questioned the existing order and developed a resisting behavior against the current situation. Regarding this, educational level could be an important indicator. In this category, women and/or families mostly give priority to education for their children and/or women in this category have higher educational levels than women in other groups. Moreover, migration to the urban area dates back earlier for women in this category so women could make use of their social networks in order to develop an efficient survival strategy (like finding a job, engaging in income providing activities within the household or using channels of finding a formal/informal aid etc.)

Betül (39,I): “...Yoksulluk, para ile ilişkindir. Paran yoksa yoksulsun. Ben de yoksulum, param olsa herşey yaparım. Ama para için affedersin, öbür işten hariç herşeyi yaparım, borcumu kapatırım ah bi iş bulsam...Herif istemezdi çalışmamı bigün yükledim sırtıma bohçayı habersizce

çıkıtm. Çıkış o çıkış sonra alıştı para gelince sesi çıkmadı. Geçen sene de o paradan bi dikiş makinası aldım. 1- 1,5 olsun önemli değil az da olsa kazanırım ah bi de düzenli işim olsa ne isterim... Ben ne yapıyosam şu çocuklar okusun diye yapıyorum. Bak çok şükür oğlanı okuttum, kızı çok istedim ama başaramadım ama o da saz kursuna gidiyo, pek yetenekli...yeter ki onlar iyi olsunlar...”

Betül (39,I): “...Poverty is related with money. If you don't have money you are poor. I am also poor. If I had money, I could do everything I wanted. But you could forgive for the sake of money I would do everything except being a prostitute and so I would pay back my debt. I wish I could...My husband did not want me to work but one day I got my sack on my back and went without saying anything. But later he got used to it when he got the money, he did not resist anymore. Last year, I bought a sewing machine with that money I earned, it makes no difference 1-1,5 , I would earn something. If only I had a regular job. Whatever I do is for my children and their education. Thanks God. I could afford for my son's education and he succeeded it. My daughter did not finish her school but she is pretty talented, she is attending “saz”⁵ course...”

The women in this group had either little contact or did not have any contact with the others in the neighbourhood. Among the high school graduates Dilan (31,H) said that she was going down to the Society Centre to chat while 19 W said that she was meeting with her friends whom she saw rarely. The working women, on the other hand, said that they knew all the women in the neighbourhood but did not have any intimate relationship with any of them since they had no time. Yet, they greeted each other when they come across on the street. Perhaps, these women who could isolate themselves from the environment they lived in could find the way of tackling with poverty or being affected less.

Dilan (31,H): “...Biz de herşeyden kavga çıkar. Arada bi uçurum var zaten. Söylediğini tamamen ters anlar, çok terstir. Biçok şeyden kavga çıkar, o beni döver, susuyon sonuçta çocuklar var, eve gelmez karı, kızla pavyondadır. Ben lise mezunuyum, o ilkokul mezunu...Bi düzenli işim olsa bi dakika durmaz çocuklarımı alır giderim, şimdi memurluk sınavlarına çalışıyorum, annem parasını da verecek. İnşallah bi işe de girerim, dakika durmam bu herifin yanında....Şu anda da el işi yapıp satıyorum, bayağı becerikliyimdir... Kadın istese herşey olur, bence yoksuluz çünkü olanaklarımız kısıtlı bak herifin eline bakıyoz ama çözümü yine bizdedir...Bak bi iş bulayım, bavulu toparlayıp, çocukları da alıp, gizlice gidecem, bi daha da dönersem iki olsun...”

⁵ A kind of traditional Turkish folk music instrument.

Dilan (31,H): "...We quarrel for anything. There is already a gap. He heats me and I have to keep silent because I have children. No other women come home but they meet at night clubs. I graduated from high school and he is a primary school graduate...If I had a regular job I would not think for a moment and leave home with my children. I am now studying for the exam of being a civil servant. My mum will pay for the fee if I pass the exam I would not stay in this house for a moment. I am talented. Now, I am making handicrafts and selling them if woman wants everything will get better. My husband works yet the solution is us- the women. If I can find a job, I swear that I will never come back..."

Another important finding is that although Zarife (38,P) and Elif (55,I) did not have emotional support from her parent/parents during her childhood and had bad experiences related with their childhood , they were also grown up by their close relatives because of any reason, they succeeded to be involved by the second group. The common point with these women was that they gave great importance to education although Zarife (38,P) said that she wanted both her son and daughter to go to school she resented that her son did not go to school but her daughter entered Anatolian High School. On the other hand, Elif (55,I)'s both son and daughter were successfully continuing their education. On the other hand, both Zarife (38,P) and Elif (55,I) said that they knew each other but they did not meet due to lack of time. However, Zarife (38,P) was complaining about getting married at an early age and she was the second wife of her husband still she was contend with her husband and children. In addition, she felt herself lucky because her husband lived in Germany for a while, which she believed that might be a reason for her husband's being so understanding.

In Zarife (38,P)' s life another interesting point was that her putting forth that Zarife (38,P)'s husband's being put in jail was a hindrance for her getting a job. At this point Zarife (38,P) spoke: "I can make money anyway, I am now making necklace and selling them."

On the other hand, Elif (55,I) said that although she had a very bad marriage when they bought a house with the money paid for their child's death their life became better. The sad thing here is that a resentful event and a salary given after her husband's death made her life better and gave her a chance to handle with poverty.

On the other hand, Elif (55,I) said that she left her home, village at an early age and started working but worked hard to make children go to school. On the other hand, she replied “if only my child had not died, I would have worked harder for him.” with a crying voice. In both cases, we see that woman comes into stage and prevents getting poorer. In conclusion, both women were actually being expected to be in the first group which was poorer, but they were in a better condition as they isolated themselves and perceived themselves powerful. In addition, both of them had a greater capacity of mobility. But it is possible to say that this is a result of a successful adaptation to city life.

Zarife (38,P): “...Çocukken annem babam kardeşlerim aynı evde yaşadık. 4 kardeşlik. Annem ölünce babam tekrar evlendi. 2 üvey kardeşte evlendi. 3 kız 1 oğlan. En büyük benim 4 kardeşten. Annem 10 yaşımıdayken öldü, kanserdi. Okul bitince üvey annemle geçim edemedim. 1 sene teyzemde kaldım. Teyzem Almanya’ya gidince babamın üvey annesinin yanına gittim. Çok eziyet çektim...Babam çok kıskançtı. Çok kavga olurdu evde. Babam hep annemi döverdi. Kavgadan sonra da barışlılardı. Çocukluğum daha kötüydü. Aç yattığımız günleri bilirim. Ekmekleri saklardık. Eskiye göre bakınca hiç olmazsa karnımız doyuyo. Ama daha iyiyiz diyemem...Babam hep çok bencildi. Biz onunla pek iyi anlaşamayız. Hep kendini düşünür. Onunla aramızdaki sorunda çözülmez. Annem hep ev kadınıydı, biz annemle hiç kavga etmezdik. O bana hep destek oldu...”

Zarife (38,P): “...When I was a child we used to live in the same house. I had four siblings. When my mother died my father married again. My step sisters got married. Three sisters and one brother. My mother was suffering from cancer and she died when I was ten. When I finished school I did not get well with my step mother. I stayed with my aunt for a year. When my aunt went to Germany I went to my father’s step mother. I suffered a lot...My father was too jealous. We had quarrels all the time. My father always beat my mother. They made peace later. I remember the days when we did not eat anything all day long. We hid the bread. Compared to my childhood, at least now, we can find food. Still we are not much better now. My father was too self centred we could not get along with each other we cannot solve our problem. My mother was always a housewife, she always supported me, we never quarrelled...”

Elif (55,I): “...40 sene önce bi kadının yanında çalışıyodum. Kedisine köpeğine bakıyodum, yanında da kalıyodum...Kadın Ankara’ya gelince bende geldim. Köyde kardeşlerim var. Üveyler. Sağlamken bakmıyolar, şimdi niye baksınlar.Annemle babam ben küçükken ayrılmış. Babam annemden sonra 3 kez evlenmiş, annem de 5 kocaya varmış. Beni amcamın karısı büyüttü. Çok döverdi. Bende kaçtım. Bir ailenin yanında beslemelik yaptım. Yazın sığır güder, kışın ev işi yapardım. Onlar da çok döverdi beni. Annem 40 yaşında babam 60 yaşında hastalıktan ölmüşler.

Babam davar güderdi, rençberlik yapardı, dağdan odun kesip eşeklerle satardı. Annemde köyde odun satardı. Beni 4-5 yaşındayken bıraktı. Yalnız kaldığı için kötü yola düştü...1 kere evlendim, şimdi dulum. Ben 17 yaşındaydım, o da 23 yaşındaydı. Bir kadın aracı oldu, öyle evlendik. Gençlik parkında garsonluk yapıyordu.... Ben evlenmeden önce bir kere nişanlandım, 2.5 milyon lira para verdiler. Beni kuma alacaklardı, ailemde beni verdi ama evlenmeden kaçtı köyden..... Şimdiki kocamın aklıktan nefesi kokuyordu. Ne para verdi, ne takı taktı. Zaten ailem benle ilgilenmiyordu. İçip içip beni döverdi. Kadına giderdi. Çaresizdim. Çocukları bırakamazdım. 8 çocuğum vardı...Biri 6 aylıkken öldü, biride araba kazasında 10 yaşında öldü. Çocuğun kan parasıyla bu evi satın aldık...”

Elif (55,I): “...I was working near a woman forty years ago. I was looking after her and her dog and staying with her. When the woman came to Ankara, I came with her. I have brothers in the village. They are my step brothers, my mother and father got divorced when I was a child. My father got married three times after my mother married five times. The wife of my uncle brought up me. She beat me very much. Then I went away as well. I worked as a servant girl in a family’s house. In summer I shepherded cattle and in winter I did domestic work. They beat me as well. My mother died at the age of 40 and my father died at the age of 60 because of an illness. My father used to shepherd cattle, work as a farmer and cut firewood in the mountain to sell. My mother used to sell firewood in the village. She left me when I was 4-5 years old. As she was alone she became prostitute... I got married once, and now I am widow. I was 17 and he was 23. A woman was a matchmaker and we could get married in this way. He worked as a waiter in the park of Youth.... Before I got married I got engaged once in the village. They gave 2.5 million TL. They would take me as a fellow wife; my family gave me in marriage but they went away from the village before the marriage. ...My husband was poverty-stricken. He gave neither money nor a piece of jewellery. My family wasn’t curious about me. He beat me after he drank alcohol. He went to another woman. I was in desperate straits. I couldn’t leave my children. I had 8 children.... One of them died when it was 6 months; another one died in a car accident at the age of 10. We bought this house with the money paid for their child’s death...”

5.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, if we have a look at the scene from the aspects of capitals we have already mentioned in the previous chapters, we could have a chance to concern ourselves with a woman’s conditions in detail.

When we look at the matter from the aspect of economic capital, a woman doesn’t have economic capital; because of patriarchal values, this capital is given to the men with her property right. On the other hand, a woman cannot find a job;

because she doesn't have education. She can find a job just in informal sector; moreover, she spends what she earns to meet the needs of her family and children more than her own needs; or their income is taken away by her husband. On the other hand, she is excluded from the family's property rights; and, this right is usually passed to the man, which shows that a woman is in a very disadvantageous position in the sense of economic capital.

When it is looked at the matter from the aspect of another capital, social capital, a woman is seen as an important resource in social, familial networks. However, she has no upward mobility; and in spite of this, this network is fed on by the woman herself continuously. She uses all of her social capital to keep her family alive. While she strives to find a solution for poverty on the one hand, she tries to obey the social norms and rules of the society on the other hand. If she doesn't, she can be left in a disadvantageous position. Another important point is that she has a very important role in the struggle of family to cope with deprivation. Although she doesn't want to do it, she has to (because when she doesn't do it, she is subjected to even violence). This situation makes her more deprived. On the other hand, the deprivation of woman is seen in the deprivation of family. Although it is necessary to study her deprivation and the deprivation of family separately and to produce solutions according to this study in order to rescue her from deprivation, that this is not achieved makes the woman more deprived.

When we have a look at the matter from cultural capital, another capital type, we see that woman is uneducated, which limits her mobility on a vast scale and she doesn't even go out because of this. Patriarchy and patriarchal values determine the whole gendered identity of woman. However, as we have observed during the research, woman herself reproduces the patriarchal values as well. On the other hand, woman doesn't work but at the same time she tries to rescue her family. In short, she sacrifices herself; and in other words, self help is quite low. In summary, a woman reproduces what patriarchy tells her blindly; all of which support the relative deprivation of a woman compared to a man. As a conclusion, the most important point that can be stated is that a woman is in a disadvantageous position from every aspect in the sense of deprivation when compared to a man, and its solution doesn't seem to be easy.

CHAPTER VI

HOW DAUGHTERS EXPERIENCE POVERTY

6.1. Sociodemographical Characteristics

Regarding daughters, most of the daughters were born in Ankara in the same neighborhood. Their ages were changing between 12 and 33. Except two of them, they were single and they were living with their families. Their families were in a form of nuclear or extended type of family. On the other hand, married daughters were also living with their families and also they had one child. Because of unexpected events these two daughters had to come back to their mothers' houses with their husbands.

Furthermore, most of the daughters have been continuing their educational lives at school. Some of the daughters who left the school also participated in some training programs like Quran, reading-writing and handcrafts. Additionally, two of the daughters were still studying at the university and another one just graduated from the university. During the interview, she stated that she was looking for a job. Regarding employment, a few of the daughters stated that they had working experience. This experience was either in a form of working for the summer practice or working for a textile factory as a worker for a certain period. However, all of them had to give up working because of some reasons like the liquidation of the work place or some familial reasons. On the other hand, some of the daughters were also making handcrafts at home and selling them in order to support themselves. In line with this information, it could be claimed that daughters are in a better position than their mothers because of both education and working experience.

Another important difference was that unlike their mothers, most of the daughters were born in this neighborhood. Therefore they had very weak ties with the village.

Selma (13,SS): "...Doğma büyüme buralıyım ama ailem Çorum'dan göç etmiş. Köye her yaz gider, 3 ay kalırım. Babaannemle dedemin yanına giderim.Ama orada sürekli yaşamayı hiç istemem, annem, babam da burada bir de ben burada doğup büyüdüm ondan..."

Selma (13,SS): "...I was born and bred here but my family migrated from Çorum. Every summer, I go to the village and stay for 3 months. I stay with grandma and grandpa. However, I do not want to live there continuously, my parents are here and also I was born, I grew up here..."

However, there were some exceptional cases and these daughters have recently migrated to this area. They were not born in Ankara. One of these daughters was obliged to migrate to Ankara because of PKK terrorism while the other stated that her mother, siblings and she migrated to Ankara a few months ago due to the fact that her father left them because of another woman and her mother wanted to chase him. etc. Since poverty is much related with the migration, these cases should be definitely focused on very well. In these cases, unlike other daughters who were born in Ankara, it seemed that these daughters had still strong ties with the village and they wanted to go back to their villages because they would feel themselves freer. They declared that migration changed many things not only in their lives, but also in their families' lives and never became familiar with the urban area while they also stated that they want to go back to their villages immediately if they have a chance. For example, they are not allowed to go outside by themselves because of the security in the city. This could be an inevitable result of a compulsory migration. Since people could not participate in most of the social networks because of having been migrated very recently they become more vulnerable and their adaptation process to the new environment take some time. These daughters are also living a cultural conflict, on the one side longing for the homeland, on the other side dealing with different experiences related with the urban city.

Therefore, daughters who recently migrated to this new area strongly want to go back. However, mothers of these daughters did not give the same response with

their daughters. These mothers all stated that because of their intensive workload they did not want to go back to their villages and some of them also stated that they were very scared of going back because they ran out of chance of finding a job and living peacefully because of the terrorism. According to these mothers' statements, daughters' going back to her village was almost impossible so daughters should adapt themselves to the new environment and also develop their relations with social networks in order to alleviate the unavoidable effects of living in poverty.

Safiye (14,P): "...Ailem Kars-Kağızman'dan 10 yıl önce göçtüler. Teröristler basınca hep beraber bütün sülale göçtüler. Sonra bir kaç sene oluyor, tekrar terörist kalmadı diye geri döndüler. Ama nerede sabahları askerler, geceleri PKK kapımızı çalıp yemek istiyordu. Birine verip öbürüne vermemek olmuyor. Sonra tekrar buraya Ankara'ya yine bu mahalleye geri geldik. Belki bu sene yine gideriz ben çok özlüyorum orada özgürlük vardı, burada sokağa bile çıkamıyoruz. Ama annem hiç istemiyor, koyun işi zor ne yapacağız gidipte diyor. Ben arkadaşlarımı, yeşilliği, hayvanlarımızı çok özlüyorum. Burada aradığımı bulamadım.Keşke geri dönebilsek."

Safiye (14,P): "...My family migrated from Kars-Kağızman ten years ago. All of the family migrated when terrorists treaded on. A few years ago, they returned to the village because there was not any terrorist left. No way, in the morning time soldiers and the night time PKK were knocking at our doors for food. It was impossible to give one of them and not to give the other one. Later, we came back to this neighborhood, Ankara. We may go back again this year, there was freedom over there, and here we can not even go out of the house. However, my mother never wants to go back, she says that taking care of cattle is so hard and asks that what we will do over there if we go back. I miss my friends, green land, and our animals so much. I could not find anything that I wanted here in this place. I wish we could go back."

Gülperi (17,P): "...1986 Aksaray doğumluyum. 3 ay önce annemle buraya babamın peşine geldik. Geldiğimizde kimseyi tanımiyorduk, halamın yanına sığındık. Kardeşlerim ve annem hep beraber göçtük buraya her şeyimizi bırakıp geldik. Çocukluğum Aksaray'da köyde geçti. Dedeler, halalar hep bir arada yaşardık, sonra hepsi ayrılıp gitti. Babam burada inşaat işçiliği yapıyormuş fakat kadına gittiği için bize bakmıyor. O yüzden annemde bizleri alıp babamın peşine geldi. Herşeyimizi geride bıraktık. Annem ev hanımıdır. Köyde ara sıra tarlada pancar işine giderdi. Şimdi burada hiçbir şeyimiz yok, sığıntı olduk. Babam bizi terk ettiğinden beri çok zorluk çekiyoruz, halam bakıyor bize. Ben köyü çok özlüyorum keşke geri dönebilsek. Burada ne yol ne iz biliyoruz, kimsede kimseye yardım etmiyor, ben oralara tekrar geri dönmeyi isterim. Babamın peşine düştük geldik buralara ama bilmem önümüzde ne var."

Gülperi (17,P): "...I was born in Aksaray in 1986. My mother, siblings and I came here in order to follow my father. When we arrived here, we did not know anybody and we sheltered in my aunt's place. All of us migrated to here and left everything behind us. I spent my childhood in Aksaray. We lived with my aunts, grandparents all together, and then they left us. It is said that my father is working as a construction worker here, but he does not take care of us because he went for another woman. Therefore, my mother took all of us and brought here for following him. My mother was sometimes going for beetwork to the fields in the village. Now, we do not own anything and we became a burden for my aunt. We have been suffering since my father left us; my aunt is taking care of us. I miss my village so much, I wish I returned. Here, in this place, we do not know anything even any direction, nobody helps each other, and I want to go back again. We came here following my father; I do not know what future will bring us."

Finally, it could be said that migration is an important factor which is much related with the poverty. Recently migrated daughters are more vulnerable against poverty because of not to participate in the relevant networks and their mobility capability are restricted by their families because of protecting them against any potential danger that occurs in this totally new environment and this makes these daughters more vulnerable against poverty and they want to go back to their villages in order to escape from these disadvantaged conditions in this new environment. In the future, the relation between poverty and migration might be scrutinized in a detailed manner.

TABLE 6.1. Sociodemographic Profiles of Daughters

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	If migrated When and Why?	Education	Reason of quitting her education	Occupational History	Single or Married	Is there any training Program	Has she ever worked?
Belma	1986	Ankara	N/A	LP	1	Housewife	Single	N/A	N/A
Tansu	1983	Ankara	N/A	LS	2	Housewife	Single	Q	N/A
Zergün	1988	Ankara	N/A	P	3	Housewife	Single	N/A	N/A
Ceyhan	1985	Ankara	N/A	US	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	N/A
Tansel	1990	Ankara	N/A	SS	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	N/A
Gülperi	1986	Aksaray-Ortaköy	2003-1	P	4	Housewife	Single	N/A	N/A
Selin	1982	Ankara	N/A	US	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	Yes
Nemün	1983	Ankara	N/A	FS	3&4	Housewife	Single	N/A	N/A
Selma	1990	Ankara	N/A	SS	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	N/A
Saide	1988	Ankara	N/A	SL	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	N/A
Pervin	1980	Ankara	N/A	LH	4	Housewife	Married with 1 child	N/A	N/A
Burcu	1978	Çankırı	1980-2	H	1	Housewife	Married with 1 child	N/A	Yes
Ramize	1981	Ankara	N/A	P	4	Housewife	Single	N/A	N/A
Zafer	1990	Ankara	N/A	SS	N/A	Housewife	Single	N/A	N/A
Feride	1969	Çankırı-Kuşunlu	1971-2	H	3	Housewife	Single	N/A	Yes
Sadiye	1978	Ankara	N/A	FS	1	Housewife	Single	N/A	N/A
Senra	1988	Ordu-Kurumu	1991-2	SS	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	N/A
Gece	1983	Ankara	N/A	U	N/A	Unemployed	Single	N/A	Yes
Halime	1988	Yozgat	1995-2	SS	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	N/A
Safiye	1989	Kars-Kağızman	1994-3	P	3	Housewife	Single	H	N/A
Nazire	1982	Ankara	N/A	I	3&4	Housewife	Single	R&S	N/A
İnci	1987	Ankara	N/A	SS	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	N/A
Saniye	1986	Ankara	N/A	P	1	Housewife	Single	S	N/A
Emel	1988	Ankara	N/A	LH	1	Housewife	Single	N/A	N/A
Saliha	1989	Ankara	N/A	SL	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	N/A
Saadet	1988	Ankara	N/A	P	1	Housewife	Single	S	N/A
Gülseren	1987	Ankara	N/A	LP	3	Housewife	Single	R&S	N/A
Güllü	1988	Ankara-Haymana	1990-2	SL	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	N/A
Gül	1987	Aksaray-Ortaköy	1991-2	P	1	Housewife	Single	N/A	N/A
Zakire	1991	Ankara	N/A	SS	N/A	Student	Single	N/A	N/A

TABLE 6.2. Explanations of Table 6.1

CODES FOR EDUCATIONAL STATUS

I:Illiterate
LP:Left From Primary School
P:Primary School
H:High School
FS: Secondary School
U:University
LS: Left From Secondary School
LH: Left From High School
US:University Student
SS:Student at Secondary School
SL:Student at the High School

CODES FOR TRAINING PROGRAMS ATTENDED AFTER THE SCHOOL

R:Reading and writing courses
Q:Quran courses
H:Training program related with the handcrafts

Codes for the column F

1: At her own will
2: Dismissed
3: Her father/family did not allow to continue
4:Insufficient material conditions

Reasons of Migration of the Daughters

1:In order to chase her father who left them for another woman
2:Migrated with her family
3:Because of terrorism

6.2. Social Life - Everyday Life

Regarding social relations and participation in social activities, in the neighborhood, daughters spend most of their times in their houses. During the interviews, most of the daughters stated that they help their mothers for the household works and also state that they watch TV during the prime time when the members of family gather. They watch some television series-product of popular culture, mainly linked with life in rural regions of Turkey like *Berivan*, *Kınlı Kar*, *Gelin* etc. But they do not listen to the radio. However, in one one of the interviews, one daughter stated that she was also reading books

Daughters were going out of their houses in order to go to school or for shopping to the nearest grocery in their neighborhoods. They occasionally go to *Ulus* or *Dışkapı* open air market for shopping with their mothers (sometimes with their fathers) because they are not allowed to go to such places alone which are far from the neighborhood. They usually meet their friends while they go to school or go for a training program (like embroidery, sewing or reading-writing courses offered by the community center in the neighborhood) or during the summer time, in front of their houses or gardens. They occasionally visit their friends at their homes (mostly in winter time). Their social lives were very limited. However, there were also some differences among these daughters. Some of them were socially more active whereas some of them were mostly avoided from participating in social life by their families. For example, *Belma* (17,LP) was stating that she was never going out by herself because she was not allowed by her family and mostly spending her time by houseworks or watching TV.

Belma (17,LP): "...Ben gazete de, kitap da okumam. *Ulus*'muş, *Kızılay*'mış ona da inmem. Zaten izin vermezlerki. Evde bütün günüm temizlikle geçer anneme yardım ederim, tek lüksüm televizyon seyretmektir. Dizileri ve magazin programlarını çok severim. *Kınlı Kar* ve *Berivan*'ı severim.....Akşam seyrederim gündüzün pek televizyon bizde açılmaz.Hafta sonlarımda hep aynı geçer. Arkadaşım ya da görüştüğüm bir komşu yok. Arada bir annem komsulara gider, komşular bize gelir ama ben hiç onlara gitmem yalnız kalmayı tercih ederim.....Genelde uyurum. Düğün, nişan gibi eğlencelerden hoşlanmam. Hayatımda bir kere gittim...Zaten burada dışarı çıkamıyoz her Allah'ın günü kavga olur beni de pek salmazlar, ancak aşağı annem veya yengemle bi ihtiyaç olursa ineriz..."

Belma (17,LP): "...I do not read either newspaper or book. I never go to either Ulus or Kızılay. Besides, they do not allow me. I spend all my day by doing housework, helping to my mother, the only delicacy that I have is watching TV. I love series and magazine programmes. I love Kınalı Kar and Berivan...I watch TV during the night time because TV is not turned on during the day time. I spend my weekends in the same way.I do not have either any friend or a neighbor to meet. My mother sometimes visits to neighbors and then they visit to us.However, I never go to neighbors, I like staying alone at home...I usually sleep. I do not attend to the ceremonies like wedding or engagement. I have been to a ceremony once in my life...Besides, we can not go out of the house, fights happen everyday and they do not allow me to go out by myself, if we need to buy something, my mother, sister-in-law and I go to downtown for shopping..."

In case of Belma (17,LP), the family migrated to Ankara from East Anatolia many years ago but they were still living in a form of extended family. Moreover, Belma (17,LP)'s mother was responsible from taking care of Belma (17,LP)'s grandmother because of being the eldest bride despite the fact that Belma (17,LP)'s grandmother had 8 more children. Moreover, during the interview, both Belma (17,LP)'s mother and grandmother were in traditional costumes. Another important point was that neither Belma (17,LP)'s mother nor grandmother could speak Turkish very clearly and mostly Belma (17,LP) translated conversations into Kurdish. It could be said that her family was so conservative and religious and Belma (17,LP)'s mother's social life was also very restricted and she was firstly responsible from carrying out her traditional roles like taking care of members of the household, and some household duties like cleaning, cooking etc. During the interview, she also stated that if she did not carry out her responsibilities, her husband would strongly disapprove that condition. She also added that if she confronted him, she could be punished severely by her husband. This totally restricted her social life and these values were totally transferred from mother to her daughter very strongly. This became very effective in restricting daughter's social lives. Regarding this Belma (17,LP)'s mother's experiences related with social life resembled with her life. As a matter of fact her grandmother's life was not much different than Belma (17,LP) and her mother's lives. Although Belma (17,LP) was born in this neighborhood and went to the school different than her mother and grandmother, this was not effective in changing the case in Belma (17,LP)'s favour.

Nermin (20,FS)'s case was very similar with Belma (17,LP)'s case. Nermin (20,FS) was never allowed to go out of the house by herself. Visitors are also forbidden by two big wild dogs which are kept at the entrance of the house. The reason of this fact is stated as father's being very jealous of them so much. However, Nermin (20,FS)'s family was so different from Belma (17,LP)'s family. They were living in a form of nuclear family and her family migrated to the neighborhood from another district of Ankara. However, Nermin (20,FS)'s father was alcoholic and all members of the household were mostly exposed to the violence because of his father. Furthermore, Nermin (20,FS) had to give up her education because her father did not allow her to continue her education. According to him, a girl should stay at home and education was not necessary for a girl. Briefly, her father's aggressive and conservative approach prevented both her and her mother's participation in social life. On the other hand, Nermin (20,FS) was also complaining that her mother was so submissive and she never stopped her father exhibiting a harsh attitude. Like Belma (17,LP)'s case, both mother and the daughter's mobility capability were strictly restricted by the male authority.

Nermin (20,FS): "...Babam beni dışarı bile göndermez.... İçki içer, dayağı da var. Ben bu odada kitaplarla bir dünya kurdum kendime.... Baksana kapıda bağlı 2 köpek, biz burda hapis hayatı yaşıyoruz bak şu halimize...Kızılay'ı, Ulus'u bırak mahallede bile dışarı çıkamıyoruz.... Nasıl çıkacaksın güvenli değil. Bak evin girişinde köpek bekler.... Mahalleden eski okul arkadaşlarım var. Arada sırada onlar bize gelirler bazen düğün nişan da görüşürüz....Geç kalkarım, annem hep kızar. Ev işine yardım etmiyo diye bende arada bi yardım ederim. Hiç televizyon seyretmem...Gazete okumam ama kitap çok okurum. Ağabeyim satamadıklarını getiriyor."

Nermin (20,FS):"...Even, my father does not send me outside. He drinks a lot and also beats. Here, in this room, I formed a world with my books for myself...Look, there are two dogs waiting at the door, we are incarcerated in this house, look at ourselves...Forget Kızılay or Ulus, we can not even go out of the house. How can you go? It is not safe. Look, there is a dog waiting outside the house. I have got old friends from the school in the neighborhood. I sometimes meet them. I get up late, my mother gets angry. I rarely help for the housework. I never watch TV... I do not read newspaper but I read books so much. My elder brother brings which he could not sell."

Another similar case was Safiye (14,P)'s case. Safiye (14,P) was stating that she was not only allowed to go out by herself, but her mother was also forbidden to

go out by herself by her father. Her father was mostly restricting their mobilities by stating that he was so worrying about them because city was not a safe place like village and if both Safiye (14,P) and her mother go out so much, that would not be confirmed by their environment and everybody would gossip about their chastity. In this case, social values mostly dominated both Safiye (14,P) and her lives and made them more vulnerable against poverty because their mobilities restricted by these values and these values also prevented them participating in many of the social networks.

Safiye (14,P): "...Babam buraya gelince bi deęişik oldu, ne anamı ne beni evden çıkarır Allah'tan bi dikiş kursuna gidiyom orada üç beş arkadaş edindim...Babam, Kızılay, Ulus'un lafını duymaktan nefret ediyö... Kız kısmısı gezmezmiş ama annemi de bi yere salmaz, ortalık kötü diye. Ben ancak annemle Rus pazarına giysi almaya giderim, onun dışında bi yere çıkmam. Sabah kalkarım, sonra iş tutarım, teybi açarım, arabesk müzik severim ben. Bir tek çıktığım yer gittiğim nakış kursu, ona da gitmesem ne olur bilmem."

Safiye (14,P): "...My father has changed since we have come here, he does not send either me or my mother out of the house, thanks God I go to sewing course and I met some friends over there... My father hates to hear the words of Ulus and Kızılay... He says that girls should not go out but my mother is not either allowed to go out because the environment is not safe. I only go to Russian open air market to buy clothes with my mother, I do not go anywhere else. I get up in the morning, then do housework, switch on the tape recorder, I like arabesque music. The only place that I go myself is sewing-embroidery course, I do not know what happens if I do not go there."

Halime (15,SS): "...Aşğıdan, Ulus Samanpazarı'ndan kıyafet alcağımızda annemle aşğı ineriz...Kendim gitmemi istemezler başıma bi iş gelir diye çok korkarlar.... Güne yatağımı toplayarak başlarım. Kendi yatağımı, abimin yatağımı. Saçımı topluyom. Anne, babamı kaldırıyor, çayı koyuyom. Sonra yorganları kaldırıyor. (Evdeyken) Sonra arkadaşlarımla evde bol bol çay içiyöz..... Mahalle çok güvenli deęil o nedenle mümkün olduęu kadar arkadaşlarımı buraya çağırırım. Televizyon seyredirim, Kınalı Kar, Zerda, onları severim..... Babamla gezeriz, bazen de cumartesi pazarları."

Halime (15,SS): "...We buy our clothes from downtown, Ulus-Samanpazarı. We choose clean, good quality and the cheap. For this reason, we go there. I started my day by organizing my bed and also my elder brother's bed. I comb my hair. I call my parents for the breakfast, I cook tea. Then I organize the quilts and put them in their places (when I am at home). Additionally, my friends and I mostly drink tea at home. Neighborhood is not safe so I invite my friends to my house as much as

possible. I watch TV, Kınalı Kar, Zerda, I watch those series. Me and my father walk around at the weekends.”

Regarding university students, they were going to university out of Ankara and during the summer time; they were coming back to Ankara. When they were in Ankara, they were spending most of their times within the house by their families. They were mostly helping their mothers for the housework. However, they usually go to Ulus or Kızılay for meeting their friends but they are not spending so much time far from the neighborhood during the night time because the neighborhood is so unsafe. However, it seemed that these daughters were socially more active than the other daughters. They could sometimes go out of their neighborhoods by themselves. These daughters stated that after the university, their families accustomed to their living far from home and they became more tolerant about their lives. When they come home for the summer holiday, they could meet their friends outside the home and also invite them to their houses because their families know most of their friends and they rely on their daughters. The most important characteristics of these families was attaching importance to the education of their children. During the interviews, they stated that they could sacrifice everything for their children’s education in order to provide them a secure future. For example, Nermin (20,FS)’s mother was stating that she was going for cleaning to the houses despite the fact that she had a chronic disease because of supporting her daughter who is studying at the university. Attached importance to the education was much related with the daughters’ participation in social life events. These families were supporting and also approving their children’s mobility capability. While most of the daughters were not sent out of their houses by themselves in the neighborhood, these daughters were sent out of the city for studying by their families. However, these daughters also mentioned about the neighborhood’s being an unsafe place which also limited their mobility capabilities.

Selin (21,US): “...Ben nadiren Ulus veya Kızılay’a arkadaşlarımla buluşmak için inerim ama hava kararmadan geri dönerim...Ben korkmam ama annem babam telaşlanır bura güvenli değildir diye....Ama hiçbirşey de demezler çünkü bütün arkadaşlarımı bilirler.... Sabah kalkar, kahvaltımı

yapar sonra anneme yardım ederim...Öğleden sonra annem evdeyse otururuz, uyurum, bazen bahçeye inerim....”

Selin (21,US): “...I rarely go to Ulus or Kızılay for meeting with my friends but I come back before the darkness...I am not scared but my parents get worried because this neighborhood is not safe...However, they do not say anything because they know my friends...I get up in the morning, have my breakfast then help my mother for the houseworks...In the afternoon, if my mother is at home, we chat in the house and I sleep, sometimes rest in the garden...”

Ceyhan (18,US): “...Zaten burda çok az kalıyorum, onda da pek dışarı gitmem....Arada arkadaşlarımla Kızılay’a gideriz....Vitrin bakmayı çok severim. Annem çalıştığı için sabah kalkar iş tutarım, sonra onu beklerim....Pek kimseyi tanımam burda...Kimseye de annem yokken gitmem. Zaten o da izin vermez. Bura sizin bildiğiniz gibi değildir, hergün birbirlerini yerler... Bazen gündüz televizyona bakarım Türk filmi seyredirim....”

Ceyhan (18,US): “...Anyway, I stay here too short, when I am here I do not go out so much...I rarely go to Ulus or Kızılay with my friends...I love window shopping...I get up in the morning then do some housework, because my mother is working, then I wait for her coming back to the house...I do not know so many people here...I never visit to anybody when my mother is not at home. Besides, she does not allow. This place is different than the places that you know, everyday, quarrels happen. I sometimes watch TV and especially Turkish movies during the day time...”

Regarding other students in the neighborhood, Tansel (13,SS)’s case was very similar to Ceyhan (18,US) and Selin (21,US)’s cases. During the interview, Tansel (13,SS) stated that she participated in a chess course which was hold by an NGO in the neighborhood. Although most of her friends were not allowed to attend to that course, her attendance was totally supported by her family. However, she was not allowed to go out of the neighborhood by herself because of her young age. Tansel (13,SS)’s family was very similar to Ceyhan (18,US) and Selin (21,US)’s families. They were supporting their children’s education so much.

However, in Nazire (21,I)’s case, she stated that she could not go out of the house so much because she could not afford it. Nazire (21,I)’s father was alcoholic and he did not have a job. Only one of her younger brother was working for a very low waged job. Another younger brother was in prison. Furthermore, all of the members of the household were exposed to the violence by their fathers. Although her father did not mostly approve Nazire (21,I)’s going out of the house by herself,

she was supposed to go out because of carrying out many responsibilities related with the household. For example, her mother could not speak and understand Turkish very well and she was not good at mathematics so Nazire (21,I) was doing all the shopping for the house. She was paying the bills and she was trying to keep in touch with the teachers of her sister and brother who were currently studying at the school. In Nazire (21,I)'s case, although her father was alike Belma (17,LP)'s and Nermin (20,FS)'s fathers, she exhibited a resistant behavior against her father in order to find a way for escaping from poverty. If she had not behaved in that way, nobody would have found a solution in order to cope with poverty. However, her mobility was also limited because of lack of material conditions and she was going out of the house because of carrying out her responsibilities related with the household, not for the purpose of meeting or visiting their friends.

In case of Nazire (21,I), she was becoming different from her mother. Moreover, dominant social values were not functioning in case of her situation because her mother was not successful in using the benefits of the relevant networks in order to find a solution against poverty. Father was also very ineffective in order to cope with poverty. Then, Nazire (21,I) was loading all of the responsibilities onto herself in order to find a solution for coping with poverty.

The depicted picture shows that daughter's lives are very limited and full of restrictions. The cited reasons for their inactive social life are due to the imposed restrictions as being a girl, being unfamiliar with the environment and the neighborhood's being an unsafe place and another reason is not to be able to afford it. Finally, it could be said that family's inclinations are very effective on the mobilities of their daughters. Through the family, social values and norms are transferred to their off springs and off spring's life resembles with her mother's life. However, in terms of experiencing poverty, at the worst case these transferred values did not constitute a barrier because someone in the household should find a way for coping strategies. Another important finding is that daughters who are currently studying at an institution are socially more active than the daughters who are not currently studying at an institution.

6.3. Conflict and Violence at Home

The research results reflected that there is mostly conflict and violence at home. This conflict might occur in several forms like a conflict between fathers and their daughters or mothers and their daughters or between daughters and their parents. This conflict was somehow affecting daughters' lives and their choices related with their futures in a great manner. However, the most common type of conflict was between fathers and their daughters. Most of the respondents stated that the main reason of this conflict was because of their fathers' being very conservative or uneducated or insufficient level of their education. Another important point was that most of the daughters who were subject to conflict within the family stated that their mothers, siblings and they were exposed to violence by their fathers very clearly. Regarding these effects, Elder (1999) claims that each generation experiences fateful decisions and events in the other's life course while the misfortunes and opportunities of adult children become intergenerational as well as personal matters while social regulation, support and tensions are transmitted through the relationships. It could be said that mostly tensions are transferred through the relations within the family which are highly effective on daughters' lives.

In case of Pervin (23,LH), there was a conflict between Pervin (23,LH) and her parents. However, conflict between herself and her father was stronger than the conflict between herself and her mother. In this case, Pervin (23,LH) found a solution like marrying to someone at a very early age. For example, Pervin (23,LH) stated that the most important reason of her unlucky marriage was her father; she got married in order to escape from her terrible life within their houses. However, the result of this marriage was also unfortunate. It seemed that Pervin (23,LH)'s marriage was very similar to her mother's marriage and she was mostly blaming her father because of these happenings. Moreover, she was qualifying her marriage as a vicious circle because of the similarities between the events in her life and her mother's life.

Pervin (23,LH): "...Babam zaten yobazın biriydi. Bizi kıskançlığından dışarı bile çıkarmazdı, gitti kendi ama bi kadın bulup bizi terketti...Annem karşı çıktı diye çatır çatır dövdü, araya girdik, saçımızdan sürükledi....Okumak desen okutmadı, kız kısmısı ne yapacaktı diye...Çok

süründük, çok kötü günler geçirdik....Bakma sen annemin böyle sakin göründüğüne o da sinirlidir, hele gözü dönerse ne yapacağı hiç belli olmaz.... Ben de kocamı mahalleden tanıyodum, annem razı olmadı ben de kaçtım....Şimdi ki aklım olsa evlenir miydim bilmem, sıkıntı bak yine var hep var....Aslında evlenince dert tasa bitecek, bu evden herşeyden kaçıp kurtulacam zannettim, nerdeeeeeee...Bak yine anamın evine geri geldim bi de bebeyle...Açlık, sefalet, yoksulluk hala aynıdır değişmeden devam eder...Evlilik dedim daha kırkım çıkmadan bebeğimle beni kapıya attı, kaynanam. ...Ben intihar etmeye çalıştım. Kollarımda jilet izleri bak hala duruyo...Hiç görüşmüyoruz şu an. Beni hiç istemediler çünkü sokağa attılar. Kucağımda 6 aylık çocuğumla annemin yanına sığıntı oldum. Eşimde ortaokuldan terk. Şimdi ki aklım olsaydı hayatta bu kadar erken evlenmezdim, hem de okumuş, kültürlü biriyle evlenmek isterdim, çocuğum da rahat ederdi. Ama ana bahtı kıza miras ne o güldü kocadan ne de ben güldüm, anamın sırtında hala kamburum....”

Pervin (23,LH): “...Besides, my father was a kind of bigot. He never allowed us to go out of the house because of his jealousy. However, he left us for a woman...He severly hit my mother because she disapproved it. I tried to interfere but he was almost killing me...If you talk about education, he did not allow us to continue our education by stating that education was not necessary for girls...we suffered so much, we lived very bad days...don't believe in my mother's appearance which is calm, infact she is so nervous, if she is driven crazy, anybody does not estimate what she does...I knew my husband from the neighborhood., my mother was against this marriage, then I ran away home and got married without her consent...If I had had today's mind, would I have got married? I do not know. Look, there is still suffering...In fact, I thought that all troubles and problems would be ended and I would be escaped from these negative conditions, if I got married, but it did not happen in that way...Look, I came back to my mother's house with a little baby...Starvation, misery, poverty is still same and goes on without changing...I was talking about the marriage, my mother in law threw me out of her house as soon as I gave a birth for my child...I tried to commit a suicide...Look, there are still razor cut bruises on my hands...We do not see each other, now. They never wanted me and threw me out of their houses. I became a burden with my 6 months-old child for my mother... My husband left from the secondary school. If I had had today's mind, I would not have married so early, besides I would have married to a very well educated and intellectual person so this would have been also much better for my child. But, it is said that mother's destiny is inherited by her daughter, neither she, nor I was glad with the husband, I am still a hunch on my mother's back...”

However, there is only one daughter who stated that there was a conflict between herself and her mother not her father. Saadet (15,P) got married at a very early age like Pervin (23,LH) in order to escape from the conflict between herself and her mother. She was stating that her father was better educated and he was more educated than her mother and her mother was never giving a clue about love that she

feels for her daughter. Saadet (15,P) also stated that if her mother did not behave in this way, she would not run away from the house. However, Saadet (15,P) also said that she never wanted to get married even with a man like her father because she was so scared about the marriage. It seemed that negative experiences made her very hesitant about her choices related with her future.

Saadet (15,P): "...Babamla aram hep daha iyiydi.... Ben en büyük kızdım, annem hiç sevgisini belli etmez. Bizim kavgamız hep neden iş tutmuyosun diye kızdığı için çıkardı, ben cevap verince de döverdi. Ama babam bir fiske bile vurmadı, annem vurunca da araya girip o beni kurtarırdı. Büyüyünce de sorun daha çok neden okuldan kaçırıyorsun diye olurdu, annem kapıdan koyardı ben bacadan kaçardım, sonra da kaldım, annem de bu okumayacak başına bi iş gelecek diye beni okuldan aldı. En son evden kaçtım, döndüğümde çok kötü dayak yedim annemden. Beni zor kurtardılar, ama çok isterdim annemle arkadaş gibi olabilseydik bana daha yakın davransaydı, bir kere komşuya konuşurken gizlice dinledim, sevgini belli etmeyeceksin yoksa şımarırlar diyodu, keşke öyle olmasaydı...Gelecekte hiçbi şey beklemiyorum, hiç ümidim yok.... Ben evlenmek filen de istemem, diyorum bana kuru ekmek bile verseniz yeter, bana yeter ki dokunmayın...Nolur başka bişey istemem..."

Saadet (15,P): "... We were always getting along very well with my father. I was the eldest daughter but my mother never revealed her love. Our arguments were always caused by her anger because I was not helping her for houseworks and she was beating me if I opposed to her. However, my father did not ever beat me and he always protected me against my mother while she was beating me. When I grew up, we were fighting because I was running away from the school. She was taking me to the school but I was running away when she left the school. Finally, I failed the class and my mother took me away in order to protect against any potential trouble as she thought that I was very bad at the school and there was no need to go out of the house. Then, I ran away from home but when I returned, she hit me severely. Our acquaintances hardly protected me against her anger. I wish, my mother and I were good friends and she behaved me very friendly. However, I secretly listened to her conversation with a neighbor. She was advising her that she should not show her love to the children, in other case they would be spoiled.I wish things would not have happened in that way...I do not expect anything from the future, I do not any hope...Besides I do not want to get married, I say that please do not touch me, I do not bother you even bread crumbs are enough for me, I am begging you...I do not want anything else..."

On the other hand, daughter respondents who lived the experience of marital conflict within the family mostly stated that they feel hopeless for the future and do

not have any expectations from the future. During the research, it is also observed that these daughters do not have a plan for the future.

However, in case of Nazire (21,I) there was a great conflict between herself and her father. Both she and her mother were also exposed to the violence within the household. Then, Nazire (21,I) was stating that she was feeling so negative about the marriage and she was also so scared of the marriage because of the chance of getting married with someone like their fathers. She also strongly emphasized that she never wanted to marry a man like her father.

Nazire (21,I): "...Hiç istemiyorum, annemle babamı gördükten sonra nefret ettim, onları gördükten sonra korkmaya başladım, evlilikten sonra soğudum, güçsüzlük gibi geliyor, insanlara da kendime de güvenemiyorum..... Babam annemi hep döver, hala daha döver, biz de az dayağını yemedik....bir kavga ederiz bütün aleme rezil oluruz.... Annemi bir kere dövüyodu, önüne geçtim bana bi yumruk attı...Şu anda hasta o yüzden kavga edemiyolar...Hayır kesinlikle evlenmek istemiyorum. Ben böyle iyiyim...."

Nazire (21,I): "...I never want, after seeing my mother and father, I hated so much and I began to scare. I do not feel positive about marriage, it is something like weakness, even I do not believe in either myself or people. Everytime my father beats my mother and he still does it. He also hit us many times...When we fight; we are spoiled in the neighborhood. Once, while he was beating my mother, I confronted him and he punched me on my nose... Now, he is sick so they can not fight...I certainly do not want to marry. Now, I am fine..."

Zafer (13,SS)'s, Nermin (20,FS)'s, Gülperi (17,P)'s and Belma (17,LP)'s cases were so similar to Nazire (21,I)'s case. They stated that they never want to marry to a man like their fathers and they were was totally against the idea of marriage.

Zafer (13,SS): "...Babam gibi biriyle evlenmek istemem çünkü okumamış fazla bir şey bilmez...Bak anneme neler ediyo yazıktır bu kadına...Zaten bize de çok eziyet eder hiç anlayamayız arada dağlar kadar fark var.... Ben çok istemiyorum evlenmeyi ama birgün mutlaka evleneceğim bu gelenek..."

Zafer (13,SS): "...I do not want to marry a man like my father because he is not good educated and does not know so much...Look, he is torching to my mother, what a pity...Besides, he

torches us too, we can never get along, there is a great difference between us like mountains...I do not want to marry so much but one day I will definitely get married, because it is a tradition...”

Nermin (20,FS): “...Babam gibi biriyle asla evlenmek istemem.... Çünkü fikirlerimiz hiç uyuşmaz. ...Evlilik benden uzak olsun benim kimseye zararım yoktur, şu köşede kıvrılır yatarım, nolur bana dokunmayın derim... Ya o da babam gibi çıkarsa hergün dayak atarsa o zaman nolcak...”

Nermin (20,FS): “...I never want to marry a man like my father...Because there is always a conflict between his and my ideas, they do not match... I wish marriage would stay away from me, I never hurt anybody, even I live in a very small space at the edge of the house without requesting anything, please do not touch me...If the person whom I get married is like my father who beats me everyday, in that case, what will happen?...”

Belma (17,LP): “...Babam gibi birisiyle asla evlenmek istemem. Eğitim yok, kültür yok, yobazın biri. Bir baltaya sap olamadı, bak onun yüzünden annem sürünüp duruyo...Bize de etmedigini komaz, ya evlendiğim insan da aynısı olursa... ...”

Belma (17,LP): “...I never want to marry a man like my father. He does not have either education, or culture, he is a bigot. He could not be developed and my mother has been still suffering because of his mistakes...He also torches us so much, if the person whom I get married will be alike him?...”

Gülperi (17,P): “...Ne evlenirim, ne de babam gibi biriyle evlenirim... Beni de bırakıp bigün başka karıya gitsin diye mi. Şu halimize bak bunlar hep onun yüzünden başımıza geldi....Annem onla evlenmese bunlar olmayacaktı, ne geldiyse başımıza hep evlilikten gelmedi mi?...”

Gülperi (17,P): “...Neither I get married, nor I marry to a person like my father...If he leaves me for another woman, one day? Look at ourselves, all these happened because of him...If my mother had not married to him, things would not have happened in this way, all the bad things happened because of the marriage, huh?...”

Regarding the conflict between fathers and their daughters, mothers always played an important role in arranging the relations between daughter and her father. For example, Nazire (21,I) stated that she would not survive if she did not have a mother like her. Then, she stated that she loves her mother so much but it seems that Nazire (21,I) thinks very pessimistic about her future like Pervin (23,LH). It is also

important that either Pervin (23,LH) or Nazire (21,I) do not have any plan for the future.

Nazire (21,I): "...Ama annem melek gibidir, o da bizi koruyayım diye araya girip az dayak yemedi...Benim canım annem biz iyi olalım diye herşey yapar...Bak evlilikte bile babam ben kimi istersem der ona varır der, ama annem sen kimi istersen diyo ama çok korkuyom bana uzak olsun.....O bizi korumasa napardık, başımızdan eksik olmasın..."

Nazire (21,I): "...My mother is like angel, she was beaten so many times during the intervening the fight in order to protect ud...My dear mother, she does her best for our favour...Look, even about the marriage, my father says that I marry to a person whom he wants but my mother says that I can marry whoever I want, but I am so scared, let the marriage back off myself...If she did not protect us, what would we do? We are very grateful to her; I hope she lives long..."

Furthermore, in case of conflict, if there is a sister at home, daughters were mostly taking shelter in her sister and they were rarely taking shelter in their brothers. It seemed that sisters then brothers played an important role as a buffering mechanism in arranging the relations within the household after their mothers. Most of the daughters stated that they would trust to their sisters and then their brothers after their mothers whereas a few stated that they would firstly trust to their brothers and then their sisters.

Nermin (20,FS): "...Anneme hep çok güvenirim, o bak saçını bizim için ağarttı...Ama onunla da sorunlarımız olur, o zaman da erkek kardeşime güvenirim. Ama genelde kız kardeşime çok güvenir, her derdimi onla paylaşıyorum....Onunla hep çok iyi geçiniriz, bi derdim olsa ona giderim.....Ama kız kardeşimle de aram iyidir ama erkek kardeşim beni çok daha iyi anlar....Anneme karşı hep erkek kardeşimle ben bir oluruz ama annemle babam arasında bişi olunca da hemen annemi koruruz valla..."

Nermin (20,FS): "...I always trust to my mother so much, look her hair became white for ourselves...But, we infact have some problems between us, in that case, I trust to my brother. However, I generally trust to my sister so much and we share our problems...We always get along very well, if I am in trouble, I go to her...But I get along very well with my sister, however my brother understands me much better than my sister...My brother and I suddenly form an ally against to my father in order to protect my mother, if something happens..."

Gülperi (17,P): "...Anayla da sorun olur hiç olmaz mıda...Ama öyle küsmeyiz biz hemen barışırsız....Bazen onunla bişey olunca da kız kardeşimle dertleşiriz....O da annemle bişi olunca bana gelir biliyon mu?..."

Gülperi (17,P): "...Of course, problems occur between me and my mother, isn't it though?...However, we are never offended and we are immediately reconciled...If something happens between us, we share our problems with my sister...She also comes to me, if something happens between her and my mother, do you know?..."

Tansel (13,SS): "...Abime çok güvenirim, annemle bişi olsa aramızda hemen ona giderim, o beni çok dinler hem anneme de söylemez...Ablamı da çok severim ama abimle daha iyi anlaşırız onla daha arkadaş gibiyizdir ...Ablam bizle yaşamadığından ona giderim...."

Tansel (13,SS): "...I trust to my eldest brother so much, if something happens between me and my mother, I immediately go to him, he listens to me very carefully and he keeps secret very well...I also love my eldest sister so much but my relations with my brother is much better, we are like good friends...Since my sister does not live with us, if something happens, I immediately go to him..."

On the other hand, daughters who did not have a parental conflict between themselves and their fathers seemed that they were thinking more positive and they also depicted a positive picture related with their lives. Two of the daughters who were still studying at the university also took place in this group. Leaving from the house and starting to live far from home improved the relations within the household.

Ceyhan (18,US): "...Bizim evimizde çok fazla kavga olmaz, bazen babam çok içtiği zaman annem söylenir ama o da birazdan susar...Benim ikisiyle de aramda hiçbi sorunum yoktur çok iyi anlaşırız, ikisiyle de arkadaş gibiyiz....Zaten üniversiteye gittim gideli beni daha çok özlyöolar, o kadar az görüşüyoruz ki...İkisi de benle gurur duyar çünkü derslerim gerçekten çok iyidir..."

Ceyhan (18,US): "...Quarrels do not happen so much, sometimes, if my father drinks so much alcohol, my mother mutters but then she shuts up...I do not have any problems with my parents, we get along very well, we are like friends...Besides, they have been missing me so much since I attended to the university, even we could not see each other so much...They are both proud of me because I am very good at my lessons..."

Selin (21,US): "...Eskiden babamla anlaşamadığımız noktalar olurdu, hala daha vardır ama biz çok güzel tartışır, konuşuruz hatta bazen annem bile kıskanır...babam çok aydın bi insandır, ama annemlede aram çok iyidir....Üniversiteye gittim gideli çok daha az görüşüyoruz, birbirimizi daha çok özliyoruz galiba..."

Selin (21,US): "...In the past, we argued so much, we still argue but we could discuss and talk to each other very well, sometimes my mother becomes very jealous because of our relations...my father is very intellectual, but my relation with my mother is also in a good position...We could not see each other so much since I attended to the university, I think we miss each other so much..."

From these words of these two university students, it could be declared that after their attendance to the university, their relations with their parents were affected very positively and this highly motivated both of these two students and their families.

In line with this argument, Selma (13,SS) was stating that she was very successful in her class while she was also stating that there was not any conflict with her father and she loves her father so much. Selma (13,SS) also wanted to marry a man like her father because he was very sensible and a hardworking person.

Selma (13,SS): "...Benim derslerim çok iyi bu sene de takdir aldım...Matematik sınıfında birinciyim, öğretmenimi de çok seviyom... Bizim aramızda hiçbi sorun olmaz ben annemi de babamı da çok severim...Ben evlenmek istemiyom, çünkü üniversiteye gitcem ama evlenirsem de babam gibi biriyle evlenmeyi çok isterim...O çok anlayışlı ve çalışkan birisidir. Karıncayı bile incitmez..."

Selma (13,SS): "... I am very good at my lessons, this year I have been awarded...I am the top student in the math class, I love my teacher so much...We do not have any problems between us, I love both my mother and father so much...I do not want to get married because I plan to go to the university. However, if I get married, I want to marry to a man like my father so much...he is very sensible and hard working person. Even, he could not harm an ant..."

On the other hand, Feride (34,H) stated that she had a working experience which was strongly supported by his father so she met her fiancée whom was an Italian man out of their neighborhood and familial networks. She was thinking that this was a great chance for her to meet that person. Feride (34,H) was also stating that she loved her father so much and her father was her role model in the life. In this

case, Feride (34,H)'s mother's had severe experiences related with her childhood and adolescent age. There was always a conflict within the household and she finally ran away home to marry at her very early age. However, Feride (34,H) never experienced a conflict within household and she stated that her relations with her parents and siblings were always in a good condition. Mother's bad experiences were not transferred to the children. If the mother had very severe experiences in terms of conflict and violence within her family before the marriage, these were not transferred to children within the household, during the marriage. Even, if some serious arguments were happening, this was somehow tried not to be reflected to children. During this term, mothers were mostly playing an important role in order to prevent the reflection of these negative events within the family.

Feride (34,H): “..Bizim aramızda hiçbi sorun olmaz...Hatta annemle daha çok tartışırız ama ana, kız arasında olur öyle, bi öperim gönlünü alırım hemen barışırız...Babam bana karşı daha anlayışlıdır, ben babamı çok severim...Ama annem arabulucudur, iç ilişkilerimiz hep ondan sorulur...Benim okumama hepsi karşı çıktılar yarıda bıraktım, ama sonradan annemim istememesine rağmen babam çalışmamı çok destekledi, hatta abimi bile babam razı etti...Sonra çalışmak benim için çok iyi bi deneyimdi, bu sayede bisürü çevrem oldu, ama bakma ayrılmak zorunda kaldım, fena mı oldu, bak nişanlımlada bu sayede tanıştım yoksa nerede karşılaşıcağıktık da...Ben her zaman babam gibi biriyle evlenmek istedim, o ne yaptığını bilen akıllı bi insandır, yeter ki damarına basılmaya görsün...”

Feride (34,H): “...We never have problems between us...Moreover, I argue with my mother so much, but this happens between all daughters and their mothers, I immediately kiss her then we are reconciled...My father understands me better than my mother, I love my father so much...But my mother is the conciliator, she is responsible from the internal relations...They were all against my studying and I quit my education, but later my father supported me so much despite the fact that my mother was against my working, even he convinced my eldest brother...Moreover, working was a good experience, I met many people but I had to quit, isn't it bad, I met with my fiancé because of my job, in other case how can I meet?...I always wanted to marry to a person like my father, he is very sensible as far as he is not driven crazy...”

Finally, it could be stated that conflict was causing a great source of pressure on daughters' lives then this was very effective on daughters' lives and their choices related with their lives. If the conflict was dominant between the daughter and her

parents, then daughter was mostly inclined to find a solution like an early marriage in order to escape the negative conditions within the household. However, if the conflict was dominant between herself and her father (like Belma (17,LP)'s case), she was feeling so negative about the marriage and she never wanted to marry a man like her father. On the other hand, if the conflict was also dominant between herself and her father and her mother was also exposed to the violence by her father, she was totally negative about the idea of marriage. She also hated all the males in the society because she was assuming that all males are very similar to each other. Therefore, she was strongly emphasizing that she was so scared the idea of marriage because she had a chance to marry a person like his father. Nazire (21,I)'s case was very similar to this situation. All of the members were exposed to the violence and her father was an alcoholic. Then Nazire (21,I) was so hopeless about her future and she did not feel herself for struggling in life. Conflict was disempowering herself and almost abstracting the daughter from her life. Regarding this Conger and Conger (2002) stated that parents are reciprocally influenced by each other's anger and hostile behaviors toward one another over time. In parallel with this fact, adolescents not only are also reciprocally influenced by their parents' negative and hostile behaviors, but also are under the pressure of the patriarchal authority as well. It is also stated that escalating patterns of hostile and coercive behaviors damage the quality of relationships and this might lead to adjustment problems.

6.4. Daughters Coping with Poverty

There are some negative factors which affect daughters' developing strategies in terms of coping with poverty. For example, daughters living in a form of extended type of family were having difficulty in developing strategies. Furthermore, if there was a conflict within the household, daughters living in these households were also having difficulty in coping with poverty. For example, Belma (17,LP) who was living a great experience of conflict between herself and her parents was stating that she was not feeling herself strong about doing something for the alleviation of her suffering from poverty. She also stated that she was not allowed to continue her

education, nor to work outside the house and these made them more vulnerable in terms of doing something in order to cope with poverty.

In line with the above argument, daughters' perceptions are also very important for developing strategies against poverty. Most of the daughters stated that poor people are the people who does not have any place to stay and/or who does not have either property or money and/or who does not have any relatives and/or suffers from starvation. They also stated that people who are illiterate are poor. In parallel with these qualifications, most of them described themselves as not poor, while a few of them described themselves as poor because they even do not have any money to spend. Regarding these statements, Belma (17,LP) described both herself and her family as being poor because of lack of education and insufficient material conditions. She also qualified them as being very weak in terms of developing strategies for coping with poverty because of lack of education. Belma (17,LP)'s perception about poverty was totally in parallel with her mother's perception. There was not any difference from her mother. Gülperi (17,P)'s situation was also very similar with Belma (17,LP)'s situation. She was describing herself and her family as being poor because of insufficient material conditions. She was also qualifying themselves very weak in terms of coping strategies with poverty which resembled with her mother's perception about poverty.

However, there were some exceptional cases like the case of Nazire (21,I). Nazire (21,I) perceived herself and her family very poor by stating that:

Nazire (21,I): "...Paran varsa yaşarsın, yoksa yoksulsun. Kışlarımız bizim çok zor geçer. Ekmek yapamıyosun hiçbir şey yapamıyosun. Kuru ekmeği yiyip yattığımız zamanlar bile oldu. Hala iyi değil durumumuz gitgide kötüye gidiyo. İşte bu yoksulluk...Ben bişeyler yapabilirim ben yapmazsam kim yapar...o yüzden ben güçlü olmalıyım...."

Nazire (21,I): "...If you have money, you live, otherwise you are poor. Winters are very hard for us. You can not make bread and anything else. Many times we even slept after eating old bread. Our conditions are not still good and getting worse. Here is the poverty...I can do something, if I do not do anything, who else does something....so I have to be strong..."

However, she did not qualify herself as being weak in terms of doing for something against poverty whereas her mother qualified herself very weak about developing strategies for coping with poverty. In case of Nazire (21,I), she and her family were experiencing poverty severely. Her father was an alcoholic and he was not working. There was not any regular income other than her younger brother's low wage. Another brother was also in prison. Moreover, mother was not so strong enough to do something in order to cope with it even she could not speak Turkish very well and she was also illiterate. She was not usually going out of the house by herself. In this case, Nazire (21,I) felt that she had to do something as being the eldest daughter in the family. She attended to the reading and writing courses in the community center. Then she caught a chance to participate in many of the social networks because of the community center. She also found her first job through this channel. She was trying to operationalize relevant networks where her mother was not strong enough for salvation from poverty and mother's important role for coping with poverty was transferred to the daughter. Then, this made Nazire (21,I) feel more powerful and, unlike her mother she was qualifying herself very strong in terms of developing strategies for coping with poverty.

On the other hand, daughters who stated that they were not poor and they felt themselves very strong in terms of coping with poverty, were giving the same response with their mothers. However, these daughters were neither living in an extended type of family like Belma (17,LP), nor experiencing poverty severely like Nazire (21,I) or Gülperi (17,P). They were living in a nuclear type of family. Additionally, there was not a conflict within the household and they had mostly a regular income.

Saniye (17,P): "...Biz yoksul değiliz, iyiyiz, dışarıda kalanlar, ekmek bulamayanlar bir iş bulamadıkları için onlar yoksullar. Allah'a şükür bizim karnımız doyuyo, babamın bi işi var çok şükür bizden kötülerini var..."

Saniye (17,P): "...We are not poor, we are fine, people who stay outside, who can not find bread to eat, who can not find a job to work are poor. Thanks God, we are not hungry, my father has a job and there are people in a worse condition than us..."

Gülseren (16,LP): "...Biz istediklerimizi alamıyoduk, ben çocukluğumda çok çektim, sağdan soldan çok borç aldık. Annemin akrabaları yardım etti, borç verdiler, öylelikle kurtulduk. İstediğim şeyi alamamak bana göre, yine alamıyoz ama hiç değilse o kötü günler geride kaldı...Ama şimdi Allah'a şükür çok iyiyiz. İstediklerimizi alabiliyoruz..."

Gülseren (16,LP): "...We could not buy what we wanted, I suffered so much when I was a child, we loaned money from many acquaintances. My mother's relatives helped us, they lent us money, and then we escaped from those hard conditions. In my opinion, not to buy something which you want, we can not still buy but those bad days remained in the past...However, thanks God, we are fine. We could buy what we want to buy..."

Regarding the capabilities of women, daughters' inclinations were very parallel with their inclinations about their perceptions in terms of coping with poverty. Daughters, who declared that they were very weak in terms of coping with poverty, also claimed that they were not strong type of women and a woman who is very well educated and had a good job could do anything she wanted. However, most of the daughters were very resistant about this point and stated that in Turkey, woman could not have any capability to do something because in Turkey, women are mostly oppressed and exposed to violence. Married daughters are also included in this group. Moreover, daughters living in an extended type family form also supported this idea very strongly.

Ramize (22,P): "...Bilgili olan kadın çalışır, gücü de her şeye yeter. Ama biz öyle değiliz. Bak annemin gücü de yetmemiş hep hastalık sahibi olmuş, benim de öyle olacak okumadık ki. Bir de ana bahtı kıza miras derler bizim sonumuz da aynı..."

Ramize (22,P): "...Intellectual woman works and has the capability to cope with everything. However, we are not like them. Look, my mother does not have capability so she had a serious illness, my end will be as same as hers because we quit our education. Moreover, it is said that mother's fate is inherited to the daughter's fate, my end will be alike my mother's end..."

Belma (17,LP): "...Kadınların gücü hiçbi şeye yetmez. Çünkü erkeklerden kadınlara fırsat kalmıyo, ama kadının sigortalı bi işi olursa hayatı kurtulur. Türkiye'de zaten kadının hiçbi şeye hakkı yok ki. Ancak dayak yer otururlar..."

Belma (17,LP): "...Women do not have capability to cope with anything because men have more advantages than women but if woman has a job with social security, she can have her salvation. Anyhow woman does not have any right for anything in Turkey. They are only beaten and they can not do anything..."

Saide (15,SL): "...Kadınlar yeterince güçlü değil, çünkü özerk değiller. Tek başlarına karar alamıyorlar. Hep erkeklere bağılılar. Onlar ne derse o oluyor..."

Saide (15,SL): "...Women are not strong enough because they are not autonomous. They can not take their own decisions by themselves. They are always dependent on men. Whatever man says it happens..."

Saadet (15,P): "...Kadın haklarını bilmeli. Bilirse herşeye gücü yeter. Ama çoğunlukla kadınlar şiddete uğruyor, çoğunlukla erkekler üstün. Buna karşı koyabilmek için hakları da var ama çoğu bilmiyo özellikle de öğretmiyolar. İşte o kadınların gücü hiçbi şeye yetmez..."

Saadet (15,P): "...Woman must be aware of her rights. If she knows, she has the capability to cope with everything, but women are mostly exposed to violence, generally men are superior to women. They have got rights to confront it but most of them don't know and they are not informed about them intentionally..."

Regarding finding solutions in order to escape from poverty, some of the daughters stated that they could not do anything about it because they did not feel themselves very powerful about this subject. These daughters were mostly living in the extended type of family and there was a great conflict between their fathers and themselves which were previously mentioned before. On the other hand, some of the daughters perceived themselves very poor and they were very hopeless about this situation. Moreover, they stated that they could not do anything for it because they already sacrificed their lives for their families.

Tansu (20,LS): "...Tabii yoksuluz hem de durumumuz çok kötü...Ama ben bu konuda bişey yapamam ben zaten hayatımı feda ettim...Ne okuttular, ne çalıştırdılar...Aha annem nasıl çekiyosa ben de çekecem...Görücü usulü ile bigün evlenip gidecem öyle sürüneceğim, offff..."

Tansu (20,LS): "...Of course, we are poor, additionally, our conditions are very bad...But, I can not do anything about it, in fact I sacrificed my life...They did not allow me either to study or

work...Look, I will suffer in a way how my mother suffers from...One day I will marry by blind dating then, leave and suffer, offff...”

However, some of the daughters were looking for some solutions in order to escape from poverty like making handcrafts and embroidery at home and selling them in order to support their families. They were also qualifying these activities as the activities that providing pin money for themselves. However, all of these daughters qualified themselves strong for coping with poverty while some of them also perceived themselves poor.

Burcu (25,H): “...Çok şükür biz kendi yağımızla kavrulup gideriz...Ben bu durumdan kurtulmak için çalışmayı çok istedim ama eşim izin vermedi, önceden de bi tekstilde çalışıyodum. Ama gece vardiyası istediler ayrıldım...Sonra da evlendim beni çalıştırmadı, şimdi de bak çocuk var...Çok isterim ama zor öyle bende şimdileri evde el işi yapıp satıyorum...Annem çalışmamı çok destekledi... Eve katkıda bulunuyorum...Üç beş kuruş gördü cebimiz pek iyi oldu...”

Burcu (25,H): “...Thanks God we support by ourselves...I wanted to work so much because of getting out of these conditions bot my husband did not allow, I used to work for a textile company. But, they asked for the night shift, then I quit...Then, I got married, he did not allow me to work, look I have a child now...I want so much but it is difficult, nowadays, I make handcrafts and sell them... My mother supported my working so much... I support my family budget...It became pocket money for ourselves...”

Moreover, some of the daughters who were still going on their educational lives stated that they would use their pin money more effectively by spending less. One of the respondents who are still studying at the university also stated that she found a job during the summer holiday and she supported her family financially.

Halime (15,SS): “...Bizim paramız yok ama yoksul değiliz bak karnımız doyuyo...Annem elişi yapar satar, ordan kazanırız, abim bazen geçici iş bulur...Ah bi onun, bi de babamın iyi bi işi olsa daha da iyi olucaz...Bana harçlık gönderiyolar ben de onu dikkatli harcarım ki öyle hemen bitmesin diye...Ah bi okulum bitse iyi bi meslek sahibi olsam bak o zaman çok para kazanıcaz...”

Halime (15,SS): “...Although we do not have money, we are not poor, look we are not hungry...My mother makes handcrafts and sells them, we earn money in this way, my brother sometimes finds a temporary job...I wish both my father and brother had a regular job, we would be

better...They send me pocket money and I spend it very carefully in order not to run out of money in a short time...I wish I completed my education and had a good career, we would earn so much money...”

Selin (21,US): “...Yoksul karnı doymayan, işi olmayan, kafasını sokacak yeri olmayandır...Biz çok şükür başımızı sokacak bi yerimiz de var, babamın da bi işi var...Ben de okuyom, inşallah 2 sene sonra bitecek o zaman daha da rahat edeceğim...Ben geçen yaz bi tekstil atelyesinde çalıştım, hem harçlığım çıktı hem de annelere yardımcı oldum...inşallah gelecek sene yeniden deneyeceğim...”

Selin (21,US): “...Poor is a person who is hungry, who does not have a job and any place to stay...Thanks God, we have a place to shelter and my father has a job...I am studying. I hope I will finish in two years then we will be more comfortable...Last summer I worked for a textile workshop, I earned my pocket money and also supported family budget...I hope I will try again, next year...”

However, like in case of Gülperi (17,P), she was not feeling herself strong about coping with poverty and she also perceived herself very poor. However, the most important point was that she and her family was living in poverty severely. Then, Gülperi (17,P) developed a solution for the salvation of both herself and her family. She strongly supported the idea of dowry in case of marriage and they also stated that they believed that they would help their families because this amount of money would solve some of the financial problems which were experienced within the family related with poverty.

Gülperi (17,P): “...Biz yoksuluz, bak bu başka nedir ki? Ben bu konuda güçsüzüm hiçbir şey yapamam...Ama evlenirsem belki başlık parası öderler iyi olur...Annem de belki rahatlar... Bence başlık parası verilmeli, anne baba o kadar büyütüyor. Hem de kızın garantisi oluyo. Çeyiz hazırlayacak hiç para yok bende...hem o kadar olsun...”

Gülperi (17,P): “...We are poor, what else is it? I am weak about it and I can not do anything about it...If I get married, they will probably pay some money as a dowry, which will be better...Maybe, my mother becomes more comfortable...In my opinion, dowry should be paid, parents raise the child so this is their natural right. Moreover, it is a kind of guarantee of the daughter. I do not have any money for the trousseau...let it be like that...”

Most of the daughters also stated that having a good education and a good career was one of the important solutions in order to escape from poverty. For this reason, these daughters stated that they wanted to complete their education successfully in order to have a good career so they would help their families for their salvation from poverty.

Selma (13,SS): "...Biz yoksul değiliz ama çok da paramız yok...Ben bu yoksulluktan kurtulmak için çalışıyorum, derslerim çok iyi, ancak böyle yardımcı olabilirim...Hemşire veya doktor olmayı çok istiyorum, inşallah bigün olcam onlara yardımcı olcam..."

Selma (13,SS): "...We are not poor but we do not have either so much money...I am studying in order to get rid of this poverty, I am very good at my lessons, I can only help my family in this way...I want to be either a nurse or a doctor so much, I hope I will help them so much..."

Ceyhan (18,US): "...Bizim maddi durumumuz çok iyi değil ama ben düzelceğine inanıyorum....Ben bu konuda şu anda pek bişey yapamam derslerime çalışmaktan başka...Bi de kardeşime yardım edebilirim, üniversite kazansın şöyle iyi bi yer kazansın diye...inşallah o da kazanır, benim de okulum biter iyi bi iş bulurum, para kazanıp onlara yardım ederim...."

Ceyhan (18,US): "...Our material conditions are not very well but I believe that we will be better...In this matter, I can not do so much rather than studying for my lessons for the time being...One more thing, I can help my brother for the university entrance exam...I hope he will pass the exam and I will graduate, then find a good job, earn money in order to help them..."

Regarding the term of "helping" which was mostly used by these daughters was meaning to help the family by supporting financially. This support was consisting of some activities like buying a new apartment flat in another neighborhood like Keçiören, İncirli, Eryaman etc., buying some furnitures and establishing a work place for their brothers or fathers.

Selma (13,SS): "...Param olsa annemlere yardım ederdim...Onlara başka güzel bi semtte yepyeni bi ev alırdım içini de dayar döşerdim...."

Selma (13,SS): "...If I had money, I would help my mothers...I would buy a new house in another beautiful neighborhood and furnish inside the house very well..."

Halime (15,SS): "...Param olsa hemen babama veririm kendine bi iş kursun diye. Sonra da ev alırdım ama burdan uzakta, mesela Keçiören'de..."

Halime (15,SS): "...If I had money, I would give it to my father for establishing a work place. Then I would buy a house far from here, for example in Kecioren."

Furthermore, all of the daughters stated that employment was necessary in order to escape from poverty. Although they were very enthusiastic about finding a job and working out of the house, they put forward some excuses such as household responsibilities, their husbands', brothers' and fathers' disapprovals and the liquidation of their previous workplaces. Additionally, none of the daughters are currently employed, despite the fact that some of the daughters already had some working experience before as a worker in a factory. Besides, all of the daughters wish their children to work and declare that they would do anything for that.

Belma (17,LP): "...Hiç çalışmadım ama iyi bir işte çalışmayı çok isterim. Para kazanmak ve yeni insanlar tanımak isterim. Ama bunun için iyi bi eğitim gerekiyo. Sosyal güvencem de olur ama beni hayatta çalıştırmazlar bizde kadın çalışmaz, babam, abilerim öldürürler..."

Belma (17,LP): "...I never worked but I want to work for a good job. I want to earn money and meet new people. However, it needs a good education. I can have a social security, but they ever make me to work, women are not allowed to work according to our customs, my father and elder brothers kill me..."

Burcu (25,H): "...Fabrika'da temizlikçi olarak çalışmaya başladım. Sonra yavaş yavaş açıldım. Maddi durumumuzda iyiye gitti. 16 yaşından beri fabrikada çalışıyorum. Eşim de aynı fabrikadadır. Fakat gece vardiyası istedikleri zaman ayrılmak zorunda kaldım. Ailemle eşim gece çalışmama karşıydı. Fabrika işini komşumuzun sayesinde buldum. Ekonomimize katkısı oldu. Pek çok arkadaş tanıdım. Faydası çok oldu...Şimdi de çalışmayı çok isterim ama eşim izin vermiyor..."

Burcu (25,H): "...I started to work as a cleaner in a factory. Then, I became a social person in the following times. Our financial situation got better. I have been working in a factory since I was 16. My husband was also working in the same factory. However, I had to quit my job, whenever they wanted me to stay for the night shift. Both my husband and my family were against to go out in the night time. I found the factory job because of one of our neighbours. It supported our family's budget. I met a lot of people. It was a beneficial experience for me. Now, I am making some hadcrafts and sell

them in the house. My mother supported me so much. I support to the budget of the house. Now, I want to work so much but my husband does not approve...”

Feride (34,H): “...19 yaşında çalışmaya başladım. SSK’lıydım. Babam çok destekledi, ağabeyim karşı çıktı... İlk çalıştığım işi arkadaşım buldu bana. Şu anda çalışmayı düşünmüyorum çünkü evde yaptığım işten de bazen iyi kazanabiliyorum... Ama çalışıyor olsaydım ailemin durumu da iyi olurdu...”

Feride (34,H): “...I started to work when I was 19. I had a security of SII. My father supported me so much but my elder brother was against it. Now, I buy beads to make some jewelry and I sell them. A friend of mine found my first job. For the time being, I do not think about working. If I worked, my family’s condition would be in a better position...”

Nazire (21,I): “...Ben hiç çalışmadım. Okulda yalnız öğretmenler odasında, çok oluyo 2 ay gibi bir süreyle 30 milyon gibi paraya çalıştım...Orayı temizliyodum... Öğretmenler durumumu biliyorlardı, kardeşim onlara söylemiş öyle başladım çalışmaya. ...Orada öğretmenlerim eğer olursa makinayı öğrenince beni sosyal güvencesi ve maaşı olan bir tekstil işine sokacaklarını söylüyorlar. Babam bu arada izin vermez ama öğretmenlerim eve görüşmeye gidecekler...Mutlaka çalışmak gerek başka türlü bu yoksullukla nasıl baş edilecek...”

Nazire (21,I): “...I never worked. I only worked for the cleaning of the teachers’ room in the school for 2 months for 30 million T.L. a long while ago. People are informed about my conditions, my sibling informed them about me, and then I started to work. However, money which was paid to me was not even meeting our expenses spent for bread, we buy a lot of bread. Then, I started to attend sewing-embroidery courses. There, my teachers say that they will help me to find a job with a social security and a regular salary after learning the use of sewing machine, if it is possible. By the way, my father does not approve my working but my teachers will visit to him at home in order to discuss this matter...It is certainly necessary to work in order to cope with poverty, in other case how can you deal with it?...”

On the other hand, Selin (21,US) suggested a strategical solution in order to cope with poverty both her and her family. Selin (21,US) was a university student and she was suggesting a solution in order to alleviate her disadvantaged position in the labour market after the graduation. She was stating that every year many students were graduating from different universities and this was a negative effect on the probability of her finding a good job related with her career. Regarding other

solutions, it sounded that this was the most strategical solution in all of the solutions which were suggested by the daughters:

Selin (21,US): "...Benim en büyük dileğim okulu bitirir bitirmez hemen bir bilgisayar kursuna gitmek. Benimle birlikte her yıl binlerce kişi mezun oluyor başka türlü benim çok az şansım olacak, bi yabancı dilde bilmek lazım ama onu da bilmiyorum. Annemden borç alacağım işe girince ben ona ödeyeceğim başka türlü benim iyi bir iş bulmama imkan yok. Okulda da dersini alıyorum, asistanlardan da rica ettim bana bu sene daha çok vakit ayıracaklar. Ben üstesinden gelirim ama kurs parasını bulmak lazım..."

Selin (21,US): "...My greatest wish is to attend a special course about computer and programming. Every year, thousands of students graduate from many different universities with me who decreases my chance to find a good job, and also it is necessary to know another language but I do not know. I will loan some money from my mother and I will pay back to her as soon as I find a job. Now, I am also attending to the computer classes and I asked teaching assistants to allocate their time for my training and they will do this year. I will conquer at all but I need to find the course money..."

Regarding the solutions which were found by daughters in order to alleviate the effects of living in poverty, these solutions were mostly traditional solutions like making handcrafts and selling them etc. Hence these solutions were not generally permanent and strategical solutions and they did not prevent daughters living in poverty. (However, Selin (21,US)'s solution was the only strategical solution in order to cope with poverty.) More strategical solutions like regular employment were necessary. However, in order to provide these solutions, daughters' educational level should be increased. But, research showed that daughters were mostly hindered from the education and they were mostly loaded by the mothers' transferred traditional household responsibilities. It could be claimed that daughters are mostly in a disadvantaged position in terms of coping with poverty like their mothers but they are in a much better position than their mothers'.

6.5. Relative Deprivation / Capabilities

In this chapter, in order to have an idea about the daughters' experiences related with poverty, there will be a comparison between daughters and their mothers, and their brothers and also their sisters so this will give an idea about the disadvantaged position of the daughters who experience poverty within the same household.

The depicted picture shows that daughter's lives are very limited and full of restrictions. For example, the exclusion of girls from education and going outside the home are some of indicators of these restrictions. Limited financial resources within the household, the burden of household are some important reasons that underlie these restrictions. Moreover, patriarchal ideology is one of the most important reasons, which causes a restricted life for the daughters. For example, patriarchal ideology prioritizes the education of male child in the family whereas daughters are excluded from education and assigned to the houseworks.

Within the neighborhood, daughters' mobility was very restricted. One of the most important reasons, stated by the daughters, was the neighborhood's being and unsafe place. Most of the daughters stated that they could not go out of their households comfortable whereas their brothers could go.

Nermin (20,FS): "... Geceleri belli bi saatten sonra iyice tehlikeli...Gece çıkacaksam da abimle erkek kardeşim ya da babamla çıkarız, yalnız gidemeyiz... Mahallede dedikodu yüzünden çok kavga çıkar... Zaten dışarı çıkamıyoz ama burası oturulacak yer değil.... Hele çingeneler habire kavga ederler...Tabii erkek kardeşim rahat çıkar, zaten o çalışmaya da gidiyo taaaa Kızılay'a, hep yazık çok geç gelir...."

Nermin (20,FS): "... This place becomes even more dangerous in the dark...If I go out in the night time, I go either with my brother or my father, I can not go alone...In the neighborhood, quarrels happen because of the gossips...Even, we can not go out but it is not a place to live in...Most of the times, gypsies fight...Of course, my brother can go out, even he goes to work, far from here, to Kızılay, oh poor, he always comes back home from work very late..."

Safiye (14,P): "...Mahallede pek çıkamamÇünkü çok kavga olur... Geçenlerde elektrik kesildi, diye Haymanalılar ortalığı birbirine kattılar....Hele geceleri abov nereye çıkcan...Keserler

adamı...Bi yere gideceksek de yanımızda babam ya da abilerim olurlar...Tabii erkek olunca korkulmaz...Zaten onlarsız bi yere salmazlar...”

Safiye (14,P): “...I can not go out in the neighborhood...Because many times fights happen...In previous days, people from Haymana quarreled very seriously because the electricity went out...Especially, during the night time, where are you going...They wound you...If we go to somewhere, either my brother or my father escorts us...Of course, if there is a man, it is not scary...Besides, I am not allowed to go out by myself without them in the night time...”

Selin (21,US): “...Bu semtte oturmaktan memnun değilim.... Her gün kavga oluyo, güvenli değil....Sokağa geceleri değil, kışın gündüz bile çıkmak tehlikelidir...Hele akşamları hiç çıkmayız valla akşamları babam bile çıkmaya burda korkar, bizim de çıkmamızı istemez... Burası tinerci kaynıyo, mahalle çok güvensiz.Mahallede en çok çingeneler kavga eder...Bi de Türklerle Kürtler birbirine girer... Polis ayırır. Çok isterim şöyle düzgün bi semtte düzgün bi evimiz olsa, özellikle akşamları sokağa çıkabilsem, rahatça her daim evin önünde oturabilsek...”

Selin (21,US): “...I am not happy with living in this neighborhood. Everyday, fight happens, it is not safe...It is dangerous to go out even in the day time, during the winter...Moreover, we never go out during the night time, I swear my father is afraid of going out in the night time, here in this place, he does not either want us to go out in the night time... There are lots of addicts here, neighborhood is very unsafe. Mostly, gypsies fight here... Moreoever, Turkish and Kurdish fight with each other... Police interferes. I wish we had a proper house in a good neighborhood, especially going out of the house is really dangerous, during the night time...”

Regarding education, mostly daughters were not sent to school by their families and mostly, they were inclined to household duties in order to share burden of their mothers whereas their brothers were strongly supported for their education.

Gülperi (17,P): “...İlkokulu zor bitirdim, kötü bir öğrenciydim. Köy okulunda okudum. Köyde ortaokul olmadığı için gidemedim. Ama ilerisini okumak ister miydim bilmem. Zaten kötü bir öğrenciydim. Erkek çocuğunu gönderirler ama...Köyde tarla, ev işi derken pek çoktur, eee sen yapmazsan anaya kalır... Benim çocuklarım olsa okumalarını çok isterim, elimden geleni yaparım....Oğlumun doktor, kızımın öğretmen olmasını isterim....ben en büyük kızdım, tabii annem de tarlaya gidince tüm işler bana kalırdı...”

Gülperi (17,P): “...I hardly graduated from the primary school, I was a bad student. I went to the primary school in the village. I was not sent to the secondary school because there was not any in the village. However, I do not have any idea about to study upper grades. Even, I was a bad student.

On the other hand, sons are sent to the school...Fieldwork and houseworks are very intensive in the village, if you do not do that those will be mother's duty... If I had children, I would do my best to provide a better education and I want them to have a good education... I want my son to be a doctor and my daughter to be a teacher, I was the eldest daughter, and all the houseworks were remaining to me after my mother went for the fieldwork..."

Nermin (20,FS): "...Ortaokul mezunuyum...Orta düzeyde bir öğrenciydim. Hıdırlıktepe ilköğretim okulunu bitirdim. Liseyi bitirip polis olmayı çok istedim. Babamın tayini çıkınca Isparta'ya masraf olmasın diye beni ortaokuldan sonra okutmadılar. Masraf olur diye babam göndermedi. Sonra da yaş büyüyünce kız kısmı evde otursun dediler. Okumayı kardeşlerimde çok istedi ama hiçbirimiz okuyamadık...Erkek kardeşimin şansı vardı bak onu okusun diye çok uğraştılar ama o da okumadı.... Üniversite mezunu olmayı çok istedim ama bugün üniversite mezunu da iş bulamıyor. Ben çocuklarımın yurt dışında okumasını istedim. ..."

Nermin (20,FS): "...I am a graduate of the secondary school. I was an average student. I graduated from Hıdırlıktepe primary school. I wish I finished high school and attended to police academy. When my father designated to Isparta, they made me quit my education because of decreasing the cost. My father did not send me to the school because it would cause an extra cost. When I grew up, they never sent me and they said that girls should stay at home. My siblings also wanted to continue their education so much but any of us could not do...However my brother had so much chance because my family supported his education so much but he left the school... I wish I were a university graduate but today, they even can not find a job. I want my children to be educated in abroad..."

Belma (17,LP): "...İlkokul 5'e kadar okuyabildim. Hıdırlıktepe'de okudum, iyi bir öğrenciydim ama öğretmenimden çok çektim, bacaklarıma sopa ile vururdu.... Ama üniversite mezunu olup, mühendis olarak çalışmayı çok istedim. Babam okula gitmemi pek istemedi, maddi durumumuz çok yetersizdi. Ailem bilinçli olmadığı için ancak ilkokulu bitirebildim. Ayrıca iki yıl Kuran kursuna gidebildim. 14 ve 13 yaşında iki tane erkek kardeşim var. Onlar erkek oldukları için okuyorlar. Ama ben çocuklarımı sonuna kadar okuturum. Elimden gelen herşeyi yaparım. En iyi okullarda okumalarını ve kendi istedikleri meslekleri yapmalarını sağladım...."

Belma (17,LP): "...I could study until the fifth grade. I studied in Hıdırlıktepe, I was very successful but I suffered from my teacher so much, she was beating on my knees with a stick. However, I wish I attended to the university and worked as an engineer. My father did not want me to go to school so much, our material condition was so insufficient. I could only finish the primary school because my family was not so conscious about education. Then, I attended Quran course for two years. I have got two brothers at the age of 13 and 14. They are sent to school because of their

gender. Nevertheless, I will do my best for my children's having a good education. I want then to go to the best schools and to have a career as they want..."

Gülseren (16,LP): "...Ben ilkokul 3 ten ayrıldım. Çok iyi bir öğrenciydim, çok hevesliydim, 6 yaşında başladım. Annem istemedi, okuldan ayırdı. Koca bulursun diye, okuyaydım çok iyiydi, şimdi kendi de pişman, bana 1 kitap aldılar abime 10 kitap aldılar, sonradan ilkokulu dışarıdan bitirdim, şimdi belki devam ederim diye hayal kuruyorum. İnşallah çocuklarım okusun avukat olsunlar..."

Gülseren (16,LP): "...I quit the school at the third grade in primary school. I was very successful, I was very enthusiastic, and I started to go to school at the age of 6. My mother did not want; she made me quit the school. She said that I could find a husband, if I had studied, things would have been better, now, she also regrets, they bought 1 book for me but 3 books for my elder brother, later I completed my primary school education out of the school, now, I sometimes dream about to continue my education. I hope it happens in the near future, I want my children to be very well educated and be a lawyer..."

On the other hand, Saadet (15,P) was pointing out the bad events that happened during the school years which were very related with the neighborhood's being a dangerous place that caused her quit the school. According to her, only boys could go to that school and her elder brother completed her education successfully because he was a boy. Although her mother strongly supported her to continue her education, she had to give up the school because of negative conditions in her environment which were also very effective on daughters' lives.

Saadet (15,P): "...Ben ilkokul mezunuyum. Onlar götürürlerdi ben okuldan kaçıktan başka şey yapmazdım. Okulu sevmezdim, dışarıda oynamak daha güzel gelirdi. Ama pişmanım okusam bi meslek sahibi olurdu. Annem çok istedi ben istemedim. En büyük kız bendim. Okulda gözümün önünde akrabalarımızdan birisini alıp polisler uyuşturucu satmak ve kullanmaktan götürdü, hala hapiste, beni okuldan uzaklaştıran en önemli nedenlerden birisidir...Çok korktum, sonra da annem okuldan zaten aldı...Ama buralar kızın okuyabileceği yerler değil, bak abim ne güzel okudu, niye erkek olduğu için...Ben iyi bi semtte, düzgün bi okulda okusaydım fena mı olurdu..."

Saadet (15,P): "...I am a primary school graduate. They were taking me to the school; I was not doing anything else rather than running away from school. I did not love the school, playing outside was better to me. But, I feel regret, if I studied, I would have a career. My mother wanted so much but I did not. I was the oldest girl. In the school, police arrested one of our relatives' children

because of using and selling drug, he is still in prison, and this is one of the most important reasons that made me hate the school...I got so scared then my mother took me away from the school...These are not the places which girls can study, look my brother how successfully he completed his education because he was a man...I wish I studied in a better school located in a better place, isn't it a good idea?..."

Regarding employment, most of the daughters were not allowed to work outside the home whereas their brothers were sent out for earning money. Daughters were not allowed to work because of the patriarchal authority.

Gülseren (16,LP): "...Ben hiç çalışmadım, çok isterdim, ama sağlığım da el vermez...zaten annem de izin vermez, okutmadılar bile...Şu an bi tek abim çalışıyo, onun kazandığıyla geçiniyoz...O uzun süredir çalışıyo, ona bişey demezlerki o erkektir..."

Gülseren (16,LP): "...I never worked, but I wish I did so much, but working could be dangerous for my health....besides my mother does not allow me and they did not allow to continue my education...For the time being, only my elder brother is working, and we make our living because of him...He has been living for a long time, they approve his working because he is a man..."

Gül (16,P): "...Ah ben çalışsaydım, çok iyi olur bu durumlarda mı olurduk. Annemi de pek çok dertten kurtarırdım....Bi iş bulduyduk bi tanıdık sayesinde hem de pek yakındı, çocuğuna bakacaktım, bi de iki evi silip süpürecektim, ama izin vermediler.... Ah ah o fırsatım da elden gitti... Yok bu saatten sonra da olmaz nereye olcak...Erkek kardeşim çalışıyo, o zaten yazları önce birkaç sene önce başladıydı birinin yanında babam koydu oraya işe... ona izin veriyolar, o çünkü erkekmiş,... annem de babam da o çalışmasa olur mu dediler..."

Gül (16,P): "...If I worked, would we have been in these conditions?. I would also protect my mother against many troubles....We found a job because of an acquaintant, even it was very close, I would take care of a child and do some houseworks but they prevented me...I missed that opportunity...After this time, it won't happen again, it is impossible...My brother is working, he started to work in summer time, a few years ago because of my father...he is allowed to work, because he is a man,...both my father and mother asked what if he does not work?..."

Furthermore, one of the daughters who were married, was not allowed to work despite the fact that she was used to work for a textile company as a cleaning worker. Her employment was not approved by her husband inspite of her mother's insists on her husband. She also stated that her husband wanted her to stay at home

because of taking care of her toddlers. Burcu (25,H) was primarily loaded by the household responsibilities and this was also one of the indicators of man's domination over women.

Burcu (25,H): "...Fabrika'da temizlikçi olarak çalışmaya başladım... Sonra yavaş yavaş açıldım. Maddi durumumuzda iyiye gitti. 16 yaşından beri fabrikada çalışıyorum. Eşimde aynı fabrikadadır. Fakat gece vardiyası istedikleri zaman ayrılmak zorunda kaldım. Ailemle eşim gece çalışmama karşıydı. Çünkü bura güvenli değil ben de korkardım burda gece sokağa çıkmak adamın başına iş açar... Şimdide çalışmayı çok isterim ama eşim izin vermiyor...Şimdiki aklım olsa evlenmez çalışmaya devam ederdim, bak şimdi benim çalışmama izin vermiyo, çok zor geçiniyoz, annemlerin yanında yaşamasak nereye idare edeceksin.....Annem de çok uğraştı, anne bu konuda ısrar etme diye hep onu susturdu...Benim çalışmama çok karşı..."

Burcu (25,H): "...I started to work as a cleaner in a factory. Then, I became a social person in the following times. Our financial situation got better. I have been working in a factory since I was 16. My husband was also working in the same factory. However, I had to quit my job, whenever they wanted me to stay for the night shift. Both my husband and my family were against to go out in the night time because this place is not safe and I am also scared to go out in the night time, it causes a big trouble...Now, I want to work so much but my husband disapproves...If I had had today's mind, I wouldn't have married and kept on working, look, now, he does not allow me to work and we hardly make our livings, if we did not live with my parent, how would we survive...My mother insisted on my husband so much but he always interrupted her...He is totally against my working so much..."

Furthermore, daughters were highly in a disadvantaged position because of being the eldest daughter within the household. For example, mother's burden related with the household duties was mostly shared with the eldest daughter. This made the daughters more vulnerable against the poverty. For example Gülperi (17,P) stated that she was not sent to the school because of the heavy load of household duties. In case of sending her to the school, her mother's burden would be heavier.

Gülperi (17,P): "...Ben en büyük kızdım, tabii annem de tarlaya gidince tüm işler bana kalırdı...Nereye okuyacaksın, okula da gitsen bütün işler anneme kalırdı...Bi de dersle, kardeşlerimle nasıl uğraşacaktım, çok zor gerçekten zor..."

Gülperi (17,P): "...I was the oldest daughter, of course all of the houseworks were asked by me whenever my mother went out for the fieldwork...How can you study under these conditions, if I

had done, all of the household works would have become my mother's responsibility...Moreover, while taking care of the children, studying at the same time was really hard..."

Nazire (21,I): "...Kim çalışacak, bu kadar işe kim koşacak, anama da yazıktır...Bak kadıncağız ne hale geldi, hala daha da çekiyo...Mecburen ben kendimi feda ettim Buraya gelince erkeklerin hepsi okudu, evin büyüğü oldum, tabii evin bütün yükü de benim üstüme bindi, ben okusam onlar okuyamazdı..."

Nazire (21,I): "...Who would work, who would handle all of these works, oh my poor mom...Look what happened to her, she has been still suffering...I obligatory sacrificed myself...When we came here, all of my brothers continued their education, I became the oldest of the house, the all the burden of the household was loaded on my shoulders, if I had continued my education, they could not have continued their education..."

Pervin (23,LH): "...Ben okuldan gelir anneme yardım ederdim...Derslerim çok iyi değildi...Ben yardım etmesem kim edecekti...Kardeşlerim küçüktü, bi yandan da annem babamla uğraşıp, didinip dururdu...Bak ama kız kardeşime hiçbi şey yaptırmazdım, o yeter ki okusun diye...Ama kısmet değilmiş o da okumadı...Şimdi umudumuz oğlandıdır, üniversite sınavına hazırlanır..."

Pervin (23,LH): "...Whenever I come back home from the school, I was helping my mother for the houseworks...If I hadn't done, who would have helped her?...My siblings were very little, on the other side my mother was dealing with my father all the time...Look, I never allowed my sister to do anything, her education was the most important thing for us...But, that is her destiny, she did not continue either...Now, our hope is my younger brother, he is currently studying for the university entrance exam..."

However, Selma (13,SS) was stating that she was sharing her mother's household duties after the school but she was also finding some time for her homework. She also stated that she was one of the top students in her classroom and her only ideal was to complete her education very successfully.

Selma (13,SS): "...Okuldan eve gelince üstümü değiştiririm, sonra annemin işi varsa ona yardım ederim....Genelde en küçük kardeşimle ben ilgilenirim, annem mesela bi yere giderken onu yanında götürmez...Ben de bak şu gördüğün salıncak varya ona koyar, sallarım, bi yandan da dersime bakarım....Mutlaka ödevimi yaparım, yapmazsam okula gidemem, yüz lazım...Derslerim çok iyi, öğretmenim benden çok memnun, sınıfın en iyi 5 öğrencisinden birisiyim..."

Selma (13,SS): "...Whenever I come home, I change my clothes, then if my mother needs help, I help her...Generally, my youngest sibling is taken care by me, for example, if my mother goes out, I take care of herself at home...Then I put her in that swing which was set up by my father and swing her while I was studying...I certainly do my homework, if I do not, I can not go to school, because it is so ashaming...I am very good at my lessons, my teacher is very very glad with me, I am one of the top 5 students in the classroom..."

It could be stated that current conditions did not affect her success and she was trying to do her best in spite of the restricted opportunities. (For example, Selma (13,SS)'s house was very narrow and it was so hard to find a place to study. In spite of these conditions, she was studying on the coach at the very edge of the only room of the house. While she was studying, she was also keeping an eye on her little sister.

However, there were some differences between the daughters. Findings showed that some of the daughters were more deprived than the other daughters. Their perceptions about poverty and also their approach to poverty helped in having an idea about daughters' behaviors related with poverty. This also helped me to understand whether there was hope for these daughters or not. For example, there was no hope for some of the daughters and they were more vulnerable against poverty. They have already accepted their experiences related with poverty as their faith and haven't seen any way out of their poverty. These daughters' interactions with the experiences of poverty were very similar with the inclinations of their mothers. They were almost parallel with their mothers' inclinations. The existing order was already approved without questioning, like their mothers. For example, Belma (17,LP) was a member of an extended type of family and the family's root was coming from East Anatolia. Her family was also so conservative and religious. Moreover, she was the only and the eldest daughter within the family. Nermin (20,FS)'s case was very similar with her mother's case. There was no hope for both of them. Within the family, there was a great conflict and all members of the family were exposed to violence by the father. Her father was also alcoholic. All these events made both Nermin (20,FS) and her mother very vulnerable against poverty. Gülperi (17,P)'s case was also very similar to these both cases. She stated that they already came to this neighborhood, almost a few months ago in order to follow her father who left them for another woman. She stated that either she or her mother was

not familiar with Ankara and this would take so much time. Moreover, Gülperi (17,P)'s family did not have any income and her aunt was trying to support them without informing her husband so Gülperi (17,P) and her family were living in poverty at the deepest level. Regarding this, Gülperi (17,P) qualified herself as being very weak in terms of coping with poverty. Another important factor related with Gülperi (17,P) was, she was illiterate. All of these negative conditions made Gülperi (17,P) more vulnerable against poverty and her inclinations were very similar with the inclinations of her mother. In case of Pervin (23,LH), the situation was almost the same. She perceived themselves as poor and she stated that she could not do anything about it in order to cope with poverty like her mother. On the other side, Pervin (23,LH)'s father left them for another woman. Then, she had an unsuccessful marriage and she had to turn back to her mother's house with her husband and the child. She stated that they have been still living financial difficulties because they do not have a regular income. Although her mother did not have sufficient income, she was also supporting them. It is also observed that Pervin (23,LH) and her family were living in poverty at the deepest level like Gülperi (17,P).

Moreover, daughters who felt themselves very strong in terms of coping with poverty showed a similar behavior pattern like their mothers. For example, Ceyhan (18,US) who was a student at the university felt very strong about coping with poverty while her mother was also spending the same words about coping with poverty. Another important point was that Ceyhan (18,US)'s mother had a regular job and she strongly believed that their negative conditions would end after her daughter's graduation from the university. Ceyhan (18,US)'s mother also stated that she felt herself very strong against poverty and never perceived them as living in poverty because she could do anything in order to earn money as much as she is healthy.

Ceyhan (18,US): "...Bizim maddi durumumuz çok iyi değil ama ben düzelceğine inanıyorum....Çalışanın gücü herşeye yeter....O da bi üniversite kazansın şöyle iyi bi yer kazansın ben de okulu bitireyim ailemin durumu daha iyi olacak..."

Ceyhan (18,US): "...Our material conditions are not so well but I believe that we will be better...a working person is very strong for everything...If he passes the university entrance exam and I graduate from the university, my family's condition will be better..."

However, some of the daughters developed a resisting pattern against the existing order. These reactions were referring to the interactions in form of responding and interpreting the same situation in a different way from the other people encountering the same situation. These daughters spend much more effort to deal with the problems aroused from the existing order different than their mothers. For example, Nazire (21,I), while she was going for courses to the community center in the neighborhood, provided a successful network which was shaped by her teachers in order to produce new solutions for both of herself and her family against poverty. Nazire (21,I) was feeling herself very strong in terms of coping with poverty whereas her mother perceived herself very weak in coping with poverty. The case of Nazire (21,I) was already explained in the previous paragraphs. Nazire (21,I) felt that she had to do something in order to escape from poverty because no one else within the household did anything for their salvation. She was the eldest daughter and she was loaded with most of the responsibilities related with developing strategies in order to cope with poverty. Nazire (21,I)'s case also showed that daughters were generally more successful in accessing and also using the benefits of some social official networks (like community center) as in the case of Gülseren (16,LP) who provided her mother's access to the official networks whereas mothers were more successful in accessing and using some unofficial networks (like neighbors, acquaintances or relatives). However, women were more successful in benefiting the networks related with the chief of the neighborhood because this network already existed in the living area of women and women were mostly assuming the chief of neighborhood as one of their neighbors rather than an official person.

6.6. Conclusion

Then what were the components which made these daughters deprived and which made them experience deprivation differently and also which enabled them to find

ways to be rescued from it or prevented them from finding these ways? At this point, transfers take on special importance. Then who transferred what and how did they transfer them and how did it affect the experiences of the daughters related to deprivation? As it was seen, economic capital couldn't be transferred to the daughters since the family itself was deprived of it.

When it was talked about social capital, another capital to be transferred, that most of these daughters were born in the city made them be in an advantageous position. They could get a chance to enter the networks which had been formed by the family members especially after the migration and to make use of them effectively.

On the other hand, the most important capital which was transferred on a large scale was the symbolic cultural capital; and it was the capital which prevented the daughters to find a way of escape or supported them mostly. For example, as it was seen in the example of Belma (17,LP), all the ways to be able to enable her to find a way of escape were suppressed by the moral values of the family. Especially when a daughter didn't have any examples belonging to the previous generation about the development of strategies to cope with deprivation, she herself couldn't find any way of escape and search for it or felt powerless. The situation of conflict could lead to psychological and physical problems. For example, Nermin (20,FS) had experienced such a conflict seriously and she was treated psychologically. Also, after Pervin (23,LH) told us about the violence of her father she was exposed to, she showed the razor cuts on her arm and she said that she had attempted suicide many times but she couldn't achieve.

Meanwhile, with the increase of the cultural capital, a daughter saw herself as more powerful to cope with deprivation and searched for the ways of escape and in short she put herself in a position to struggle with the situation more effectively. That those who felt powerful to increase this capital and tries to do something were affected by deprivation less was one of the most significant points attracting attention.

When looking at the matter in general, it is certain that the district a woman lives is one of the most important phenomena which affect her deprivation. Here one of the most significant findings was that it limited the mobility of a woman on a large

scale, which prevented her from doing something to be rescued from deprivation and made her more vulnerable. On the other side, the negative conditions in the neighbourhood also affected her in financial and moral ways and made her defenceless. Moreover, it mustn't be forgotten that the stigma of the district is one of the components which add a surplus value to deprivation.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Regarding women's and their daughters experiences related to poverty, their stories have been analyzed with respect to the following questions:

- 1) Why are women's experiences related with poverty different than their daughters?
- 2) Is there any hope for daughters' lives being better than their mothers' lives? Where does it lie? Which factor/factors are effective in daughter's experiences related to poverty? How are experiences transferred to them? Which behavior patterns do they develop?
- 3) Which factors in their lives have made them poor? Which women are poorer than others? Why?
- 4) Are there any differences in the strategies of women in terms of their struggle against poverty? How do they differ in terms of evaluating their position and the conditions of poverty they live in? How do the differences in this affect what they do against poverty?
- 5) Are there any women who are also transforming themselves when they fight with poverty?

The research supported that, in conclusion, regarding poverty, in experiencing it in a less or more severe way, in finding solutions to it; factors such as the social values, moral norms, domestic relations and the features of the environment, were very effective. They formed the "capital" transferred from generation from generation, which rendered these factors effective in experiencing poverty. However, not all of the capitals were transferred in the same manner. For example, as a mother had not any economic capital, she could not transfer it to her daughter, which made the daughter also poor. Regarding social capital, as a mother had limited or no capital, she could transfer it to a limited extent. In general, the daughters of the first group, and rarely the daughters of the second group, were more successful in it, when

compared to their mothers. Those who failed became even poorer. Lastly, one of the most important transfers was the symbolic capital covering moral norms and social values. The dominant values in the society were transferred through this capital from generation to generation. These values generally prevented the girl with limited resources, and living in an urban squatter area from finding a solution to cope with poverty. In short, patriarchy is also reproduced in the lives of daughters both by society and themselves. And this is very important in that it shows how intensely symbolic capital may be transferred from one generation to another.

Furthermore, one of the most important points about mothers is that they not only develop survival strategies through activating their social networks outside the home and assume a multiple role which reveals survival strategies at home, but also arrange household relationships. All these roles undertaken by women put them in a disadvantaged position against poverty in terms of coping with it.

Regarding their stories, there were great similarities among 30 women who were interviewed during the research. The main topics of violence stories included a migration story starting with the immigration of the family from the village to city due to marriage or various reasons, followed by the process of adaptation to the city, different domestic responsibilities shouldered unlike those in the village, the hardships faced in coping with and searching ways to overcome poverty within the framework of such responsibilities, and the pressure imposed both at home and outside. The lives of women differed from one another only depending upon whether they managed to cope with and consequently, to find solutions to overcome poverty, which accounted for one of the fundamental aspects of this study. Furthermore, their experience of poverty varied due to differences in their personal attributes, expectations and family structures.

In the same vein, there were considerable similarities among the stories of daughters of these women. Their stories differed from one another due to various factors, reminiscent of those effective for their mothers' stories. One of the major reasons why it was so was that many of those girls were born in the city, where the study was conducted. Unlike their mothers who were brought up in rural areas and developed a behaviour pattern under the influence of rural values, most of the girls were rather affected by urban values, which proved significant in their adaptation to

urban life and their relatively easier involvement in many networks. For example, Gülseren (16,LP) participated in many various training programs of a community center, ensured that her mother contacted it, by which her mother attained detailed information on varying social aids, and that her family benefited from such aids. Still another important example regarding the process of adaptation was the replies made by Safiye (14,P) during the interview. Safiye (14,P) having migrated to the city recently, would repeatedly say that she could not get used to her immediate surrounding, that she missed sheep, the freedom she enjoyed, and her friends in her village and that she would rather go back to the village. This revealed that those born in the city were more advantageous in the process of adaptation into urban life, when compared to those migrated in a later period.

Besides, one of the most remarkable distinguishing features between mothers and daughters was that the educational level of the daughters were well above their mothers. For instance, while nearly all of the mothers were illiterate, all of the daughters were literate and almost all of them completed their primary education. In addition, most of them still continued their education. Whereas there were no graduates of university or high school among the women (except Dilan (31,H) who left the police academy), Ceyhan (18,US) and Selin (21,US) still continued their education at university, and Gece (20,U), having completed her university education, was trying to find a job in her field of specialisation. However, the basic similarity in education remained between the two groups: the education of the daughters, just like their mothers was not supported much, the biggest daughter in the family was even compelled to share domestic responsibilities of her mother as soon as she graduated from the primary school and sometimes before that. Families promoted the education of boys, unlike girls. The support given to the girls turned out to be a lip service, and the justifications for the incomplete education of the girls remained pretty much the same like “We sent her to school, but she did not complete it.” On the other hand, those who failed at school pointed out how hard it was to help shoulder the responsibilities at home on the one hand, and at school on the other.

Similarity between the daughters and mothers was their property. As the mother did not own anything, the daughter inherited barely anything. (The transfer here referred to a unilateral transfer from the mother to the daughter. It never occurred

a transfer from the daughter to her mother. The best examples for such transfer were Pervin (23,LH) and Burcu (25,H) who returned to their mothers' home with their husbands and children, after having married some time ago. Their mothers succeeded in giving them material and moral support, made them survive and cope with the poverty to some extent. What was important here was that no matter how poor the mother was, if they had nothing to live on, it was again her who facilitated their life through finding some way to let them (daughter's family) benefit from the family resources. For example, Burcu (25,H) stated that each month her mother secretly put into their pockets, some pocket money from the cash of the father who had put them aside. She added that actually her father was aware of it, but he would never do it himself, even he would never ask how they were doing and she could not stand the sight of receiving money from her father. In short, the mother was serving as a mediator in her daughter's fight against poverty.

Furthermore, regarding the environment, there were common points between mothers and daughters. As they lived in the same venue, they were both under the impact of the unfavorable effects of the environment. As the environment was unsafe and dangerous, their mobility was limited. Because of this feature of the environment, both mothers and daughters kept on saying that they could not go out as the possibility of their exposition to violence was high. For example, Saliha (45,P) stated that as her district was unsafe and dangerous after a certain hour, she could not leave her children to work outside; that nearly six months ago, she saw her daughter drifted, by being pulled from her hair, but could do nothing about it, save being battered in the meantime. Her daughter Pervin (23,LH) remarked that narcotic substance trafficking, smuggling were a daily practice in the streets, that everyday there was a fight there, that it was dangerous for a girl to go outside alone because she would easily be subjected to verbal or physical harassment, that she could not dare to go outside after a certain hour. She added that even in daytime, it was very dangerous for a girl to go outside during a fight. These were exactly the same words her mother uttered.

One of the best examples of limitations brought to going outside was told by Nermin (20,FS). She stated that she was forbidden to go outside even to the store by herself, that she could go outside only with her mother when necessary. She added

that as her father did not like her to go out, two big dogs were tied to their front door. When Nermin (20,FS)'s mother had to go shopping, she was dropping by some neighbors on the way home. In short, even the mother's contact with the neighbors occurred in a limited time and place.

Besides, the mobility outside the district was limited all the same, like the mothers. While explaining this mobility, the daughters stated the same reasons like limited material opportunities or not knowing where to go. They stated that they would go to Ulus as the farthest place, only with their mothers, when necessary. Among the factors influencing their mobility, was the problems related with the transportation resources provided by the Government. However, the daughters were in better conditions due to their higher educational level, their being brought up in the city etc. For example, none of them had suffered like Neriman (64,I) who could not go outside as she was illiterate and visually impaired.

When it comes to social life in the district, the limited mobility capacity of daughters influenced their social lives as well. While the women saw each other in the market or bazaar, the daughters saw each other or their peers while going to school or meeting in a home, though rarely. In the summertime, the venue might be between the four walls of the garden, but not in front of the door, most often. During the meetings at home, the mother certainly accompanied the daughter. In a nutshell, one of the most important factors ensuring the mobility of the daughters in the district was their mothers.

Regarding the unfavorable domestic occurrences besides those exposed outside the home, violence was the most important issue. The daughters were subjected to violence as much as their mothers were. For example, Nazire (21,I) stated that she was slapped many times harshly, while trying to rescue her mother from such slaps. Emel (15,LH) remarked that when her father got angry, he was beside himself and household members had their share from slaps.

At home, the daughters spent their time, doing housework. Thus, the mothers shared their domestic responsibilities with their daughters. The daughters who went to school, did that work to help their mothers as soon as they returned home. Apart from the housework, they were doing handicrafts and watching TV. In sum, the mothers and the daughters were leading very similar lives in general.

Regarding the working life, there were great similarities between the working life of mothers and daughters. Yet, the girls had somewhat better conditions. Among the daughters, the number of those who worked regularly was much higher. But, they had to leave their works due to either a shutdown or their husbands' forbidding them to work. There were also a group of university students who both did internship and worked to meet their jobs meet ends. Still other girls were just like their mothers, prevented from working outside and forced to share the responsibilities of their mothers. There were daughters who earned money from handicraft, they stated that they won some money like that. On the other hand, the women had a disadvantage when compared to their daughters. Of the group interviewed, there were only two mothers who worked regularly, the rest had not worked at all or worked irregularly in housecleaning or selling some trousseau items. Apart from such works, the women explained why they did not work, by telling that "to our customs, women do not work, it is both immoral and sinful". The daughters of those women put forth similar justifications. In short, the patriarchal values prevented both the mother and her daughter from entering the labour market. If they did not prevent them from doing so, the women were mostly employed with lower wages in lower quality jobs.

As can be seen, there were substantial similarities between women and daughters in their experiences. One of the most important factors of such similarities was the symbolic capital covering moral norms and societal values, which are being transferred from mother to daughter. The most important point here was that it was the patriarchal values most of the time that limited the life and mobility of the daughters like their mothers and that hindered them from searching for solutions in the struggle against poverty. These values were being transferred from one generation to the next to a considerable extent. Besides, one of the most important points in the study was that such values were being reproduced seriously both by mothers and daughters. For example, although similar to their mothers, all the daughters indicated that they wish their children to have a good education regardless of their sex, they themselves made a discrimination on gender basis regarding the preferred fields of study and did not show any significant deviation from their mothers in this respect. For instance, all the daughters stated during the interviews

that they would rather like their daughters to become teachers or nurses and their sons, doctors or engineers.

On the other hand, unlike their mothers, they seemed more enthusiastic about working, however, the justifications they put forth as to why they could not work bore great resemblance to those of their mothers. They were making excuses such as household responsibilities and the disapprovals of their working by their brothers, fathers and/or husbands. Those who stated the shutdown of their workplaces as the reason of ending their work lives, said that they did not look for any other work afterwards and that they did not want to go back to working life. However, they could not give any specific reasons for this.

What was also interesting was that, due to the material and spiritual hardships they went through at the beginning of their marriage, the married daughters had to return to their mothers' homes with their husbands and children. That is, the poor life of the mother was repeated similarly in the marriage of the daughter. The mothers would like to see their children married to husbands who had better financial status, who had a good career and who was of the same religious sect. However, due to the fact that the daughters had a limited social life and very little mobility and they had barely, if any, cultural and financial capital, they had to experience a marriage similar to that of their mothers.

One of the most important examples of the reproduction of patriarchal values was hidden in the replies made by the daughters concerning the marriage of their own children. Here nearly all of the daughters responded to the relevant questions in a way similar to their mothers. Upon the question on their view on the marriage of their children to someone of another religious sect, they stated that they could approve it if their child was a boy and they would absolutely reject it if the child was a girl.

On the other hand, despite of the fact that their mothers married to their fathers without seeing each other before the marriage, most of the daughters stated that they were against such a marriage and even against any marriage. Likewise, while their mothers' marriage occurred against a bride's price, most of the daughters stated that they objected to it. However, there were a few daughters who stated that they were not against the dowry, it was necessary. One of such girls was from a

family who had just migrated to the city from Central Anatolia and was suffering from the poverty at the lowest point. Having newly come to the city meant being a stranger to urban values. Besides, she regarded the bride's price as an income, which would rescue her mother from living in poverty to some extent. Daughters of the families who had migrated from Eastern Anatolia had similar things in mind. In such families, the symbolic capital was transferred from generation to generation in a way to limit the freedom and the room of maneuver for the woman. Objecting to family norms resulted in high prices. During the interviews with the girls, the most repeated utterances were, "my elder brother will kill me" "they won't let me live" , "we still have a customary vendetta". However, there were other differences in the replies of the mothers and daughters. For example, the main difference between the perceived urgent needs of the mother and daughters arose from the observed distinction in their spending patterns: mothers gave priority to the needs of the family whereas the daughters prioritised their own interests, because it was the mother who was the basic responsible person for enabling her family to survive and cope with the poverty. Within the framework of these responsibilities, to activate and operate the necessary networks was among her basic missions at home. As regards the solidarity ties and informal relations, when the women were in trouble they would ask for help firstly from their families; most of the daughters stated that they would firstly ask their mothers' help. This situation may be attributed to the family's protective role in Turkish society. Besides, the women in order to handle poverty had to operate informal networks functionally. For this reason, they would try to keep good company of the chief of the neighborhood who had an important role in distributing social assistance. They would often state that they were content with him and they saw the chief of the neighborhood as a person who would resort to even when they were in trouble. Yet, most of the girls were out of this network and stated that they did not even know the chief of the neighborhood, they did not meet him or they did not like him. Because as the primary responsibility was taken by the mother, the daughter did not bother herself to be involved in these networks. However, as it was seen in the example of Nazire (21,I), in cases where the mother was illiterate, could not speak even Turkish and could not go outside, the oldest daughter took over the responsibility, she asked the help of the networks in the social center where she

learned to read and write and sought ways to cope with the poverty that she and her family were suffering from.

On the other hand, as in the case of Nazire (21,I), some daughters displayed a figure different from that of their mother in coping with poverty, a figure who was promising. Then, who were these daughters and which factors were crucial in their conduct?

In the case of Nazire (21,I), the most important factor was the fact that she has been living in the city for a long time. As we have mentioned before, she managed to benefit wisely from the social networks for overcoming poverty and to attain some forms of help remedies, though tentative. But that her father was not working anywhere, that her mother was illiterate, that domestic violence was reigning at home, made her shoulder many responsibilities as the oldest daughter of the family. For example, she could never attend the school and she could learn to read and write during the courses given at the social center, after they migrated to the city. In the meantime, she could produce some solutions for herself and her family through the relations she built there. The important point here was that the daughter played an active role in cases where her mother proved incompetent, since she could not go outside, and enter the solidarity networks. Her case also showed that daughters were more successful in using official social networks whereas their mothers in using the unofficial social networks in terms of coping with poverty.

Another promising case was Feride (34,H) and her mother- Neriman (64,I) had a very bad childhood and was subjected to severe violence in her marriage. As she was illiterate, she could not go outside alone, and therefore seemed unsuccessful in her effort to fight against poverty. On the other hand, Neriman (64,I)'s daughter stated that although she had wanted to complete her education, her mother prevented her from doing so, that after she had quitted school, she started to work in a factory with the help of neighbors and with her father's support. She worked there until the shutdown of the factory, thanks to which her insurance was running and she got to know her fiance, with the support of her friends. The basic feature which distinguished Feride (34,H) from her mother was that she was not brought up under the hard and poor conditions that her mother had to go through. Besides, she had good relations with her father, she was born and brought up in the city and she had

attained experiences in the business life, which gave her strength in her fight against poverty. One of the points to be underlined here is to what extent she has been effective in her own life and associated choices.

Moreover, in the second group families, which could be defined as strong in coping with poverty, the daughters were successful in coping with poverty and finding relevant solutions, just like their mothers. Most of the time, there was a considerable hope for these girls. For instance, although Zarife (38,P) had gone through a childhood replete with unlucky occurrences, she never saw herself as poor and stated that she could earn money for her family as long as she was healthy. She stated that the most important thing was the education of her children, for which she would not spare any sacrifice. Halime (15,SS), like her mother did not define herself as poor and added that her ideal was to complete her university education and to find a job afterwards, since she ranked among the best in her class, maybe she could take a grant that year, as a result of which she would no longer be burden to her family. The most remarkable feature in such families, the daughters, instead of being compelled to quit their education, had the full support of their families for their education as it was one of the highly valued pursuit for such families. The women in such families hardly took place in neighborhood networks. For example, Zarife (38,P) stated that she spent most of her time by producing necklaces and earrings to sell them to contribute to the family budget, she spent the rest of the time by doing housework.

In the case of Derya (33,P), she got involved in many networks through her individual efforts to benefit from social aids, she even succeeded in making use of them to a great extent by telling lies from time to time. Derya (33,P) who had been excluded by her neighbors in the district, remarked that the family could not make ends meet in any other way and she could do anything to see her daughter educated. Apart from the time the daughter spent at school, she was all the same transferred the domestic responsibilities by her mother. Selma (13,SS) pointed out that this situation did not have a negative effect on her grades, that she was very successful, that she would like to have a good job in the future and added that she always longed for a room of her own with a table to work on, in which she could work easily and silently. Derya (33,P) gave much importance to education, but her conducts still gave away

the influence traceable to traditional patriarchal values. To her, a girl had to learn housework, which could be achieved by constant assistance and surveillance, as a result of which she would not have any difficulty in her husband's home. Another remarkable feature was that Derya (33,P) rarely contacted the residents in her district. She stated that she met only a handful of people since she had hardly any time to devote for such meetings.

In such families, it also constituted a remarkable feature that there was a good and sound relationship between the daughter, the father and the siblings. For example, Gece (20,U) remarked that they had very good relations at home, that her father did hardly lose his temper, that even if he got very angry, he would not make any derogatory utterances, he never slapped them in the face. Therefore, she said, there was a good friendship between them, like that between her mother and herself, they could exchange their problems and added that there was a perfect relationship at home.

However, in the case of Gülperi (17,P), her mother like Nazire (21,I)'s mother remained inadequate in fighting against poverty, but she behaved differently, she behaved just in the way her mother did and therefore could not bring up a solution. The most crucial factor here was that she came to the city a few months ago, so she could not have any ties with her surrounding that would suffice to enable her to make use of any ties. We have observed many similar cases during the study.

But, in the case of Gülseren (16,LP), the situation developed in the opposite way. The mother, though she had a very bad childhood, though she was tortured many times by her own uncle in order for her not to marry someone, did not lose her hope, and she did not even define herself as a poor person. She would say, for her family to lead a happy life, she would even work as a "*bohçacı*" (a mobile female who sells trousseau items on the streets), and she would make her living from scratch. On the other hand, her daughter displayed a very desperate picture, she said she could not think of anything positive for her future, she was very hopeless, she saw herself as a poor person and she could do nothing about it. The most effective factor in her train of thought was that she had a chronic illness impossible to be treated. That she knew that the illness would restrain her capacity for mobility and that she had two relatives who had the same illness, made her far more

hopeless. Furthermore, due to her limited material opportunities, she could not get a regular treatment, which was one of the most important causes behind her despair. However, both Gülseren (16,LP)'s and Nazire (21,I)'s cases (which was previously mentioned) showed that daughters were more successful in entering official social networks whereas their mothers were more successful in entering unofficial social networks.

In addition, according to the classification made in experiencing poverty and developing relevant solutions, the daughters of the women in the first group took attitudes similar to those of their mothers. On the whole, they regarded their situation as hopeless and poor, they underlined that they could do nothing about it as they were so weak. Furthermore, they found women weaker than men. This idea was widely seen in the families migrated from Eastern Anatolia. The biggest daughter was often forbidden to go to school after graduation from primary school, she was assigned to share the responsibilities of her mother at home and she was forbidden to work outside. In such families, the women seldomly left the house, and the patriarchal values were legitimized by utterances such as "going outside is immoral according to customs and the religion" made by themselves. There seemed to be no way out for these girls. The transfers of the symbolic capital in such families intensely prevented them from finding a solution, which put them in a far more difficult position.

Another example of this was the experience voiced by Nermin (20,FS) despite of the fact that she was not from a family of the East Anatolian origin. She had to quit school under the pressure of her family, putting forth the justification that "the girls must not be educated", and was sort of imprisoned at home along with her sister. The fact that her father was an alcoholic and that she witnessed or was subjected herself to domestic violence, impaired her mental health, and she started to receive a psychiatric treatment. Under such circumstances, it was very hard to say that there was any hope for Nermin (20,FS) to overcome her poverty. In line with these arguments, it could be questioned if the subculture of poverty is experienced and also transferred very intensively. The answer of this question will help us in answering many questions related with experiences and also transfer of these experiences between generations.

Regarding prospective studies, since the study focuses on experiences of poverty in an urban squatter area by mothers and daughters with a focus on difference in generation, it can be extended to cover the experiences of the household, especially the male members at home. As far as the information given by mothers and daughters in hand, is concerned, women experience poverty more intensely than men. However, the male members are also affected from it and are subjected to the heavy burden of poverty. Therefore, in the short term, a detailed study on poverty should also scrutinize the experiences and perceptions on poverty of all the members at home. In the long term, such a study should be supported by a quantitative research. In addition, a longitudinal study would be very beneficial to attain healthy results in observations on experiences in poverty. Because poverty is not a constant state experienced in a certain period of time, its appearances and the factors playing a role in it may change in time. So, it may be very useful to repeat this study with the same group of people in a later period, as it would make it possible to analyze in depth the experiences of those involved in this study in poverty as well as the change, if any, in their perspective in time.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CITY AND VILLAGE POPULATION ACCORDING TO FINAL
CONSENSUS

ANKARA İLÇELERİ TABLO 1 :ŞEHİR VE KÖY NÜFUSU	TABLE 1: CITY AND VILLAGE POPULATION														
	TOPLAM-TOTAL					SEHIR NÜFUSU CITY POPULATION					KÖY NÜFUSU VILLAGE POPULATION				
	İLÇE DISTRICTS	TOPLAM TOTAL	ERKEK MALE	KADIN FEMALE	TOPLAM TOTAL	ERKEK MALE	KADIN FEMALE	TOPLAM TOTAL	ERKEK MALE	KADIN FEMALE	TOPLAM TOTAL	ERKEK MALE	KADIN FEMALE		
TOPLAM - TOT	4007860	2027105	1980755	3540522	1785489	1755033	467338	241616	225722						
1 ALTINDAĞ	407101	208229	198872	400023	204552	195471	7078	3677	3401						
2 ÇANKAYA	769331	385698	383633	758490	377707	380783	10841	7991	2850						
3 ETİMESGUT	171293	94811	76482	169615	93845	75770	1678	966	712						
4 GÖLBAŞI	62602	33293	29309	35308	18975	16333	27294	14318	12976						
5 KEÇİÖREN	672817	332012	340805	625167	307778	317389	47650	24234	23416						
6 MAMAK	430606	219038	211568	412771	209799	202972	17835	9239	8596						
7 SINCAN	289783	145477	144306	267879	133646	134233	21904	11831	10073						
8 YENİMAHALLE	553344	274498	278846	534109	264093	270016	19235	10405	8830						
9 AKYURT	18907	10077	8830	8069	4300	3769	10838	5777	5061						
10 AYAŞ	21239	10899	10340	7839	4255	3584	13400	6644	6756						
11 BALA	39714	20079	19635	6616	3533	3083	33098	16546	16552						
12 BEYPAZARI	51841	25868	25973	34441	17277	17164	17400	8591	8809						
13 ÇAMLIDERE	15339	8017	7322	6303	3508	2795	9036	4509	4527						
14 ÇUBUK	75119	39024	36095	46605	24180	22425	28514	14844	13670						
15 ELMADAĞ	43374	22261	21113	22518	11290	11228	20856	10971	9885						
16 EVREN	6167	3043	3124	4363	2196	2167	1804	847	957						
17 GÜDÜL	20938	10965	9973	5806	3165	2641	15132	7800	7332						
18 HAYMANA	54087	26839	27248	11313	5792	5521	42774	21047	21727						
19 KALECİK	24738	12891	11847	11965	6567	5398	12773	6324	6449						
20 KAZAN	29692	15943	13749	15871	8398	7473	13621	7545	6276						
21 KIZILCAHAMAM	33623	17195	16428	16195	8483	7712	17428	8712	8716						
22 NALLIHAN	40677	20841	19836	17181	9101	8080	23496	11740	11756						
23 POLATLI	116400	59721	56679	79992	41092	38900	36408	18629	17779						
24 Ş.KOÇHİSAR	59128	30386	28742	42083	21957	20126	17045	8429	8616						

APPENDIX B

STATISTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE POPULATION

NUFUSUN YAS, YAS GRUPLARI, OKURYAZARLIK BITIRILEN SON OGRENIM KURUMU VE CINSIYETE GORE DAGILIMI (6 VE DAHA YUKARI YASLAR)														
YAS VE YAS GLARI	TOPLAM	OKUMA YAZMA BILMEYE N	OKUMA YAZMA BILENLE	OKUMA YAZMA KURUMUN. MEZUNOLMA LAR	TOPLAM	ILKOKUL	ILKOĞ.	ORTA OKUL	ORTA D OKUL	LISE	LISE D OKUL	YFY LISANS	MEZUN OLUP OLMA. BIL.	OKUMA YAZMA BILM. BIL.
TPLAM	356010	31769	324155	71547	252437	136622	8974	31244	774	41012	13933	19878	171	86
E	182098	7065	175017	35122	139879	68870	4916	21081	600	23803	8698	11711	16	16
K	173912	24704	149138	36425	112558	67752	4058	10163	174	17209	5035	8167	155	70
6 E	3587	1538	2049	2049	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K	3520	1424	2096	2096	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7 E	3887	321	3566	3566	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K	3759	299	3460	3460	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8 E	3841	93	3748	3748	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K	3687	97	3590	3590	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9 E	3907	55	3852	3852	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K	3579	61	3518	3518	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 E	3881	54	3827	3827	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K	3672	63	3609	3609	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11 E	3633	60	3573	3573	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K	3585	63	3522	3522	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12 E	4122	29	4093	4093	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K	3755	37	3718	3718	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13 E	3855	20	3835	3835	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K	3505	56	3449	3449	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14 E	3916	39	3876	1111	2765	1508	1257	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
K	3532	53	3479	842	2633	1480	1153	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
15 E	4033	40	3993	726	3267	1715	1552	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
K	3442	68	3373	566	2800	1538	1262	0	0	0	0	0	7	1
16 E	4223	49	4173	600	3573	1884	1689	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
K	3723	80	3640	519	3114	1763	1351	0	0	0	0	0	7	3
17 E	4562	38	4524	81	4442	1313	225	1447	38	1096	323	0	1	0
K	3902	68	3832	72	3753	1194	154	986	16	1101	302	0	7	2

APPENDIX B

STATISTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE POPULATION (CONTINUED)

18 E	5045	60	4985	94	4890	1364	99	1095	26	1758	548	0	1	0
K	4494	93	4395	82	4310	1423	71	686	11	1641	478	0	3	6
19 E	4768	51	4717	66	4651	1362	68	910	14	1668	584	45	0	0
K	4225	91	4129	68	4054	1421	32	568	4	1537	457	35	7	5
20 E	3445	56	3388	54	3334	762	26	423	13	1532	478	100	0	1
K	4533	150	4380	65	4312	1701	35	480	5	1584	415	92	3	3
21 E	3325	33	3292	42	3250	910	0	444	13	1291	425	167	0	0
K	3906	93	3812	56	3751	1538	0	398	4	1256	368	187	5	1
22 E	4549	37	4512	47	4465	1505	0	707	21	1419	491	322	0	0
K	4227	110	4117	82	4030	1923	0	382	1	1059	324	341	5	0
23 E	4526	36	4490	51	4438	1684	0	712	24	1184	481	353	1	0
K	4195	118	4076	74	3997	2043	0	343	4	953	255	399	5	1
24 E	4390	47	4343	45	4297	1651	0	665	22	1081	421	457	1	0
K	3839	96	3741	52	3687	1966	0	297	4	730	213	477	2	2
25-29 E	20966	216	20750	236	20513	9071	0	3709	116	3645	1655	2317	1	0
K	19189	810	18375	391	17963	10710	0	1714	20	2653	794	2072	21	4
30-34 E	17586	215	17370	206	17163	8595	0	3235	68	2413	900	1952	1	1
K	16067	1031	15030	483	14531	9447	0	1401	9	1700	376	1598	16	6
35-39 E	16962	281	16681	239	16439	8843	0	2742	63	2396	708	1687	3	0
K	15673	1493	14178	647	13509	9406	0	1181	13	1403	309	1197	22	2
40-44 E	13451	313	13137	250	12886	7257	0	1716	44	1774	639	1456	1	1
K	11917	1898	10013	772	9233	6811	0	618	13	771	223	797	8	6
45-49 E	10257	304	9951	263	9688	5711	0	1238	34	1120	409	1176	0	2
K	9464	2277	7183	973	6198	4778	0	373	12	387	153	495	12	4
50-54 E	7386	401	6982	326	6653	4230	0	881	27	612	204	699	3	3
K	7166	2462	4702	922	3774	2966	0	247	20	177	115	249	6	2
55-59 E	5235	500	4735	406	4328	2948	0	427	23	313	210	407	1	0
K	5520	2383	3134	774	2359	1905	0	137	13	110	76	118	1	3
60-64 E	4197	492	3702	447	3254	2399	0	256	16	172	150	261	1	3
K	5225	2599	2622	728	1888	1590	0	113	7	58	70	50	6	4
65+ E	8516	1685	6828	1284	5543	4137	0	473	36	321	269	307	1	3
K	10569	6625	3929	1291	2630	2128	0	237	18	83	106	58	8	15
B. YEN E	47	2	45	5	40	21	0	1	2	8	3	5	0	0
K	42	6	36	4	32	21	0	2	0	6	1	2	0	0

APPENDIX C

DATA RELATED WITH NO PARTICIPATION LABOR FORCE SIZE RATIO< ACCORDING TO DISTRICT, AGE GROUPS AND GENDER

YERLEŞİM YERİ YAŞ GRUPLARI VE CİNSİYETE GÖRE İŞGÜCÜNE KATILAMA ORANI								
(12 VE DAHA YUKARI YASLARDAKİ NUFUS)								
SON HAFTA İÇİNDE İKTİSADEN FAAL OLMAYANLAR								
YAŞ GRUPLR	İŞGÜCÜNE DAHİL OLM.NÜFUS			SON.ÜÇ.AY İŞ.KAN		ÖĞRENCİ		EV KADINI
	TOPLAM	ERKEK	KADIN	ERKEK	KADIN	ERKEK	KADIN	KADIN
TOPLAM	179721	50939	128782	5778	2643	22505	18256	103694
12- 14	21552	10912	10640	73	45	10756	9013	1576
15 - 19	26985	10368	16617	926	517	9019	7318	8751
20 - 24	19504	4113	15391	983	712	2480	1715	12935
25 - 29	16216	1501	14715	815	484	222	126	14074
30 - 34	13751	1171	12580	713	331	18	45	12167
35 - 39	13770	1167	12603	691	256	10	39	12206
40 - 44	11500	1518	9982	499	142	0	0	9424
45 - 49	11024	2577	8447	418	73	0	0	7808
50 - 54	10210	3409	6801	314	39	0	0	6167
55 - 59	8633	3287	5346	148	21	0	0	4834
60 - 64	8424	3285	5139	98	10	0	0	4590
65+	18107	7620	10487	97	12	0	0	9133
BİLİNMEYEN	45	11	34	3	1	0	0	29
SON HAFTA İÇİNDE İKTİSADEN FAAL OLMAYANLAR								
YAŞ GRUPLR	EMEKLİ		İRAD SAHİBİ		DİĞER			
	ERKEK	KADIN	ERKEK	KADIN	ERKEK	KADIN		
TOPLAM	18190	3583	1398	390	3068	216		
12- 14	0	0	0	0	83	6		
15 - 19	0	0	29	19	394	12		
20 - 24	0	0	48	11	602	18		
25 - 29	20	4	59	11	385	16		
30 - 34	34	10	78	17	328	10		
35 - 39	106	72	98	14	262	16		
40 - 44	668	356	131	24	220	36		
45 - 49	1852	528	121	22	186	16		
50 - 54	2833	564	123	29	139	2		
55 - 59	2934	464	106	18	99	9		
60 - 64	2981	478	123	45	83	16		
65+	6760	1106	482	180	281	56		
BİLİNMEYEN	2	1	0	0	6	3		

APPENDIX-D

NOTES FROM WOMEN'S INTERVIEWS

1) **HÜSNIYE:** H was born in 1965 in Erzurum-Tekman. She migrated from her village at the age of 14 because of the marriage. She has been living in the same neighborhood since then. She is illiterate. Although her brothers continued their education, after the primary school, she did not have any chance to continue. She has got 4 children. One of them is doing his military service and two sons are still continuing their education. The only daughter left the school after the secondary school. H was living in one of the three houses sharing the same garden. When we crossed the kitchen we saw a long hall of which floor was covered by a green carpet. Through the hall, on the left side, there was the biggest room which was used as the living room. There was a TV in the room; also there were two great sofas, and a big cabinet in the same room. By the way, the floor was covered by a carpet. There were also flower pots and a bird cage in front of the windowsill. It was also possible to see some photographs of the family members. There was a big frame which was covering a Muslim prayer at the entrance of the living room. H welcomed us in traditional clothes and she was covering her head with a traditional handcraft headscarf. She had black eyes and dark skin. She was very slim and she was wearing a written charm which was covered by brown leather on his neck. H could not speak Turkish very fluently. During the interview, her mother-in-law who was in traditional clothes was sitting on the other sofa. Meanwhile, her mother-in-law welcomed us in Kurdish and tried to understand the main reason of our visit to them. During the interview she was praying with a rosary. Sometimes, H's daughter helped her mother for the translation. Additionally, H got married very early in the village

and H was illiterate. She did not complete her primary school education. However, she attended to reading-writing courses in the neighborhood, but she could not complete, because it was so hard and she was not successful enough. H's great wish was to organize a big wedding ceremony for her son. However, she was stating that it was so hard because of the economic conditions. On the other hand, she added that she could not do anything about it. Because of her health problems she can not work and woman's working is a shame according to her customs. During the interview, she always expressed that she is very religious. About her children, she also said that her two younger sons were very successful in their school lives and she never wanted her daughter to leave the school, but she did not take her advice and left the school. During the interview, it sounded that she was so sad about this situation.

2) **SELİME:** S was born in 1969 in Erzurum-Tekman. She migrated from her village 25 five years ago with her family, because her brother migrated to Ankara in order to find a job. Then, her family decided to settle down in Ankara. Since then she has been living in the same neighborhood. S got married at the age of 15. First, she had religious wedding. She had an official marriage almost 5 years ago. She is illiterate. Although her brothers completed primary school, she was not sent to the primary school because of familial reasons. S has got 4 children. She wants her daughter to have a good education and her daughter is very successful so S is proud of her. S was living in a house with three rooms and a kitchen. The kitchen was located outside the house. The other two houses were also sharing the same garden. On the walls, there were some pictures of "Kabe" and rosaries. In the meantime, it was possible to see some photo frames belonging to the family members on the TV. S was a middle height and a fat woman. She had dark hair and dark eyes. She was covering her head with a headscarf ordinarily. We had the interview in her living room. She repeated many times that she does not like the neighborhood because environs are very dangerous for the children. She also said that sending her daughter to high school would be a great problem, because neighborhood is not safe at all. She wants her daughter to be a nurse. But she missed the deadline for the registration for nursery vocational schools because she was not informed about the registration

procedures. She also added that the neighborhood is a different place, not like the places in Turkey, and they feel themselves very isolated from the country.

3) ASLI: A was born in 1962 in Ordu-Fatsa. She migrated to Ankara for her son's health problems 17 years ago. Since then she has been living in the same neighborhood. When she was 14, she got married. Although her family did not approve this marriage she and her husband decided to get married and her husband's family supported them so much. However, the marriage problems have just begun after a few months. Her husband was gambling and she was being exposed to his violence very often. Then her son had a serious illness and they migrated to Ankara. Since then she has been living in the same neighborhood. After a short while, her son passed away. She has got three children. None of them completed their education. S is also illiterate. She states that her family did not send her to the school, but they sent all her brothers to the school. After her father married to another woman, she took charge all the domestic responsibilities within the household and she was taking care of her step mom's children. A was living in one of two houses sharing the same garden. There were three rooms inside the house. In the living room, there were two sofas, one television and the floor was covered by an old carpet. There were also photo frames belonging to the members of the family on TV. There was also a big picture of "Kabe" on the wall. She was covering her head and she had white skin and brown eyes. A also had medium height and she was a fat woman. We made our interview in her living room. They migrated to Ankara because of her son's serious illness. However, the medical treatment could not help her son to live. When she was talking about her dead son, she was crying so much. She also stated that she loves her children very much and even she wants to give a birth to another child but her husband does not want because of their poor economic conditions. At the end of the interview she showed us her family pictures.

4) SEÇİL: S was born in Kırıkkale-Büyükyazlı, in 1960. She migrated to Ankara 20 years ago after getting married. Since then she has been living in the same neighborhood. She got married at the age of 20. When she was in Kırıkkale, she had a religious ceremony, after arrival at the Ankara, she also had official wedding. She

had two children, both of them are still studying and they are very successful students. S is a primary school graduate. She stated that she wanted to continue her education but it was impossible because there was no school other than the primary school. Secondary school was located in the town, but only the sons were sent to the town; so she did not have any chance to continue. S has been working in a cleaning company for 10 years with a social security. Her neighbors helped her in finding a job because her husband never had a regularly paid job and because of the poor economic conditions, she decided to find a job. At the beginning, her husband was totally against this idea, but later, he got used to this idea. S was living in one of the three houses sharing one garden. We had to climb the stairs in order to reach the house. The house had two rooms and the kitchen was located outside the house through the entrance. S welcomed us in the living room. There was a TV located inside a cabinet on the corner. There were also two sofas and there was a carpet on the floor. The living room was so narrow. There were also flower pots in front of the windowsill. S welcomed us in black trousers and white blouse. She had long blonde curly hair and green eyes. She was very talkative and also very sympathetic. During the interview, her mother was sitting in the living room and praying with the rosary. She wanted to learn about the main reason of our visit to them. Then we explained and she kept on praying as well. S was the only woman who had a regular job with a social security. She was working for a cleaning company. She answered our questions very frankly. She had one daughter who was studying at a university. She always stated that she loves her daughter so much and she was handling all these difficulties because of her. She also said that her husband drinks alcohol too much and also does not have a regular job and her family suffers from poverty because of her husband's negative and unplanned attitudes. These attitudes bring her great burden. During the interview, many times she repeated that she loves her daughter so much and everything she does she does it for her.

5) **NİLGÜN:** N was born in Çorum-Sungurlu in 1941. At the age of 15, she got married and she migrated to Ankara. Since then, she has been living in the same neighborhood. N was never attended to school because she was not sent to the school by her family. She was helping her mother for her domestic responsibilities and also

working in the field. After the marriage, she started to live with her husband's family. However, she never lived any serious problem with them. Then, they moved to another house because of the children. She had 4 children. One of them is still a student in the neighborhood and she is very successful. However, others left their education because of poor material conditions. She says that she is trying to do her best for providing better opportunities for the future. N never worked but since the first years of her marriage, she has been doing some embroidery and selling them. She spends this money on children's educational and also household expenses. She also says that she never had a serious argument with her husband but their arguments are mostly related with the financial matters. She also claims that if her daughter has a successful marriage, she will not suffer from poverty like her case. N was living in a house, which was located in a big garden with another two houses. After passing through the garden, we reached to a hall in the house. The kitchen was also located in this hall. Then, rooms of the house were lined up with the corridor. N welcomed us in the living room, which was the largest one among the other rooms. There were three couches located in front of three walls, and a large tripod in the middle of the living room. Also, there were a television and framed prayers written on a paper on it in addition to pictures of the family and religious people hanged on the wall. N was a tall, dark skinned and fat woman. She covered her head with a white headscarf tightly not showing her hair. She was wearing a long dark-colored cotton dress with flowers on it and white woolen socks. N was talkative and frank. When we asked for the interview, she behaved cordially. During the interview, N's son, who was working as a waiter in a restaurant, was about to leave. After saying welcome to us, he said that he had to leave for work and then left. Then, T, N's daughter, with whom we would interview later, came and N asked her to serve fresh and hot tea. After she went to kitchen, we started to interview. N often said that T was a successful student and she would do her best for her education. Moreover, she added that T was closer to her brother than N since he graduated from high school and he was more educated than N. Additionally, he was good at problem solving. After finishing the interview we thanked and left.

6) **ECE:** E was born in Aksaray-Ortaköy in 1962. At the age of 15, she got married to one of her close relatives. Then she had 5 children. During the first years of her marriage, she had so many problems with both her husband and her husband's family. Moreover, she was beaten by both her husband and her mother-in-law so many times. E graduated from primary school. After the primary school, she was not sent to the secondary school because the closest school was so far from the village. She was also responsible from helping her mother for the housework and also taking care of her siblings. Moreover, she was also working in the field. E migrated to Ankara only nine months ago with her children because her husband left her for another woman. Then, they decided to settle down in Ankara. Since her sister-in-law is still living in the same neighborhood, they settled down in the neighborhood. She states that she does not have either any job or any income so she suffers from it very badly. Moreover, none of the children completed their education, because in the village it was so hard to provide better opportunities for the children so they will live so many problems in the future. She also says that if her sister-in-law does not help them they will starve. She also adds that she wants to go back to her village as soon as possible, because she misses so much and she could not get used to living in a big city. She does not have any hope for the future and does not expect anything. E was living in a house, which was located in a garden shared with other two houses. This house was the smallest and the most ruined one. At the entrance of the house, there was a hall and the other rooms were connected to this hall. In the room, which was used as the living room, there were two mattresses used for sleeping purposes, an old pile less carpet, an old weak table and two broken chairs. At the entry of the living room, a picture of "Hz. Ali" and prayers put into frames and hanged on the wall were attracting attention. E was of middle height, quiet fat and dark skinned woman. She was wearing flowered and colored clothing, dark colored and thin man socks; and not using a headscarf when she welcomed us. She was not talkative but calm. E and her daughters invited us to the living room. Since it was early in the morning, they were having their breakfast when we came. They invited us to breakfast; however we kindly rejected their offer and said that "Maybe later we can come". The breakfast was prepared on a tray, which was located on a cloth on the ground. There were nine to ten olives in a plastic plate, some kind of green vegetables, which we do not know,

in another plastic plate and one loaf of bread on the tray. The color of tea in the glass was so light that it was not clear whether it was tea or just water. During the conversation, daughters of E were sitting with us. After finishing her breakfast, we started to interview with E. She often said that her husband came to Ankara for another woman; and to follow him, E and her daughters came to Ankara but now they suffered from poverty. She also added that the daughters did not study and she was really helpless, the house that they were living belonged to her husband's sister and she helped too much to them. In the middle of the interview, E started to cry; hence we gave a break for her to calm down and we talked on different subjects. After finishing the interview, we thanked and left.

7) **DENİZ:** D was born in Çorum in 1963. At the age of 17, she got married and migrated to Ankara. During the first years of her marriage, she lived with her husband's family and she lived so hard times. She was serving to her husband and her husband's family like a maid. Moreover, she was also beaten both by her husband and her mother-in-law. Later, they moved to another house and started to live alone. She graduated from primary school, but she did not continue her education, because there was no school other than primary school in the place where she lived. Moreover, she was responsible from helping her mother for the domestic utilities. She had three children. Except for the eldest daughter, children did not complete their education. The eldest daughter is a student in Kütahya at the university. She is also very successful. D says that she is trying to do her best for her in order to provide a good future for her. D never worked, but she mostly goes to houses for cleaning. She spends this for the daughter's education and sometimes for the household expenses. Her son also got married to a Kurdish woman very recently. She says that their expenditures have recently increased and their most important problem is the poor material conditions and she has been suffering from it for many years and she also lost her health. She is trying to survive only for her children. D was living on the second floor of a double-flat squatter house. Her son and his wife were living on the first floor of the house. While we were climbing up the wooden stairs, her oldest daughter who is a university student welcomed us. Then, they invited us to the living room. There was a corridor through the living room. The

kitchen and the restroom were already located at the end of this corridor. Moreover, there was one more room on the right side of the corridor. There was a TV, two sofas and a coffee table in the living room. There were photos of the kids on the wall. At the entrance, it could be seen a frame that was covering prayer. D covered her head with a headscarf tightly; she was wearing a long dark colored dress and woolen socks. She was a tall, thin and dark skinned woman. During our conversation she said that she had hyperthyroid for this reason she could not put on weight. D was quiet cheerful, talkative and frankly. D welcomed us in the living room. At the beginning of the interview she asked her older daughter to bring some tea then we started the conversation. D's daughters were sitting with us. After a while, D's daughter-in-law, who was a tall and dark skinned woman, came, and she covered her hair with a headscarf tightly. Also she could not speak Turkish very well. While we were talking, she was content with just listening and a little later, she returned back to her home. D answered all of our questions frankly. During our conversation she stated that she always did her best for the education of her children. Although she had some serious health problems, she also added that she went for house cleaning only for the well being of her children. After finishing the interview, we thanked and left.

8) MERCAN: M was born in Ankara in 1959. At the age of 20, she got married and settled down in this neighborhood. Since then, she has been living in the same neighborhood. In 1988, they moved to Isparta for her husband's job, however, they came back after nine months. M graduated from primary school and did not continue her education. When she was a teenager, she was helping her mother for the domestic responsibilities. She also states that daughters were mostly not sent to the secondary school after the primary school in the past. After the marriage, her expectations were not met in the marriage, because her husband was drinking so much and he was sometimes beating her. Moreover, he was very jealous of her, she was even not allowed to go outside by herself. She wanted to divorce many times, but her husband threatened her and she had 3 children. However, the bad attitude of her husband had very bad impacts on the children. The children became very aggressive during their adolescent age and two children left their education because

they were very unsuccessful. Although the other daughter wanted to continue her education, her husband did not allow her. M says that she spent many years in order to give a struggle against her husband for her children, but now she has got many serious health problems and daughters' psychology was not good at all. M was living in a house, which was located on the right hand side of a narrow garden. At the entrance of the garden there was a big dog and a little bit far from it there was another big dog. After passing through the garden we entered to the house, in which there was a hall at the entrance and a living room after that. The living room was connected to two other rooms. The living room was quite narrow and there were two couches in it. There were photos of children and grand parents on the walls. M was of middle age, quiet thin and a grey haired woman. During the conversation, she said that she could not put on weight since she had the illness of hyperthyroid. When she greeted us, she was wearing a black long skirt, a dark colored blouse and handmade socks. She was not using headscarf. M was very cheerful, talkative and also had a good pronunciation. When we went for interview, M immediately welcomed us inside the house. Then, she woke up her two daughters sleeping in the room next to the living room. There, they had a little quarrel. When M turned back, although we said that we could come later, she did not accept and said that "It is late, my daughters sleep all the day, it is not good, they watch television too much at night and then they do not wake up early in the morning." Afterwards, the oldest daughter came and welcomed us. When we explained the purpose of the interview, M told her neighbor, who is sitting with us, to go and come later. Then, the neighbor left the house saying good bye. During the conversation, M said that her husband was putting too much pressure on them, this pressure was not so important for her since she was not young anymore but for her daughters being under pressure was a big problem. Moreover, the older daughter started to have psychiatric consultancy. She also added that the dogs in the garden were protecting them. At the end of the interview, M said that she was glad to know us because they could not see different people in the neighborhood; in fact they could not take a walk in the district easily. Then, we thanked and left the house by their help because the dogs were scaring us.

9) **DERYA:** D was born in Çorum-Sungurlu in 1970. At the age of 15 she was arranged to get married to one of the close relatives. After the marriage she migrated to Ankara and started to live with her husband's family in the same neighborhood. Since then she has been living in the same neighborhood. D is a primary school graduate. She states that in the village there was no school rather than the primary school so she had give up her education. However, her burden was very heavy, because she was in charge of taking care of her siblings and helping her mother for the house works and also for the field work. She also adds that she was very young and she had gone through many problems with her husband's family; even she was beaten by them when she got married. She also says that once her husband's parents pushed him so much then her husband broke her arm. She lived with her husband's family for 5 years then they left and started to live alone. After they moved, problems with her husband were mostly solved. Since then, she says that their major problem was about the money. She never worked and she had 4 children. Her daughter is attending to a school in the neighborhood. She is very successful and D states that she is doing her best in order to provide better opportunities for her regarding with the education. D was living in a house, which was located in a big and green garden that was shared with another house. She showed us the chickens, cocks, goose and chicks that they were feeding in the garden and told how much she loves trees and flowers. After going through the garden, we passed a narrow hall, and then we entered into the house. The kitchen was near this entrance and it was connected to the garden via a window. There were two rooms in the house one of them was the bedroom of D and her husband, the other was used as the living room and the children's bedroom. She took us to the living room. There were photos of the children, and prayer scripts and charms across the door, so that everybody could see them, in this room. D was a short, thin and dark haired woman. She covered her hair with a headscarf haphazardly. She wore a very thick dark-colored pullover, a long skirt and handmade thick socks. D was a friendly, cheerful and also very talkative person. After taking us inside the house, D told her daughter to get the tea prepared. However, we said that we wanted to start as soon as possible. Some of D's neighbors came to see us and to know what we were doing there. We explained what we were doing and we kindly requested to interview with D alone. Therefore, they left us

alone and we started our interview. During the interview D often said that “Poverty is very hard to handle, my daughter studies very well and I did my best for this, I applied to many charity organizations and foundations, I went to governmental organizations myself to get an aid, I suffered so much also my relationship with neighbors got worse. However, nothing is important; the important thing is my daughter’s education.”

10) BURÇIN: B was born in Erzurum-Karayazı in 1960. At the age of her 20, she married to her uncle’s son and after the marriage they migrated to Ankara in order to find a job. Her husband gave some amount of golden as a dowry. When they first came to Ankara their relatives helped them to settle down and find a job. After they came to Ankara, they settled down in this neighborhood. Since then they have been living in the same neighborhood. B was illiterate and she stated that daughters were never sent to the school because it was a great shame. She was in charge of helping her mother for the domestic facilities. B had 5 children. Sons are still studying at the school but the others left their education. However, she still misses her homeland so much. B never worked and says that women are not allowed to work outside. B welcomed us in a house, which is located in a big garden, which was full of flowers and trees. The entry door of the house was opened to a hall, in which there was the kitchen, and this entrance was connected to the living room. Around the living room the other rooms were placed. On the walls, there were thin carpets, on which there were the pictures of “Kabe”, and some prayers written on papers. In the living room there was a television. B was a short and a thin woman. She covered her hair with a headscarf tightly and wore a long skirt, a thick pullover and handmade thick socks. Her talking was hard to understand due to her unhealthy teeth. At the beginning of our interview, B stated that she did not know Turkish very well, and asked whether her daughter could stay with us. We said that it was not a problem, she could stay. When a man from their neighbor came to ask something, B immediately controlled her headscarf whether it was tight or not and told her daughter-in-law who was serving us tea to go to another room. Then, the daughter-in-law gave up the tea tray and went to the other room. After the man left the house, the daughter-in-law returned and continued to serve tea. Since B could not

understand most of the questions; her daughter frequently translated some of the questions into Kurdish. B did not answer the political questions and said that she did not have any opinion about politics. Meanwhile, B's mother-in-law came and asked something to B in Kurdish. After she answered the question of her mother-in-law, B translated us what they talked about in Kurdish and said that her mother-in-law just wondered about what we were talking. Then, the mother-in-law left smiling; next we thanked and left the house.

11) SALİHA: S was born in Ankara-Haymana in 1958. She spent her childhood in Haymana. At the age of 17, she got married and migrated to this neighborhood. Since then she has been living there. However, her husband left her alone because of another woman, and she has been living separately for 7 years. S is a primary school graduate and she was not a very successful student. She had 3 children. All of them graduated from high school, but the son is still studying for the university entrance exam. S never worked and states that if she was educated, she would find a good job and have the capability of supporting herself and her children. Now, she is totally dependent on the money belonging to his husband. Moreover, it is impossible to find a job because of her health problems. She also adds that if she finds a job, she could not leave her children alone because the neighborhood is very dangerous. S also states that she applied to many organizations because of the donation, but any of them helped them. She also adds that discrimination was one of the reasons that they could not get the help, because they were Kurdish. Now, S's youngest daughter, her husband and her little daughter are also living with them and this renders the conditions more difficult. S was living in a house, which was located in a garden that was shared with another house. The entrance door of the house was directly opened to the living room, which was connected to another small room. When S welcomed us, her mother, who was living with them, was irritated because of untidiness of the house and apologized by saying "Please excuse us". In the living room, there were two old couches and a very thin carpet on the ground. There was no television nor a curtain hanged over the window; only a very old curtain hanged carelessly at the window of the small room. Later, S's older daughter showed us their bedroom that she was using with her husband. There were no carpet on the ground, only a quiet old

bed and a portable wardrobe used to put their old clothing. In this room, there was a small rectangular concrete area, which was separated by cement. She showed us this place and said that they were using this area as a bathroom, and used to have their bath here, but for children, especially for the little baby this condition was really hard to handle. Like in the other houses, kitchen was outside the home in the garden. S was a thin, short, hard smoker, and light skinned woman. She was not using a headscarf. She was wearing a grey trouser, a pullover, woolen socks and slippers. Her appearance was too tough and authoritarian. When S took us inside the house for interview, she said her older daughter (P) to bring tea quickly. After then, P asked the question "Glasses?" and S answered "Go and borrow from the neighbor!" roughly. Then, grandmother started to cry. When we said that we could postpone the interview to another day, they told that they could continue and there was no need to postpone it. However, grandmother continued to cry and added that "Please excuse us, our behavior is a result of our poverty." After waiting for a while for grandmother to become calm, we said that we could start whenever they are ready. Then, we started to interview. During the conversation, S's son came and said welcome and then left. During the interview, S often said that "Poverty is not a shame, stealing is a shame, I can starve but I never steal and I never accept help offer of other people." She said that she tried so much for the continuation the education of her daughters, but they did not study. Now she was pushing her son to study. She complained that after her husband left them, everything were getting worse, because she had to live with the problems of children, in addition to these problems, her sister was also suffering from cancer. Since her mother was feeling worried and so sad for all these troubles. S was also very afraid of her mother to become ill. As time passed, S became more comfortable and answered our questions frankly. After finishing the conversation we thanked and left the house.

12) DURDU: D was born in Çorum in 1960. She had 4 siblings. She was the eldest one. She never went to the school. She states that she never knew anything something about school. Moreover, sending daughters to the school was a great shame. D never attended to the school and she helped her mother for the house works and also she was working in the field. Then at the age of her 17 she got married to a

relative. She had so many problems with her husband in their marriage. She says that her husband was also beating and this was mainly based on their poor living conditions. Then, 24 years ago they decided to migrate to Ankara in order to find a regular job, and her brother-in-laws, who migrated to Ankara one year before their migration, helped them for finding a good job and also for settling down in Ankara. Since then, she has been living in this neighborhood but she still misses her homeland so much. D was working in the field when she was in the village but after the arrival at Ankara she never worked. She had 4 children. She wanted her children to have a good career, but they did not continue their education. She further adds that financial difficulties also affected this situation so much. However, the youngest daughter is a successful student. D was living in a house, which was located in a garden that was shared with other four houses. The entrance door of the house was directly opened to the living room; other rooms were connected to this living room. Kitchen, like in the other houses, was in the entry of the house and the only connection of the kitchen with the garden was a window. There were a stove, a television at the corner and an electric heater working in front of the television in the living room. Two couches were placed in the living room so that people sitting on these couches can see television easily. Right in the middle of the living room there was a tripod. There were old photos on the walls and framed prayers written on a paper hanging on the wall at the entrance of the room. D was a quiet fat, dark haired and dark skinned woman, and had black eyes. She covered her hair with a headscarf untidily showing some part of her hair. She wore a long skirt, a woolen tight trouser under the skirt, a very thick pullover, a sweater and handmade socks. She showed us great hospitality. D took us to the living room and told her younger daughter to serve us some tea, which was boiling outside. After the tea service, D sat down near the stove on the ground and replied our questions in this way. During the interview, the room was very crowded and we told that we wanted to be alone with D. After that, we had a chance of staying alone with D, her two daughters and two grandchildren. During the conversation, D continuously stated that she showed respect to students and education; moreover, she told that she wanted her older daughter to study so much, but she did not study. D also added that there was no way other than education. After finishing the conversation we thanked and left the house.

13) **REMZİYE:** R was born in Erzurum-Karayazı in 1936. She migrated to Ankara with her husband 24 years ago because most of their relatives left the village and her brother-in-laws have already migrated to Ankara. Then, they then to settle down in Ankara. When they came to Ankara, they settled down in Dikmen, area then they moved to this neighborhood. R and her family have been living in this neighborhood for 8 years, but she still misses her neighborhood. R was illiterate. Since there was no school in the village, either she or her siblings did not have any chance to have education. At the age of her 18, she got married. At the beginning she had a religious wedding, after migration to Ankara she also had an official wedding ceremony. R has 6 children. Moreover, the children did not continue their education. R states that she wanted her children to have a good career but the father did not do anything about it and they were not sent to the school after the primary school. For this reason, she feels herself very uncomfortable. R was living in a house, which was located in a garden that was shared with other three houses. The house had two rooms and an entrance. There were many pictures of religious people and photos of children hanging on the walls. There were flowerpots in front of the windowsill, and the scenery out of the window was the garden. There was an old couch, which could be used as a bed additionally, cushions on the floor and a colored television in the room. R welcomed us in a long, colored and thick clothes; her hair was covered with a headscarf tightly. She had dark skin and brown eyes. Besides, she was tall and thin. She wore handmade colored thick socks with flower figures. Her pronunciation was quiet fluent and clear. She also mentioned about her Kurdish speaking skill. Since the weather was cold, R took us to the living room. During our conversation she answered our questions very frankly and she strongly desired good education opportunities for her children especially for her daughter. Therefore, they would have a chance to live in a better neighborhood than Çandarlı. R showed us great hospitality and offered many meals and drinks many times. At the end of the interview, she expressed her positive feelings about the conversation and said she would like to see us again. Then, we thanked and left R's home.

14) **ASLIHAN:** A was born in Erzurum-Çavuşlar in 1972. She had 7 siblings. When she was 16, she got married to her aunt's son. After the marriage, they migrated to Ankara in order to find a job for his husband. Since then she has been living in the same neighborhood. At first, she had a religious wedding because of her age and at the age of her 18; she had had an official wedding ceremony. A is illiterate. She wanted to be a teacher so much, but she was not sent to the school by her family because of her domestic responsibilities. However, her brothers were sent to the school and some of them graduated from the high school. Now, A has 4 children. She thinks that 2 would be enough, but she had the other two children accidentally. She also says that it is impossible for her to send all the children to the university because of the economic difficulties. Under these circumstances she would prefer her sons to continue their education. She also states that she never worked, but she always wanted to work, however, she was not allowed by either her family or her husband. A was living in a house, which was located in a garden that was shared with other three houses. The house had one entrance and two rooms, one of which was used as living room. There were many pictures of religious people and prayers written on papers hanged on the walls of the house. Also, it was possible to see the photos of children everywhere in the house. In the living room, there were two old and bad looking couches, one television and many flowerpots at the window. The window was seeing the garden. A wore a cotton flowered cloth, handmade quite thick socks on her feet; and she covered her hair with a headscarf tightly. A was tall, fat and dark haired woman and had black eyes. It was hard to understand her talking in Turkish; during the interview she said that she knew Kurdish very well. Since the weather was so cold, they took us to the living room, where there was a stove. All members of the family and neighbors visiting A were sitting there. Since we stated that we wanted to be alone during the conversation, the neighbors said goodbye and left the house. Then, daughter of A served us very hot tea by saying that "It warms you up". Meanwhile, A told something in Kurdish to her daughter and she turned us and said "I shall prepare something to eat if you are hungry". We thanked and offered to start the interview instead. During the interview, A requested help from her daughter how to give her answers and explanations in Turkish. After she replied questions of her mother in Kurdish, the daughter turned us and translated the answers

of A to Turkish. While talking, most of the time A stated that her greatest wish was to provide good education opportunities for her children; therefore she was trying to do her best. In her opinion, only if they were educated very well, they would not be living under bad circumstances like her. After finishing our interview, we thanked and left the house.

15) NERİMAN: N was born in Çankırı-Kurşunlu in 1939. She had 5 siblings. She is illiterate. She was not sent to the school by her family. She states that she wanted to go to school so much, but she was not sent. She was helping her mother for the house works. Her father was a tough guy and he was beating both her (and the siblings) and her mother so much. However, she had many good friends in the homeland and she still misses them and her memories. She also says that if she had a chance she wants to go back to the village. She got married at the age of 22 despite her father's disapproval. One year after her marriage, she migrated to this neighborhood in order to find a regular job for her husband. Since then she has been living in this neighborhood. About the marriage, she says that she had so many hard times, because her husband was always beating her even during the first night of their marriage. N had 4 children and none of them completed their education despite the fact that she did her best for them in order to have a good career. She also adds that she lost the contact with one of the sons, because she was beaten by her son terribly once, because she never approved her son's marriage with the woman whom was chosen by her son. N also had some serious health problems and had operation for 5 times and during these operations she benefited from her husband's social security. N still misses her homeland and confesses her regret about this disapproved marriage, then she adds that if she had today's mind she would not get married and would choose the freedom. Additionally, N's daughter is engaged with a foreigner and she wants to organize a great wedding ceremony for her daughter. However, she does not give herself so much chance about this subject because of their poor economic difficulties. She also thinks that her husband is very frugal, so it is so hard to organize a successful ceremony. N's home was in the middle of an upright road and was one of the houses, which were placed in a garden. When we entered to the garden, we saw the kitchen of the house from a window of it. After passing the hall,

there were a living room on the right hand side and two rooms on the left hand side. They took us to the living room. The living room was wider and more illuminated compared to the other houses that we visited. There were two couches facing one another, a television and a tripod in the middle of them. The window, whose scene was garden, was ornamented with flowerpots. Also, there were pictures of the family members and prayers written on a piece of paper on the walls. N was of medium height, light skinned and slightly fat, and had light-brown eyes. She wore a cotton flowered cloth and handmade thick socks; there was no headscarf covering her hair. Sometimes it was really hard for us to understand her talk because of her unhealthy teeth. She was very talkative, cheerful and sincere. We implemented the interview in the living room. Daughter of N asked us to drink something. When we said that we could drink some tea, she and N said that “We never drink tea except fruit tea.” N said that she has not been drinking tea since her childhood because her mother prevented her from drinking this kind of things offered by another person. Hence, N was grown up in this way. Although we kindly rejected the fruit tea offer and tried to finish interview as soon as possible, they served us fruit tea. Meanwhile, N stated crying that she wanted at most to organize a good marriage ceremony for her daughter but her husband did not give money and support for this event. After finishing the interview, we thanked and left the house.

16) ELİF: E was born in Kastamonu in 1948. She migrated to Ankara 40 years ago. She lived very hard times during her childhood. She had 4 siblings and she was the oldest. She states that her mother got married for 4 times and left them when she was 4 years old and she was not grown up with her siblings. She also says that her mother never loved her and she remembers her mother’s spanking terribly. After her mother left, her aunt-in-law took care of her. However, she could not get along very well with her and she was often beaten by her. Moreover, she was engaged to a very old man without being informed and her father was also paid for her dowry. Finally, she ran away from home and she was sheltered in one of the acquaintance’s house. Then she started to live with the acquaintance. Then they migrated to Ankara because of the acquaintance. Then they settled down in Dışkapı-Boğaziçi area. She was helping her for the housework and also taking care of her pet animals. Then

when she was 17, she got married to a Kurdish man who was a waiter in a restaurant. Then she and her husband started to live in this neighborhood. She states that she always had terrible quarrels with her husband, because her husband was drinking alcohol so much and also cheating her with many women. However, she could not divorce because she had 8 children. One of the children passed away because of a traffic accident and they were paid some amount of money because of his death. Then they bought this house with that money. Another child also passed away when she was six months old because of a serious illness. Then a few years ago her husband died of cancer and after the death they lived very hard times, because official procedures took so much time for having the dead husband's salary. E was illiterate, she states that she wanted to have a good education so much but it was almost impossible and adds that if she had had a good career, she would not have been suffered so much. However, E also says that she did her best for her children's having a good education, and except the youngest daughter, all of them are high school graduates. The youngest is still continuing his education and she is very successful. Then, E was living in a house, which was located in a garden shared with other three houses. We arrived to the house through a narrow and upright road in the garden. There were two rooms, one of which was used as living room, and a hall. We were welcomed in the living room. Starting from the entrance, there were many charm beads, written prayers that protect the house from bad souls and dried garlic hanging on the corners of the house. There were photo frames of children and older members of the family. In this living room there was a television. E was of medium height and dark brown haired woman. She covered her hair with a headscarf haphazardly. She wore a very long skirt, a handmade thick sweater and handmade thick socks. She seems older than her real age. E was quite lovely, frankly and had a sense of humor. Her accent was not clear. Since it was early in the morning when we arrived to the E's home, they were carrying breakfast food from the ground, where they were eating them, to the kitchen. They offered us to have breakfast with them; however, we told them we wanted to start the interview as soon as possible. Then E's daughter served us tea, which was boiling on a tube in the kitchen. E's son came to the living room while we were interviewing. After saying welcome he left the room. At the beginning of the interview, E told us her interesting and long story briefly.

However, as time passed she gave all the details of her story. She said that after her the death of her husband, the troubles she was facing decreased and now she was happy with her life. In the past bad events happened, she stated. After finishing the interview, she wanted us to stay more and insisted. Thus, we stayed and drank some more tea and then we thanked and left E's home. While we were leaving, she told that the uptown called Kartallar District was not safe and dangerous for us for going alone. Additionally, she offered that her son could come with us, but we replied with our thanks that we would go to downtown instead.

17) AJDA: A was born in 1963 in Ordu-Kumru. She got married in 1980 despite her family' disapproval of the marriage and migrated to Ankara in 1991. When she got married, she was living with her husband's family but she could not get along with her mother in-law. Then her husband could not find a job, so they migrated to Ankara to her brother-in-law's house in order to find a job. Then, they moved to another house in the neighborhood. Since then she has been living in the same neighborhood. A had 7 siblings. She spent her childhood in a crowded family. After the fourth grade in primary school, she did not continue her education because of very intensive domestic responsibilities. She states that she was spending most of her time by working in the field, helping her mother for the housework and milking their cows and she did not have enough time for studying. She also adds that other siblings left the primary school as well. A had 3 children and the youngest daughter is a successful student. A states that she wants her to continue her education and have a good career and also have a good marriage. A never worked. However, she states that she is still making some handcrafts for supporting the household expenses. A was living in a house, which was located in a garden that was shared with other two houses. We arrived to the house through a narrow and upright road in the garden. There were two rooms, one of which was used as living room, and a hall. We were welcomed in the living room. In addition to prayers written on a piece of paper to protect the house from bad souls, old pictures and photos were hanging on the walls. There was a television and two very old couches in the sitting room. In front of the window, there were some flowerpots and a good looking hand-knitted curtain hanging. On the tripod, which is in the middle of the room, there were many colorful

hand craft flowers. A was of medium height, having light-colored eyes, brown haired and a fat woman. She was seen older than her real age. She wore a colored and thick cloth and flowered pajamas. Her speech was hardly understood since her teeth were not complete. A was quiet lovely, cheerful and she also had a great sense of humor. After inviting us to the living room, the daughter of A, who was 15 years old, served us some tea, which was boiling. Later, the neighbors of A, who were sitting in the room, welcomed us and left the house. Since we had a chance to have a comfortable interview with A. A frequently told us how much she loves her daughter and sometimes she has the blues, because she never wants her daughter's future life to resemble her own life. At the end of the interview, A said that she was very glad to know us, rarely different people came and visit this neighborhood and her house.

18) YELİZ: Y was born in Nevşehir-Ürgüp in 1961. She migrated to Ankara in 1970 with her family because her father was a construction worker and their relatives living in Ankara found a job for him then they moved to Ankara. When they came to Ankara, she and her family settled down in Çankaya area. She married at the age of 17 despite her father's disapproval and moved to this neighborhood with his husband because of marriage. She also states that she feels so sorry about not taking her father's advices into consideration about the marriage and adds that she has been suffering from poverty because of her wrong decision. Y had one sister and one brother. She was a good student but she was not sent to the school after the primary school. However, her parents did not send any of the children to the school after the primary school. She says that she wanted to attend the university, but she could not, and instead of going to university, she was dealing with the house works. She also adds that she was happy with it, because she does not like to spending time without doing anything. She has been living in Çandarlı since her marriage. She had 2 sons and 1 daughter. Her daughter has recently graduated from the university and the others are very successful. Y worked in textile sector at the age of her 25. Although her husband and family did not approve her decision, later they approved it because of the financial difficulties. Then she gave up working, because her husband preferred to take less responsibility about earning the household's living. Later, she did some embroidery at home to support the living and children's educational

expenses. Now, she states that she could not do, because her sight is getting weaker. Y was living in a house, which was located in a garden that was shared with another house. We reached to the house through a narrow and upright road in the garden. The house was low and crowded but had a room and a hall. They took us to a living room, since the stove was there; Y, her daughter and her little son were sitting there. There were two couches, old pictures on the wall and the photo frames of the children in the room. Again, in the entrance, there were some written prayers on a piece of paper hanged on the wall to save the house and people living there. Y was of medium height, a little bit fat and dark skinned woman; she tied her hair with a headscarf haphazardly. Her accent was not clear. Later, she said that she and her family migrated from Salonica. Since the weather was cold, we sat in the same room with the other members of the family during the interview. Sometimes, Y pointed out to her sick son by crying and, stating her helplessness, she said that the son was so sick last night and she couldn't take him to the emergency due to poor economic conditions. She offered us to drink something but we did not accept this because the kitchen was outside the house and bringing something from there would make her very tired and the weather was also too cold. She said that she was used to these kinds of things showing her deep purple hands due to cold water and weather. Then, we thanked and said that we wanted to end the interview as soon as possible. At the end of the interview, she stated that she wanted her daughter, who graduated from university this year, to find a good job so much and she also stated that she and her daughter were leaving from home very early in the morning in order to make applications to some of the firms which were included in the yellow pages of the newspaper. Then, she asked us to help about finding a job for her daughter. Then, she noted our phone numbers and the interview finished.

19) ZARİFE: Z was born in Yozgat-Sarıkaya in 1965. Her family migrated to Ankara when she was 8 months-old. At the age of 15, when her mother passed away, she and her family went back to the village. Then, her father married to another woman. She could not get along very well with her step mom and left home, stayed with her aunt for 1 year. After her aunt migrated to Germany as a worker, she went back home. Life was so hard, because she was the eldest child and she was totally

responsible from the domestic responsibilities and her brothers and sisters' care. In the meantime, her father was so harsh to her. Then she got married at the age of 18, she and her husband migrated to Ankara. Her husband also paid 50,000 TL to her father as dowry. Then, she had 4 children. Only her youngest daughter and son are continuing their education. She stated that she is a primary school graduate and she is trying to do her best for her children's having a good education and she always wanted to be a nurse, but it was so hard for her to continue her study in the village. Additionally, Z worked between the years of 1997-1998 with a social security. Then, she gave up her job because her work was so stressful. Now, she wants to find a job again but she could not find. In order to interview with Z, we passed through a narrow and dark entrance. All members of the family came together around a stove in a small room. Contrary to this room, every other place of the house was very cold and dark. However, due to being small, this room was extremely hot. There were 2 couches, which can be used as beds by applying small changes, a television, flowerpots in front of the window and a little lovebird. A few handmade pictures were seen on the wall. Z tied her hair with a headscarf haphazardly and it was impossible to see some parts of her hair. She wore a handmade thick pullover, a tall skirt and again handmade quite thick socks. The color of her hair and eyes were dark. Her accent was also pretty clear. During the interview, her hands, obviously because of using cold water while doing housework, were deep purple and red. During the interview, she said that she drew the handmade pictures seen on the wall and then she showed us some handmade things like earring, necklace and bracelet which were made and sold by her. During the interview, we were obliged to sit in the same room with the other members of the family because of the cold weather. However, since television was on and other people started to a conversation among them as time passed, we could be able to make a comfortable interview. Meanwhile, Z's pregnant bride, Z's daughter, with whom we made another interview later, and her friend were sitting in the same room. The bride served us tea, and then she sat on the pillow that is located on the corner and continued her hand knitting. After a short while, the bride said to Z that she was uncomfortable due to the noise made by Z's daughter and her friend. Then, Z asked her to change her place and to approach to the door.

20) HELİN: H was born in Kars-Kağızman in 1956. She and her family migrated to Ankara because of PKK terrorist attacks 10 years ago. Then, they settled down in this neighborhood. However, they thought that they would not have any problem with terror and went back to Kağızman three years ago. She states that the terror never ended, during the night time, PKK terrorists knock on door for the food and in the morning soldiers knock on door to ask for food and they were scared so much, therefore the family decided to move back to Ankara. Then, they also settled down in the same neighborhood. Since then, they have been living here. She also says that she never wanted to go back to the village, because village was so hard for a woman. There were lots of jobs to do in the village like house works, milking cows, going to the field, children care etc. She also had times during her childhood. She was the eldest daughter and responsible from sharing her mother's burden for both in the house and outside the house. She was never sent to the school because of being a girl. When she was 20, she was engaged with a boy (with her family's consent) who is also a relative of them. She waited for her fiancé's military service for two years. When she was 23, she got married. Her husband paid big amount of money as a dowry, then her family gave this money as a wedding gift. Following years, they had to spend this because of economic difficulties. She also states that after PKK terror, most of the people living in the area lived a great financial crisis. She has got three sons and four daughters. One of the son is still studying at the primary school, but the others did not complete their education after the primary school. She wanted her daughters to be a doctor and sons to be an engineer. However, they were never keen on studying. Now, her eldest son and husband are working in an open air market. She also states that she could not work because nobody gives a job to her because of her being illiterate. She also adds that she is not be allowed by her husband to go to Kızılay or Ulus from her house, and under this circumstances working for her is just a dream. In order to interview with H, we passed through a narrow and dark entrance. Every place of the house was very cold and dark. There were 2 couches, which can be used as beds by applying small changes, a television, flowerpots in front of the window and a little lovebird. A few handmade pictures were seen on the wall. H's hair was covered. She wore a

handmade thick pullover, a tall skirt and again handmade quite thick socks. The color of her hair and eyes were dark. Her accent was also pretty clear. During the interview, her hands, obviously because of using cold water while doing housework, were deep purple and red. Her daughter served us tea then she sat on the pillow that is located on the corner and continued to her hand knitting.

21) AFİFE: A was born in Erzurum-Karayazı in 1958. At the age of her 23, she got married and migrated to Ankara. She has been living in the same neighborhood since then. When they migrated to Ankara, her husband's uncles helped them to settle down in Ankara. She never met her husband before the marriage. Her husband was living in Ankara and her family decreed her to marry. At the beginning, she had religious wedding and many years later, she had the official wedding because of the official procedures for sending children to the school. When she was 7 years old, her mother passed away and she had had hard times. She was very afraid of her father and she always showed respect to him so much. After her mother's passing away, she had to deal with not only all the household duties in the house but also some duties like milking cows, field works etc., outside the house. She was never sent to the school. When they settled down in Ankara, problems never ended. A states that her husband is so aggressive and a strict man. He also does not have a regular job. He has been usually beating her and the children very harshly. She says that she does not feel himself very powerful because of her illiteracy. Her eldest son is disabled because he had an accident related with his hand in the past. His third eldest son is the only person who is working within the household. She has got 4 daughters and 3 sons. Her brother in law is also living with them in the same household. A states that her son earns 200 million T.L. per month and adds that it is impossible to support the family with this amount. A feels very comfortable about her eldest daughter's education and states that they have sacrificed her life because her husband never approved her education. However, she feels herself very lucky because of convincing her husband about the other children's education. Now, 3 of the children are still studying and other three children have already graduated from primary and secondary school. A also states that her illiterate who is the eldest one is currently attending to the sewing-embroidery courses in the neighborhood. In order to

interview with A, we passed through a narrow and dark entrance. There were 2 couches, which can be used as beds by applying small changes, a television, flowerpots in front of the window and a little lovebird. A's hair was covered. She wore a handmade green thick pullover, a tall black skirt and again handmade quite thick socks. The color of her hair and eyes were dark. Her accent was not very clear. During the interview, she introduced her eldest daughter to us and she served us tea. After the interview, we thanked for the interview and then left the house.

22) NİL: N was born in Kırıkkale-Keskin in 1967. At the age of 3, she and her family migrated to Ankara, because of her father's job. She has been living in the same neighborhood since then. She had a twin sister. She was the eldest daughter. She was in charge of all the household duties. She graduated from the primary school, and then she was not sent to the secondary school, because of her responsibilities within the household. When she was 18, she got married. She never met her husband before the marriage. Her husband paid some amount of money as dowry. This was spent for her marriage and given as a gift. She found a job by using her relations in the neighborhood and worked for a cleaning company for three years. She applied for the job without informing her husband. However, later, her husband supported this idea. She also states that working changed many things in her life, but she had to give up because of taking care of her son who was hyperactive. Her husband is working as a security guard for a company with a social security. She also states that she makes and sells some hand crafts in order to support children's education expenses. She has got two children and says that she could do anything in order to make them complete their education and have a career. In the house, there were 3 rooms and 1 living room. They welcomed us in the living room. There were 2 couches, which can be used as beds by applying small changes, a television, and flowerpots in front of the window. N's hair was tightly covered with a dark colored headscarf. She wore a handmade green thick pullover, a tall black skirt and handmade quite thick socks. She was blonde and her eyes were blue. Her accent was very clear. During the interview, she introduced her eldest daughter to us and she served us tea. After the interview, we thanked for the interview and then left the house.

23) **EBRU:** E was born in Çankırı-Çerkez in 1959. Twenty years ago, she migrated to Ankara because of marriage. They first settled down in İsmetpaşa area, after then they moved to this neighborhood. This was E's second marriage. When she was 18, she fell in love with somebody who was their close neighbor in Çankırı-Çerkez. He was also a relative from the mother's line of relatives and her father strongly disapproved this marriage. Then they had a religious wedding. After a while, she had some serious arguments with his husband because of his sisters, and she left him and went back to her parent's house. Then she got married with her family's consent and migrated to Ankara. Then, they had also very serious arguments with her husband. She was beaten very badly so many times because of the problems related with her husband's mother. E was a successful student when she was in the primary school. Since she was the eldest one, she was totally responsible from all the household duties. After the school, she was handling with her siblings the house works. Although her uncle supported her to continue her education, her father did not allow him to continue. Then she gave up her education after completing the primary school. She states that she has got three daughters, except the eldest one, others are still studying successfully and she could do her best in order to continue their education. Her husband has got a regular job with a social security. E also states that their arguments have already ended up after their children have already grown up. However, the eldest one was affected negatively and she gave up her education. She also says that she feels so sad about this situation. In the house, there were 3 rooms and 1 living room. They welcomed us in the living room. There was a little dining table in the middle of the room. There were also 2 couches, which can be used as beds by applying small changes, a television, and flowerpots in front of the window. It was possible to see some photos in frames belonging to the children on the wall. There were also some framed prayers which were hung on the entrance wall. She wore a long grey dress and a red sweater. She was blonde and her eyes were green. Her accent was very clear. After the interview, we thanked for the interview and then left the house.

24) **DİLAN:** D was born in Ankara in 1972. After getting married, she moved to this neighborhood. However, her husband was also living in the same neighborhood. D was grown up in a crowded family with 4 siblings and 5 cousins. After a while, her cousins were sent to the nursery school. Her relations with her mother were in a very good condition but her husband was so strict and they could never get on very well. Her father was a civil servant and her mother was a sewing teacher. D was a successful student. After graduating from high school, she also attended the the police academy. Two years later, she fell in love with her husband and left the school. However, her husband was married to someone else, so her family strongly opposed to this idea. Then she left home and they had a religious wedding. After a while her husband's wife divorced him, and they had an official wedding. She had 2 children from her husband and she also took the responsibility of taking care of the step children. However, they had terrible arguments and problems with his husband. They divorced two years ago, but she could not stand and turned back to her husband. D stated that her husband does still has not have a job, her mother is regularly supporting them financially for the children, in addition to these, her husband is rarely coming to the house. She also adds that her husband is cheating on her with other women and always drinking and smoking. She tried to leave him many times but she could not succeed because of his threats like killing her siblings etc. D also states that she worked as a shop assistant before the marriage. Then her husband disapproved and gave up. She qualifies it as a different experience like meeting different people and living a different life. She also states that she makes some handcrafts and sells them for buying food, and adds that it is so hard to demand money from the family at this age. In the house, there were 2 rooms and 1 living room. They welcomed us in the living room. There were also 2 couches, which can be used as beds by applying small changes, a television. It was possible to see some picture frames belonging to the children on the wall. There were also some framed prayers which were hung on the entrance wall. She wore a long skirt and covered her hair haphazardly. D had dark brown hair and green eyes. Her accent was very clear. After the interview, we thanked for the interview and then left the house.

25) **ESİN:** E was born in Yozgat-Sorgun in 1970. At the age of 11, she was sent to Ankara by her family. She was the eldest daughter of her family. When her father passed away, her mother asked her to go to Ankara and live with her brother who was studying at the school in order to help him for the house works. Then, she came to this neighborhood, and she has been living here since then. During the interview, she said that her relationship with her mother was in a good condition and her relationship with his father was in a form of respect. She also states that she was sharing her mother's burden and they were always getting on very well. During the interview, many times, she said that she misses her mother so much. However, she had 8 siblings and 6 of them were her step siblings. She also shared the responsibility of her mother in taking care of her siblings. For these reasons, she was not allowed to continue her education. Then, she married to her brother's brother-in-law. Then she has lived with her husband's family for a long time. When they were living together, she experienced so many problems with her husband because of his alcoholism. She was also beaten so many times. Then, when they separated their houses, the problems almost ended. E has three children; the eldest son is in the prison because of wounding someone very badly in the neighborhood. Other children are still studying and E stated that she is going to 3 different types of work in 1 day, like babysitting in the morning, then cleaning and housekeeping. She also adds that all she does is for her children's happiness. In the house, there were 2 rooms and 1 living room. They welcomed us in the living room. There were also 2 couches, which can be used as beds by applying small changes, and a television. It was possible to see some picture frames belonging to the children on the wall. There were also some framed prayers which were hung on the entrance wall. She wore a skirt and a green sweater and her hair was not covered. She also wore a necklace and earrings. E was a fat woman and had dark brown short hair and very big black eyes. After the interview, we thanked for the interview and then left the house.

26) **BETÜL:** B was born in Çankırı in 1964. However, her family moved to Kırıkkale when she was a very little girl. Then her family lived a big trouble with the other families because of their security, family decided to move to Ankara. At the age of her 8, they migrated to Ankara and settled down in this neighborhood. Since

then, she has been living in this neighborhood. She had 4 brothers and one sister. Her relationship with her mother was always very good. Nevertheless, during the interview, she stated that her mother was sometimes beating her because of not helping her for the house works while her father was always trying to protect her. She also stated that she loved her father much more than her mother. She was always helping her mother for the house works and also for the field works outside the house. For this reason, she and her sister were never sent to the school but her brothers were. Following those years, her sister got married and she passed away when she was 7 months old pregnant. She states that they lived very hard times, and her family gave all the love belonging to her sister, to B after her sister's passing away. She also declares that this was a great burden for her and it was so hard to carry that burden, in addition to these her responsibilities have also increased so much. When she was 17, she was married to a man with her family's consent without meeting him before. She states that she had 3 children and she wanted them to complete their education and adds that except one of them, they were never keen on studying. She also says that she loves both studying and the people who are studying. Moreover, she spent so much effort and learned how to read while her children were going to primary school. During the interview, she also stated that if her husband were better educated, he would have a better job. She also talked about some problems related with using electricity illegally, for this reason, last year, they had to pay large amount of money, they loaned from some of her relatives and now they are trying to pay back. She also mentioned that she bought a second hand sewing machine and selling some items in the neighborhood and sometimes goes to other rich neighborhoods in order to sell some trousseau. Then she adds that life is so hard and it is necessary to do these. In the house, there were 2 rooms and 1 living room. They welcomed us in the living room. There were also 2 couches, which can be used as beds by applying small changes, and a television. It was possible to see some picture frames belonging to the children on the wall. There were also some framed prayers which were hung on the entrance wall. She wore a long black skirt and a black sweater and covered her hair haphazardly. She was very tall and had huge shoulders. Her hair was very dark and her eyes were dark brown. By the way, some neighbors living in the next room were speaking another language. When we asked

which language that was, she replied that they were speaking Armenian. On the other hand, she suddenly stated that they were not Armenian. During the interview, her daughter served us tea and a special kind of traditional meal. After the interview, we thanked for the interview and then left the house.

27) SATI: S was born in Ankara in 1966 in the neighborhood. At the age of her 4, her father passed away because of a severe traffic accident. After then, her mother was arranged to marry to S's oldest uncle. When she grew up, problems began. Her step father never liked her and she was sent to her grandmother's house. They were getting on very well and she was always helping her grandmother in house works. During the interview, many times she stated that she was missing her mother so much, but she could not even go and visit her because of her step father whom was her uncle. When she was 9 years old, she was sent to the school and she was very successful, also her teachers always supported her during her school years. Then, when she was 13, she saw her husband and fell in love. However, another man from the family came to see her for prospects of a future marriage. Then he liked her so much and wanted to marry. She states that I sobbed and whipped for many hours and I was almost starving. Then, she decided to send a letter to her husband. When her uncle heard the letter, he incarcerated her and he torched her terribly. Finally, her husband could not stand and he and his mother came to meet her family. When husband's mother stated that her son wanted to marry S that he saw and loved so much before, S's uncle strongly refused them by stating that it is against their traditions, and S is not capable to decide by herself about a serious subject like marriage. Then he asked a great amount of money as a dowry. On the other hand, her husband and mother visited so many times and they already made a deal about the amount of the dowry. Then, S left the school, and they got married. However, she then lived very hard times. She had some terrible arguments with her husband, because he was drinking alcohol, he was gambling as well. Then, these quarrels always ended. Later, S had 5 children. Her eldest daughter had a similar problem like hers before getting married. S's sister-in-law wanted S's daughter to marry her son. Then they arranged the engagement matters. However, S's daughter struggle against this engagement and broke up. S confesses that she made a big mistake, because she

had seriously beaten her daughter so many times. Now, she swears to God that she would never make this kind of mistake once again. Then, she adds that her daughter is married to a man now and she is very happy. However, she states that her daughter, who is at her 17, has got a serious genetic illness and she will lose her walking ability in the future. She also says that they were not provided a green card due to the bad relationship with the local chief of the neighborhood. Then, they used her sister-in-law's daughter's green card for the treatment. However, when it was understood, they had to give up. Now, they can not afford because of the money. She also states that the only thing that she wants is her daughter's survival and she was going to some close neighborhoods in order to sell some trousseau items for earning their livings. Now, she states that she could not do because of her daughter's health. In the house, there were 2 rooms and 1 living room. They welcomed us in the living room. There were also 2 couches, which can be used as beds by applying small changes, and a television. It was possible to see some picture frames belonging to the children on the wall. There were also some framed prayers which were hung on the entrance wall. S had reddish hair and dark blue eyes. She wore a long black skirt and a white sweater and covered her hair haphazardly. She was very slim and so beautiful. During the interview, she also stated that they were speaking Armenian within the household, not outside. However, she also stated that they were not Armenian, they only speak their languages. On the other hand, she suddenly stated that they were not Armenian. During the interview, her daughter served us tea. After the interview, we thanked for the interview and then left the house. After the interview, she also took me to the house, where her daughter-in-law who had the same illness was living, with her daughter. There was a couch in the middle of the room. The woman was sitting on the couch. She was disabled, she could not either talk or move. She was living by herself. S and her daughter were often visiting her and assisting her in meeting her basic personal hygiene and excretory needs, and also they were serving meal. The house was very cold and dark. There were no curtains at all. There were a few stuffs in the house and inside was very stinky. The scene was almost unbelievable.

28) **KERİMAN:** K was born in Ankara-Haymana in 1968. She had 5 siblings and she was the eldest daughter in the family. She was not only helping her mother for the house works, but also helping some field works out of the house. Her relations with both her mother and father were always in a good condition. Moreover, her father rose her up like a boy, because of not having a son. He taught her to drive some machines and repairing some devices. She also states that he was always taking her with him while he was going to the field. However, she was never sent to the school because of being a girl. At the age of 15, she married to their neighbor's son. They had a religious wedding first. Two years later, some Government officials came to the village for arranging official weddings, so they also had an official wedding. After the marriage, her husband found a job in an open air market in Ankara and they migrated to Ankara, since then they have been living in this neighborhood. Then, she had 3 children. However, she was having very serious arguments with her husband. Then her husband found a woman and had a religious wedding with her and left them. Nevertheless, he was sometimes coming and visiting them. Then, she got pregnant but her husband and lover were totally against it so she had an abortion. Then, her husband broke up and came back home again. K states that he unfortunately has another lover and he rarely comes and visits them. K wants to work so much in order to support her children's education. She states that they are successful students and a better education needs more money. Her husband never lets her work outside the house. K states that she is trying to sell some handcrafts, but this is not enough and also adds that her daughter's teacher is supporting her financially for a better future. In the house, there were 2 rooms and 1 living room. They welcomed us in the living room. There were also 2 couches, which can be used as beds by applying small changes, and a television. It was possible to see some picture frames belonging to the children on the wall. There were also some framed prayers which were hung on the entrance wall. K had black hair and dark brown eyes. She wore a long black skirt and a black sweater and covered her hair haphazardly. She was slim and short. She was not very talkative and sometimes, she felt so sad and cried. Then, we tried to make her calm down and listened to her for a long time. During the interview, her daughter served us tea. After the interview, we thanked and left the house.

29) GÜNHAN: G was born in Aksaray- Ortaköy in 1972. She had 8 siblings. Her relations with her siblings were always in a good condition. Although her mother was beating her sometimes because of not helping her in house works, G was stating that she loved her mother and father so much. She also added that her father was mostly protecting her against her mother's violence. However, during the interview, many times she stated that she misses those days so much because, now life is harder than those days. She was never sent to the school because of being a girl so she was illiterate. Moreover, there was no school other than primary school. For a girl, it was impossible to attend a school in town on her own. At the age of 14, she was engaged, and then she got married. Her husband was one of the family's relatives. However, she had so many problems with her husband during the marriage because of financial scarcity. Moreover, he was drinking and beating her very badly. Then, she got 3 children. 3 years ago, one of her relatives helped her husband to find a job in Ankara so they migrated to Ankara and settled down in this neighborhood. Since then, she has been living in this neighborhood. G says that she is trying her best in order to provide a better future for her children. She also states that she is making and selling some handcrafts. She also states that her children tie her to life. In the house, there were 2 rooms and 1 living room. They welcomed us in the living room. There were 1 couch, which can be used as a bed by applying small changes, and a television. It was possible to see some picture frames belonging to the children on the wall. G had dark blonde hair and dark green eyes. She wore a long red dress and with colorful flowers on it. She was tall and huge shoulders. During the interview, her daughter served us tea. After the interview, we thanked and left the house.

30) ESMA: E was born in Erzurum-Akyazı in 1972. She migrated to Ankara because of marriage. She had 10 siblings. When she was very young, her mother passed away. However, her step mother was so harsh to her. She had to take care of both her siblings and the housework. In other case, she and her father were beating them so much. She was sent to the primary school by her grandfather. He wanted me to study so much, but she never wanted to study. She hated her school and always running from the school. Then, she states that she would continue her education, at

least she would graduate from the secondary school, so things would be easier now. She might have found a good job. At the age of 17, she was married to one of her relatives with the consent of her family. However, she was eager to marry because she wanted to escape from that house as soon as possible. At first, they had a religious wedding. When she gave a birth, they also had an official wedding because of the official procedures for children's identity cards. She had 4 children. She also states that she was beaten by her husband almost every day. She does not like this situation and says that these conditions also affect the children very negatively. She also declares that she is making and selling some handcrafts especially for her children. She tries to do her best in order to save her children from this catastrophe. She also said that she wanted to work so much but neither her mother-in-law, nor her husband allowed her to work outside. They made a comment that working was a great sin for a woman according to their religion. In the house, there were 3 rooms and 1 living room. They welcomed us in the living room. There were 3 couches, which can be used as a bed by applying small changes, and a television. It was possible to see some picture frames belonging to the children and some framed prayer hung on the wall. E had very dark black hair and dark brown eyes. She wore long black skirt and a dark green sweater. She also covered her hair haphazardly. Her accent was not very clear and her daughter sometimes helped us in translating some questions in to Kurdish. She was very tall and also fat. During the interview, her daughter served us tea. After the interview, we thanked and left the house.

APPENDIX E

NOTES FROM DAUGHTERS' INTERVIEWS

- 1- **BELMA:** B was born in 1986 in Ankara. Her parents are from Erzurum. She has been living in Çandarlı since she was born. B was a slim and a middle height girl. She had black curly hair and deep brown eyes. She combed her hair as a pony tail at the back of her head. She was wearing a grey skirt and a black-white shirt. She liked speaking very much and shed a smiled face. We had our conservations with her and her mother in the same place. Although she was a successful and hardworking student, she left school at the fifth grade of her primary education. However, she hated her teachers because her teachers were not easygoing persons and they were sometimes beating her. As a result, she hated the school. Her greatest ideal was to be an engineer, and she was very good at science and mathematics. About marriage, she explained that she had no idea about it, and also no right on a decision related with her marriage. In the future, she will get married to a person whom her family selects or approves. According to her, the person whom she gets married should definitely not be like her father. However, she did not explain the reasons of this idea. She thinks that her brothers are very lucky, because they have a chance to have a good education due to the fact that they are male. She also adds that they could advance their studies as far as they want. She does not have any expectations from the future. She thinks that she has an ordinary life and feels herself very insecure. She claims that the main responsibilities of the state are educational affairs and preventing any discrimination between male and female.

- 2- **TANSU:** T was born in Ankara in 1983. Her parents are from Erzurum. She has been living in Çandarlı since she was born. T was a medium height and a very slim girl. She had long and curly hair. She was wearing black shirt and

long black skirt. She was smiling, but it sounded that she did not like speaking so much. She was a very idle and a lazy student at school. When she was dismissed from the third year of secondary school, she gave up her education in spite of her mother's wishes. Later she attended Koran courses for two years, but she said that she could not read anymore because she almost forgot everything about it. On the other hand, she feels so upset about her current situation. Today, she wants to work very much, but her level of education is not sufficient to find a good job. About working, her family is very conservative and strict against her because her family thinks that the area where they live is very dangerous for a girl. During the interview she also stated that she is very scared of marriage, because she saw many unhappy marriages and also divorces around her. She does not want to get married any more. According to her, income is very important in marriage. She does not want to get married to a person like her father because her father is a craftsman and he can not earn enough to support their lives and she also thinks that the main reason behind suffering from poverty is her father. In the future, she expects a successful marriage and she feels herself very secure because of her family.

- 3- **ZERGÜN:** Z was born in Ankara in 1988. Her parents migrated from Ordu because of her brother's health problems. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. Z was a middle height and a slim girl. She had very long and blonde hair. She was wearing a red T-shirt and a black skirt. It sounded that she did not like speaking so much. We had an interview in the same place with her mother. She spent her childhood in the same neighborhood. She defined this area as a conservative strict and also unsafe. She was graduated from primary school. She wanted to be a lawyer, but because of lack of money, her father did not let her go on her study. About the marriage, she states that she will be supposed to marry a man whom her family approves and this person might be a person whom she does not have any idea about him. However, she does not want to marry a person like her father. She also says that her father is very conservative and a closed minded person. She strongly wants to have a job and thinks that working might change the atmosphere of the place where she lives in.

4- **CEYHAN:** C was born in 1985 in Ankara. Her parents are from Kırıkkale. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. C was tall and also a slim girl. She was white skinned and had brown eyes. Her hair was short and she was wearing trousers and red blouse. She was studying Turkish Language and Literature at the University of Kırıkkale. She was a successful student during her education. Due to the poor economic conditions, she could not attend a prep course for the university entrance exam. Therefore, her exam scores allowed her to attend to this department of the university. However, she always wanted to study Psychology. About the marriage, she thinks that mutual understanding and respect are the most important concepts for the marriage. Otherwise, it is almost impossible to go through a successful marriage. She also adds that the person whom she wants to get married must have a good job. Occupation is very important for her. She does not either want to marry to a person like her father, because of her father's negative attitudes and behaviors towards her mother. She thinks that her father is so rude and drinks so much alcohol; furthermore, their poverty is the result of his insensible behaviors. She claims that in this neighborhood women have no rights and this area is very unsafe for a woman especially during the night time. She wants to have a good job and change her environment and protect her family from this neighborhood. However, her father strictly wants to live in this neighborhood, while she and her mother never want. She expresses her feelings about it by stating that she cannot wear whatever she wants and she cannot go outside whenever she wants. She also says that she admires her mother and adds that if she did not work, their life would be terrible and she feels a great sympathy for her mother because of sacrificing herself for her and brother's happiness.

5- **TANSEL:** T was born in Ankara in 1990. Her parents are from Çorum-Sungurlu. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. T was a very slim and a tall girl. She had black hair and brown eyes. She was wearing brown trousers and white t-shirt. She was a student at Hıdırlıktepe Primary School. While she was very good at her lessons, she does not like her school anymore. She thinks that the neighborhood, where the school is located, is very insecure and the quality of education is too low despite the fact that the building seems beautiful from the

outside. She also adds that mostly, teachers are not coming to the classes during the lesson time and the number of teachers is inadequate. She wants to be a police and she wants to buy a house in different place for her family. She loves her father and she wants to marry to a person like her father. According to her, ethics and having a good occupation are the main criteria for a successful marriage. She hates the place where she lives in and adds that she could not have freedom in this area. For example, she was playing chess two years ago, but now she could not because the organization which arranges these activities is not organizing this kind of activities anymore because of the neighborhood.

- 6- **GÜLPERİ:** G was born in Aksaray in 1986. She and her mother migrated from Aksaray three months ago in order to chase her father. Now, her father is not living with them and living with another woman. G was a tall and a fat girl. She was wearing a green pullover and a long flowered skirt. She had big hands because of hard domestic works at home and she covered her head very ordinarily. She came to Ankara three months ago with her mother and sisters. She attended primary school in a village in Aksaray. Since there was not a secondary school and because of the poor economic conditions she could not continue her education. In regard with this, she stated that if she had been a male, she would have been sent to the school in the neighboring town for her education. G was feeling very negative against the thought of marriage. Since her father left her mother because of a mistress, they left their houses in the village in order to chase him. She also adds about her father that he is living now with another woman, and he is not taking care of them anymore. She does not expect anything from the future. She says that since they cannot afford the day, how she could expect anything from the future. G does not like this neighborhood and since they are from Tebers, no one wants to establish a relationship with them. When they came to Ankara, no one helped them even they could not find food and they lived very hard days. (When she was expressing her feelings about it, the volume of her voice suddenly increased and she was behaving very reactive.) By the way, G misses her village so much and wants to go back as soon as possible. G also approves the dowry and states that it is necessary, because her mother does not support her marriage without dowry.

- 7- **SELİN:** S was born in Ankara in 1982. Her parents are from Sungurlu. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. S was a medium height and a fat girl. She also had short and blond hair. She was wearing jeans and t-shirt. She was very glad to talk to us. She was studying Public Finance at Dumlupınar University in Kütahya. She is a successful student and wants to learn a foreign language. She also wants to develop her computer knowledge, because of finding a good job after her graduation. However, she thinks that it is so hard to realize these dreams because of poor economic conditions. Because of her university education, her family is spending so much while they are hardly supporting themselves. She is very upset about it. She had a scholarship from a university, but she says that it is not enough and her mother goes to cleaning to the houses for sending her pocket money. She likes her neighborhood so much. She assumes that that area is theatre stage and everybody is an actor. She also adds that there are many different types of people and this makes the area more colorful. She is also very scared of the marriage, because according to her, marriage means to accept to live under a male hegemony. S never wants to marry a man like her father.
- 8- **NERMİN:** N was born in Ankara in 1982. Her parents are also from Ankara. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. (By the way, they moved to Isparta for two years because of her father's job, but then they came back to the same neighborhood in Ankara.) N was a middle height and a slim girl. She had short black hair. She was wearing a blue trousers and a white t-shirt. Since she woke up a while ago, she did not like to talk to us much. She graduated from secondary school and she could not continue her education. Her father was a state officer and at the time of her graduation, her family moved to Isparta because of his father's occupation. Additionally, because of the economic problems, her father did not let her attend to high school. Her father thought that girls must stay at home. She thinks that she cannot communicate with her father easily because he is very conservative and at the same time he is a serious alcoholic. Sometimes after getting alcohol, he beats them. Then, N stated that she created a world by books for herself. She loves reading so much and adds that her novels are very valuable and can not think about a

world without them. She also complains about her father's negative attitudes towards her and her sister. She states that she does not have any freedom in this neighborhood, and she is not allowed to go out by herself. About the marriage she thinks that she saw many unsuccessful marriages, so she is scared of it so much. (Note: 3-4 months later from our interview, she started to have a serious psychological therapy in Hacettepe University Hospital.)

9- SELMA: S was born in Ankara in 1990. Her parents are from Çorum. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. S was very tall and white skinned girl. She also had dark hair. She was wearing black trousers and a white t-shirt. She was cleaning the garden, when we entered into the house. During our interview, she looked after her toddler sister. She likes reading much and she is a hardworking student. She is attending to Hıdırlıktepe primary school and she does not have any time for studying lessons because of the house works. Since her mother gave a birth, she has to help her mother. She likes her father very much and she can marry a person like her father. However she is against the marriage, because her mother suffered from her marriage very much; although her father was an easygoing person. She also adds that her grandparents were beating her mother when she was a child, but my father never did, he only watched them. She feels herself very secure with her family, so she always wants to live with her family even if she gets married. Her greatest ideal is studying at a university and earning so much money. Then, she wants to buy a house for her family in order to change their neighborhood.

10- SAİDE: S was born in Ankara in 1988. Her parents are from Erzurum. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. S had long and blonde hair and also she was very tall and slim. She was wearing a brown pullover and black trousers. She recently graduated from secondary school and she was registered at a nursery vocational school. She was very successful during the primary school. The only thing she wants so much is to buy a house for her family in another neighborhood. She loves her father so much and she can marry a person like her father, because her father is an easygoing and sensible person. She also adds that he never hurt neither her mother nor them. However, she does not feel positive about

marriage. However, if she gets married, she primarily prefers religious ceremony rather than official wedding, because of their customs and traditions. She also adds that her decisions are very important about this issue.

11- PERVİN: P was born in Ankara in 1980. Her parents are also from Ankara-Haymana. She has been living in Ankara since she was born. P was a medium height girl and she had black hair and brown eyes. She was married and she had a one-year-old baby. She had a love marriage with a man. Since they are not old enough to have an official wedding, they are married by a religious ceremony. After the age of 18, she wants to have official wedding with her husband, but her mother-in-law did not let them. Since her husband's family is Kurdish, her mother in law blames her as being a Turkish and an unsuitable bride for their family. She was dismissed by her mother-in-law from the house with her baby nine months after giving a birth to her baby. Now she is living with her mother. Because of these problems, she tried to commit suicide many times. She also adds that her father is not taking care of them anymore, and he is also living with another woman in Keçiören, so her mother is experiencing many difficulties in order to support themselves. She also admits that she was a lazy student and left high school but that was a mistake, if she had today's mind she would certainly go on her education in order to graduate from a good university. She also thinks that her father is a strict and a very conservative person. P also states that she is living for her baby. She tries to create a better future for her baby. But she firstly has to find a job with a social security. She finds this neighborhood very dangerous for her baby and her family. (During the interview, P showed her arms which had lots of sharp wounds on both inside the right and left arm.)

12- BURCU: B was born in Çankırı in 1978. They came to Ankara when she was 2 years old. Since their arrival at the city, she has been living in the same neighborhood. (By the way, after the marriage she and her husband moved to another place in Akyurt and lived there for a short while. When her husband's workplace was shut down, they came back and went on living with her parents.) B was a short and fat girl. She was married and she had a newly born baby. She was wearing a yellow

pullover and skirt. She caught cold so she could not speak very easily. She was living in a separate house before the closing of her husband's workplace. Now, her husband was unemployed and they were living with her family. She stated that she wants to find a job for her husband to improve their economic conditions and she also wants to work so much but her husband does not allow. About her education, she says that she was not a successful student during her school life while her brothers and sisters were very successful. Her family strongly wanted her to study but she could not. Now she is making some embroidery at home and selling them in order to earn the baby's expenses. At the age of 19 she worked at a textile factory and met her husband in the factory. Because of that job, she obtained her self-esteem and a social network. She strongly wants to work again but her husband does not allow her to work. She also states that her mother wanted to talk to her about it so many times, but she could not convince her husband. Moreover, her husband refused to talk to her mother about this subject very kindly many times.

- 13- RAMİZE:** R was born in 1981 in Ankara. Her parents came to Ankara from Erzurum-Karayazı. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. R was a tall and a slim girl. She had black hair and brown eyes. She was wearing a headscarf, a grey pullover and a brown skirt. She was a primary school graduate and she could fluently speak Kurdish very well. During the interview, she translated some Turkish words for her mother. Her mother's Turkish was not well enough to communicate easily. She is engaged and her fiancé is from one of her relatives, so her family supported this marriage very strongly. The ethnical origin and denomination of the groom is same to R. She stated that it is important especially for her family. She was exposed to discrimination by her friends at school, so she never liked the school. But additionally, due to the economic problems she could not complete her education. She wants to work very much. Additionally, nor her fiancée, neither her family allows her. She is also very glad that her fiancé is very different from her father. R also approves the dowry and states that it is necessary because it will be also spent for the trousseau.

14- ZAFER: Z was born in Ankara in 1990. Her parents came to Ankara from Erzurum. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. Z was short and also so slim. She was wearing grey skirt and grey pullover. She could speak Kurdish very well and during the interview with her mother she translated some words into Kurdish for her mother. She is a successful student in Hıdırlıktepe and she wants to study at a university very much. If she can earn enough money, she will buy a house in Keçiören. She does not like the neighborhood. Her father thinks that because of her education, the family is spending too much money and she fears about giving up her education because of poor economic conditions. She is totally against marriage before having a good education and getting a good job.

15- FERİDE: F was born in 1969 in Çankırı-Kurşunlu. She and her parents came to Ankara in 1975. Since then she has been living in the same neighborhood. F was slim and tall. She had blonde hair and green eyes. She was wearing a pullover and blue trousers. She was a high school graduate but she wanted to study at a university too much. She could not study because her family did not allow. She is engaged with an Italian man and this summer they will get married. After getting married, she will settle down in Italy. She got to know him through their common friends. At first, her family did not allow her to marry a Christian. But later, they approved this marriage. At the age of 19 she worked in a factory with a SSK social security. Later, her workplace was shut down. But she states that it was a great life experience. She had a lot of friends and had her self-esteem because of this experience. She also adds that she met her fiancé because of the job. For her marriage expenditures, she is embroidering at home and also selling them. She loves her father very much, and she thinks that she is very lucky, because her fiancé's characteristics are very similar to his father's characteristics.

16- SADIYE: S was born in 1978 in Ankara. Her parents came from Çankırı. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. S was tall, slim and dark. She was wearing headscarf, green pullover and black skirt. She was a lazy student and she graduated from the secondary school. Her family wanted her to study

very much. She cannot find a work because of her lower level of education. Her sister and brother in law help her so much. She intends to marry and she wants to find the right person who could understand her easily. She also adds that financial situation is also very important for a successful marriage. She does not want to marry a person like her father. She thinks that they suffered from poverty so much and this was totally her father's mistake.

17- SEMRA: S was born in 1988 in Ordu-Kumru. She and her parents came to Ankara when she was two years old. Since then she has been living in the same neighborhood. S was tall and slim. She had long black hair and brown eyes. She was wearing a red pullover and black trousers. She was studying in Hıdırlıktepe Secondary School, but although she wants to study at a high school, she will not be able to because of her family's economic conditions. Moreover, there is no high school in the neighborhood, so this will cost too much and will be unsafe. She also adds that they could not move to another place, because they could not afford it. Now she is totally against the marriage, but if she gets married, she wants to marry a person like his father. She thinks that he is doing his best in order to provide us a better life and he works so hard. She also feels so sorry about her mother and says that she has got so many burdens because of the poor economic conditions, so S wants to have a good career in order to support her family in the future.

18- GECE: G was born in Ankara in 1983. Her parents are also from Ankara. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. G was of medium height, fat and a brunette girl. She was wearing dark blue workout suit. She recently graduated from the university and she was looking for a job. She told one of the days she spent with her mother; one day her mother and she left home very early in the morning, then bought a newspaper and reviewed the available job positions from the yellow pages, then went to that addresses in order to contact them and submit her resume. She states that she wants to find a job as soon as possible in order to earn money. After earning so much money, she plans to buy a house for her family in a different neighborhood. She is totally against the marriage, before getting married,

she wants to have a good career then she wants to marry to a person who has a good career as well. If she finds a job, she plans to buy a house and move to another neighborhood. She adds that she never wants to marry a man who is like her father. She thinks that her mother is more talented and clever than her father, so they suffer from poverty for this reason. Her father is not a role model for her.

19- HALİME: H was born in Ankara in 1988 in Yozgat-Sarıkaya. She and her parents came to Ankara when she was 4 years old. Since then she has been living in the same neighborhood. H was short, slim and a dark girl. She was wearing a grey pullover and grey trousers. She is a successful student. Although she is studying at a boarding school in a different city, she has some friends at this neighborhood. She also says that she does not have any friend from either Tebers or Kurdish people. She wants to study at university to find a good job. After then she wants to make so much money for buying a house for her family. She does not like the neighborhood, she thinks that it is not safe and she states that she is not allowed to go out by herself especially in the night time. She is very positive about the future. If she studies and finds a job, they can move to another place. H loves her father so much and she wants a man like her father to get married. He thinks that he is clever, very sensible and has got a calm personality. On the other hand, she states that her mother has got lots of burdens because of the economic difficulties, so she wants to complete her education and wants to find a good job in order to support them financially.

20- SAFİYE: S was born in Kars-Kağızman in 1989. She and her parents migrated to Ankara because of PKK terror ten years ago. During the interview, she stated that nobody was left behind them, because she and all the members of the family migrated to Ankara. Then, a few years ago, she and her family went back to their villages as they hoped that terror was over. She states that they got so surprised, because terror was not over and both PKK and Turkish soldiers were always demanding something from them. Finally, they got so scared and came back to Ankara. However, she also stated that she misses the village so much because she was feeling herself free when she was in the village, but her mother never wants to go back, because she thinks that works in the village never end and wear her out so

much. S also states that her father is very conservative. In Ankara; he never wants her to go out by herself even with her mother. S also states that when she was in the school she was so successful, but her father did not allow her to continue her education. Then she left school. S had big black eyes, very dark short black hair and white skin. She wore a red sweater and a long black skirt. Her hair was not covered. She also stated that she never wants to marry a man like her father, because she expects to marry a man who is more skillful and who respects her freedom. She also adds that she does not have any chance to marry a man from a different sect, because her family might kill her. According to her family, religious marriage is more important than the official one, but she emphasizes that official marriage is certainly necessary in order to protect woman's and her children's rights after the marriage. She has 7 siblings and misses her elder brother, who is in the prison because of wounding someone very badly, so much. During the interview, it was already understood that S was very hopeful and positive about the future, and her greatest wish was to find a good job about embroidery and sewing. She was attending to courses to learn these skills. However, she also stated that that would be very difficult, because it was not easy to convince her father about working.

- 21- NAZİRE:** N was born in Ankara in 1982. She has been living in the same neighborhood. N had black, long curly hair and very dark brown eyes. She was not very slim and tall. During the interview, she wore a long and black skirt and brown sweater. She was not very talkative. Later, she felt herself more comfortable and answered our questions very frankly. She had 7 siblings and N was the eldest one. She lived very hard times during her childhood, since she had a great responsibility of taking care of her siblings and also helping her mother for the house works. Moreover, her father was always beating both her and her mother. Once, she tried to interfere and she was injured very badly. However, she also states that those days never ended and they are still exposed to violence. N also stated that she wanted to go to university so much but her parents never sent her to school. She attended reading-writing courses and learnt how to read and write. She also supported her siblings' having a better education and she declares that she sacrificed her life for both the siblings and the family. About marriage, she is very scared of the marriage

and never wants to marry a man like her father. She also describes her father as a wild, strict and disrespectful person. N wants to find a job as soon as possible in order to support her family and states that she trust her teachers who train courses about sewing and embroidery in community center where she was attending. She also declared that her teachers would go and convince her father, if she found a job. During the interview, she stated that she was not expecting anything from the future except a job for a secure future. N has some serious gynecological problems related with stress. After the interview, she started a regular medical treatment provided by our contacts. She has 7 siblings and misses her elder brother, who is in prison because of wounding someone very badly, so much. During the interview, it was already understood that S was very hopeful and positive for the future and her greatest wish to find a good job about embroidery and sewing of which she was also attending to learn. However, she also stated that that would be very difficult because it was not easy to convince her father about working...

- 22- İNCİ:** I was born in Ankara in 1987. She has been living in the same neighborhood since then. She was very tall and a strong girl. During the interview, she was coming from the school because of lunch break so she was in uniform and she combed her long, dark and black hair as a pony tail. She was very talkative. During the interview, she stated that she had very hard times during her childhood. Her father was fired a few times and he had to find a new job. Then her mother spent so much effort in order to support them financially and did many jobs. Now, she states that they are in a better condition and her father has a regular job with a social security. During the interview, she also stated that she is a very successful student in high school and wants to go to university. She also added that she had only one sibling and her mother always supported her education which is the main factor of being a successful student. About the marriage, she says that she has to marry one day but understanding each other and communicating very well are more important than differences related with sects or religions. She was feeling very positive about the future and also stated that her only ideal was to have a good career and find a good job in order to support her family as soon as possible.

23- SANIYE: S was born in Ankara in 1986. She has been living in the same neighborhood since then. S had blonde hair and very dark blue eyes. She also covered her hair with a headscarf very tightly and wore a grey thick sweater and a pitch black long skirt. She was very talkative. S was a primary school graduate. Although her parents wanted her to complete education and attend to university, she never liked studying and left school after primary school. She has 2 siblings. About the marriage, she stated that she would certainly choose her husband who will never be definitely from a different sect so as to provide a good communication of both sides. Accordingly, she also stated that she was totally against the dowry and certainly wants to marry a man like his father. She also qualified his father as being a respectful and a well communicating person. The only thing that S expects from the future is finding a good job. She also declared that she already applied for a position in Ulcer-Ankara and she was waiting for the answer. However, she also expressed her embarrassment about her father, because she already applied to the position with the help of her mother without informing his father. If she informs his father about the job application, he would probably not allow her to apply to that position.

24- EMEL: E was born in Ankara in 1988. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. When she was a little child, her father brought a wife. Then her mother left them, because of the fellow wife. After her parents divorced, his father never allowed her mother to visit them and her grandmother raised her and her sibling. In the following years, her father met another woman and they got married. However, they got divorced again. Then, they could not handle the situation and they started to live together without the official marriage. E says that she could get on very well with both her step mother and step siblings. She also declares that she owes to her so much, because her step mom acts as a buffer mechanism in terms of organizing relations between her father and grandmother. However, she also states that she misses her mother and wants to see her so much. About the marriage, she is very scared of being married and never wants to marry a man like his father. She describes her father as being very harsh, rude and disrespectful and claims that everybody living in the same street is very scared of her mother because of acting very rudely. E left her school from the second grade of the

high school. When she failed, her grandmother did not send her to the school. However, she wants to continue so much and the only thing that she wants is to go on her school life. During the interview, she stated that both her aunts and her step mom are trying to convince her grandmother. She believes that they will convince her in the very future. E had dark black eyes and curly dark hair. She wore a green pant and a white blouse during the interview. She was thinking very positively about the future.

25- SALİHA: S was born in Ankara in 1989. She has been living in the same neighborhood since then. She had 2 siblings. She was still studying at the high school. S always stated that the most important thing for her is completing her education and having a good career. Her mother always directed her in this way so she assumes herself very lucky about this subject. She also stated that she was a successful student and she always wanted to attend to better schools in another neighborhood like Aydınlikevler. About the marriage, she says that she never wants to get married, because marriages in her social environment are not very successful and women are oppressed. For example, her mother has already sacrificed her life, because of her husband. Her father drinks so much and her mother was doing more than two jobs a day in order to collect money for both his drink and their expenses so she never wants to marry a man like her father. She also stated that she was very sorry because of her elder brother who is in prison now. About her brother, S also accuses her father and states that our life would be more different if he were more wise and careful about his choices, like not preferring drinking etc. During the interview, S was in the uniform, because she has already come home from the school. She was very tall and slim. She had long dark blonde hair and very dark green eyes. At the beginning of the interview, she was not talking so much, but later, she answered all our questions very cordially.

26- SAADET: S was born in Ankara in 1988. She has been living in the same neighborhood since then. She had 2 siblings. S graduated from the primary school. About her school life, she states that she never liked studying. When her mother was taking her to the school, she was running away a few hours later. However, she also

stated that she was the eldest daughter in the family and both studying and helping her mother for the housework were so hard and she did not have enough time for the assignments. Moreover, she also claimed that her school was a terrible place for a child to be sent for an education. A few times, she witnessed drug dealing. Once, cops came and arrested one of her best friend who was also a relative, because of using and also selling drugs. She states that he has been in prison since then. In the following days, she decided not to continue her education, despite the fact that she was beaten by her mother because of this final decision. S states that she loves her mother so much but they can not get on very well. S also confessed that because of the pressure her mother exerted on her, she once ran away from home. When she came back, the situation was catastrophic. She says that she does not want to remember those days. About the marriage, she states that she is totally against the marriage because of unsuccessful marriages in her social environment. She also adds that she never demands for anything except a piece of bread and she never wants to get married. She also declares that since her family is Alevi, she is not allowed to marry a man from a different sect. However, she states that she is totally against all the things related with marriage, including dowry. S had short, blonde and very curly hair. She also had big brown, brilliant eyes. During the interview, she wore a brown pant and a red blouse. About the future, she also stated that the only thing that she wants to do is to deal with trading like buying and selling some textile items if she had more money. She also added that she loves playing instrument and wants to improve herself about it so much. However, her answers showed that she was very pessimistic about the future.

- 27- GÜLSEREN:** G was born in Ankara in 1987. She has been living in the same neighborhood since then. She had 4 siblings. G left the school at the third grade of primary school. Her mother made her leave the school, because she would feel embarrassment about her daughter's finding a man to marry while she was going to school. She was very successful and her teachers strongly disapproved her mother's decision about G. About the marriage, G stated that she never wants to marry because she hates the marriages. She also added that her elder sister's marriage was very influential on her negative feelings about marriage. When her aunt wanted G's

sister to marry her son, G's sister strongly disapproved and struggled against them. However, G's mother approved the marriage and caused her daughter to go through very hard times. Sometimes, her elder sister was terribly beaten by her mother in order to overcome her daughter's defiance against the marriage arrangement. G says that those were very hard times and she does not want to marry. Moreover, she declares that no girl is allowed to marry a man upon her own decision according to their traditions. She also states that daughter could only marry with the consent of her family, and a marriage is going to be arranged, the future husband has to give a written open certification to the bride's father that will take effect in case of divorce. (This was a type of guarantee for the daughter. The husband's family was not paying dowry, but submitting a written open certification.) G claims that all these traditions wear her out, so she never wants to marry. During the conversation, G began to cry and stated that she had a serious genetic illness. She stated that doctors could not diagnose the illness and her treatment lasted more than a few years and they used her cousin's green card for that treatment. When doctors found out, they had to quit the treatment because of lack of financial conditions. G stated that she does not expect anything from the future except for being healthy, and not losing her walking ability. She also stated that illness comes from her father's genes which her aunts also suffer from it. She also says that it is unfortunate to see that she would be like them in the future. (G was also helping her mother in taking care of her patient aunts.) During the interview, we had to skip some questions related with her future planning, because G felt emotional distress and we tried to calm her down. G was not very tall but she was very slim. She had reddish long hair and very big dark blue eyes. She combed her hair, as a pony tail. During the interview, she wore a green pant and a brown sweater. G was always smiling and her eyes were always very brilliant.

- 28- GÜLLÜ:** G was born in Haymana-Sarıgöl in 1988. When she was 2 years old, she and her family migrated to Ankara because her father found a job in an open air market in Ankara. When they migrated, they settled down in this neighborhood and they have been living in the same neighborhood since then. G is still studying. She states that she is very successful and her teachers support her so much for getting a better education. Although her father never confirmed her completing her

education, her mother always supported her about having a better education. She states that her mother was always advising her in studying very well for better grades, because she never wanted her to live in misery in the future. She also adds that one of her teachers was providing a scholarship for her and without this support it was almost impossible to continue her education. About the marriage she states that she is very scared of the marriage because of her parent's marriage. She never wants to marry a man like his father because both her mother and she had gone through very hard times. When they moved to Ankara, her father had a mistress and he was drinking so much. Then, he was beating all of them very badly and her mother had psychiatric consultation then. After leaving his mistress, he found another one and now he is living with her. He rarely comes and visits them. G says that her father is chiefly responsible from making their lives miserable. In case of marriage, she prefers to depend upon her own decision mechanism. However; she states that it is almost impossible, because they are Kurdish. Moreover, their traditions are totally against to marry a man from a different sect or religion, but she states that in order to break these rules, she needs to go to university and make a good career. G had very dark, long hair and big brown eyes. She wore a dark blue tracking suit and a white blouse. Her hair was open and very untidy. It seemed that she was very tired, because she was helping her mother in preparing dinner.

- 29- GÜL:** G was born in Aksaray in 1987. She and her parents migrated to Ankara a few years ago. She had 3 siblings. G was a tall and a fat girl. She was wearing a yellow pullover and along long black skirt. She had green eyes and dark blonde hair and she covered her hair with a colorful scarf haphazardly. She studied primary school in a village in Aksaray. She never liked studying so she only completed primary school. However, she also states that completing her education was so hard because their economic conditions were very poor and she was also helping her mother in both taking care of her siblings and doing housework. She also adds that she mostly did not have enough time for her assignments. She also stated that her relationships with her father were always better than the relationships with her mother. Sometimes, she had terrible arguments with her mother because of not helping her while her father was trying to interfere. G was neutral about the marriage

nevertheless she was stating that she never wants to marry a man like his father, because he can not earn sufficiently for providing the family's earning. She also adds that the person whom she would get married with would be her family's choice not a person of her own decision. She declares that she could not stand against codes of the family about her marriage. G was also very pessimistic about her future. The only thing that she wanted was to find a regular job, but she was also stating that it was almost impossible to find this kind of job as being a primary school graduate. She also stated that she was also feeling very pessimistic about the future of Turkey.

- 30- ZAKIRE:** Z was born in Ankara in 1991. She has been living in the same neighborhood since she was born. She is still studying in the school which is located in the neighborhood. However, she also states that she is not very good at especially Math and Turkish lessons. She had 3 siblings. She also declares that she mostly did not have enough time for the assignments, because of the chores within the household. She also adds that her time allocation for the assignments and for herself has decreased. However, she also states that her mother gets very angry because of her low grades and says that she has been dealing with the strangers' houses cleaning for supporting their education. Z also states that her mother mostly declares that she has sacrificed her life because of them. About the marriage, she never wants to get married. She also states that she never wants to marry a man like her father, because his father is uneducated and living in misery is her father's fault. The most important thing that Z wants in her life is to complete her education and find a regular job with a social security. Z was very tall and slim. She was wearing a red sweater and a black loose pant. She had dark brown eyes and very dark short curly hair. She was not very talkative. She also stated that she feels pessimistic about her and the family's future. As an urgent requirement, she declared that moving to another safe neighborhood and finding a regular job with social security for her father. During the interview with her mother, she sometimes spoke in Kurdish in order to translate some questions.

APPENDIX F

TRANSCRIPTION OF A DAUGHTER'S INTERVIEW

GÜLPERİ : I was born in 1986 in Aksaray. Three months ago we come here with my mother to chase my father. When we came here we didn't know anybody and we stayed with my aunt. My siblings, my mother and I emigrated here together. We left everything and come to here. I spent my childhood in a village at Aksaray. We were living all together with the grandpas and aunts, then all of them left and go. I do not know any other language than Turkish. My mother is 38 and my father is 52 and they are both alive. My father is said to be working as a construction worker but he is not looking after us because he has a mistress. So my mother took us and chased him. My mother is a housewife. She sometimes goes to the village for working on the beet field. Now here we do not have anything, we become unwanted. We have been living difficulties since my father left us and my aunt is taking care of us. We used to live with the grandpa and the grandma in the village. I do not have positive feelings about marriage. Men are not trustable. Look, my father left us. First of all, money is important and money makes people happy. My family chooses the man whom I will get married. Even if I oppose, there is nothing I can do. Our rules are very strict. If I get married, first official wedding then religious wedding will be held. I never would like to marry to a person like my father. In my opinion dowry should be paid because parents devote too much effort to raise us up. It is also the guarantee of the girl. I do not have any money to prepare trousseau. I want to live with my husbands' family after getting married. Mother in law takes care of the children. We have been raised up in this way up to now. I hardly graduated from the primary school. I was a bad student. I studied at a village school. I could not go to the secondary school as there were none at the village. But I do not know whether I would like to continue further. Anyway I was a bad student. But they send their sons. If I have children, I will like them to study very much and do my best. I want my son to be a doctor and my daughter to be a teacher. I will let my son to marry whomever

he wants. But I do not marry off my daughter to someone from another sect. It never happens according to us. I never worked but I would like to. If it is an honorable job I would go for it. I never trust anybody except my mother. We do not have any security other than God. We can not be cured because we do not have money. Up to now, I never needed any health services. For this reason I do not know anything about the health station in the neighborhood. Nobody works at home. Our neighbors help us. God knows. My father has a mistress and he goes to her. We could hardly allay our hunger. I do not expect anything form the future. I do not feel safe. I do not like this neighborhood but we come here mandatory. My aunt is living here. There is no any nice place in the house. If we were in the village, we would use such houses as a barn. I do not know Ankara except this neighborhood. Our neighbors gave these clothes on me. I never go to Ulus and Kızılay. We hardly allay our hunger, how can we buy a newspaper. During the day time, I usually make handcrafts and help to my aunt. I watch “Kınalı Kar”, “Zerda” and “Gelin” on TV. But I would very much like to be educated like you. Since we came here very recently I do not know this place much. I see us at the bottom. Everybody around here is in a better position than us. In the future, our position will become worse. My father does not seem to return us. Our most urgent need at the moment is money. But I can not do anything about this. Uneducated women can not afford anything. I hope my children would have better education and better opportunities. I wish my family had supported my education but fate. I never voted. But I would not vote for any of them. All of them are worse than each other. The current government is terrible. State does not carry out any of her obligations, does not satisfy the publics’ needs.

APPENDIX G

TRANSCRIPTION OF A WOMAN'S INTERVIEW (TAPE RECORD)

(Interview notes between **NERİMAN** and the interviewer):

Good afternoon. How are you?

N- Thanks and you.

Thanks. May I have your name and surname please?

N- Neriman...

Where were you born?

N- I was born in Kurşunlu, Çankırı in 1939.

When did you come to Ankara?

N- I came here from my hometown 33 years ago.

Have you ever lived in this neighborhood?

N- I always lived in this neighborhood.

Do you pay visits to your hometown?

N- We have not gone to the village since 4-5 years. We lost our connection. We do not have a home there too.

Why did you come to Ankara?

N- We came here because my husband had found a job.

Can you talk about your childhood?

N- We were six siblings. I am the fourth. My three siblings died. My mother was getting angry for me as I was not helping her in the housework. We could not talk to our father and brothers at all. My father was beating either my mother or me. But all of us emigrated from the village. After arrival to the city, our situation got worse. Here is not like my hometown.

Are your parents alive?

N- My mother died thirty years ago and my father died twenty seven years ago.

Do you speak any language other than Turkish at home?

N- We do not know any language other than Turkish.

Well, could you please say something more about your childhood?

N- My father was a farmer. During the summer time he was going to work as a laborer. He was also herding. He was always beating me because I was not helping my mother for the housework. My mother was trying to protect me against him. My mother was a housewife.

When did you get marry and could you please tell us your story about the marriage?

N- I have been married for forty years. I have been suffering for forty years. I married at the age of twenty-two. My husband had completed his military service and was working as a night watchman when we got married. He came to our place, liked me and asked for permission from my father to marry me. My father never approved and said that he does not even have a restroom to poop. But he deceived me and I left home to go with him. Everybody said that the gendarme would come and pick me up. We got married after ten days. First we had official wedding, then before entering the bridal chamber we had a religious wedding as well.

Did your husband pay dowry for you?

N- My husband did not pay any bride money for me. I did not worth a penny. Which jewelry, I ran away from my parents' house.

Are there other people than your husband in the house after getting married?

N- We, my two sisters-in-law, two brothers-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law, my husband and I, were living all together in the same house. My mother-in-law was a good person. I can not say anything bad about her. I still love her. Now she is living with my sister-in-law. If I had my today's mind that time, I would neither run away from home nor got married and laid down under my husband. We have been sleeping separately since nine years. I hated him after the medical operation.

Why?

N- What marriage works for, he always beats me. He even beats me at our wedding night. He was always beating me for the reason why I put this to there. I wanted to divorce but my parents disapproved. They said that it was my choice so I should suffer.

Did you bring any trousseau when you got married?

N- How can you find trousseau in a village? I never had trousseau.

How many children do you have?

N- I had two sons at the ages of 38 and 33 and two daughters at the ages of 39 and 35. I did not have any abortions or death births.

Could you please tell us something about your educational background?

N- I do not have literacy. All of my brothers had gone to school. Only they did not send me. If I were literate, I would be very strong. I even can not read the directions of the places I am going and I can not see very well.

Do you prefer your children to marry someone from another sect/religion?

N- I wanted my children to marry someone from our hometown but it did not happen. I suggested my little son to find someone to marry from hometown but he married someone from Kırşehir. My other son got married in Cyprus. I have got six grandchildren. If they are happy it is sufficient for me.

What about your educational background?

N- I wanted all my children to have a good education but only my daughter had a good education. She graduated from the nursery school. But the boys never listened to me. One of them became a driver. We did our best but they did not wanted to study, what can I do?

Do you have a social security? Have you ever worked?

N- I have got a social security (SSK) through my husband. I want to work too much such as baby sitting which will enable me to earn some money from home. I send a notice to all my neighbors but we could arrange. My husband is a primary school graduate and is retired. He goes to Café in the neighborhood from home then he comes back to home. He left school at the fourth class and took his diploma by entering the fifth class exams here.

Do you have any chronicle illness? Who mostly gets sick in the house? Do you regularly go to a doctor? What about the cost?

N- I got kidney failure. I got operations for five times. One of them was appendicitis. The others were for the kidney failure. I am also suffering from embolism so I have got an appointment from the hospital and I am waiting. When I feel ill I go to the doctor immediately. I even go own to Dışkapı.

Whose health is the most important within the household?

N- My health, because I always get sick. As I already mentioned, I had many operations.

What do you think about the health station in the neighborhood?

N- I go to the health station in the neighborhood to have a blood pressure check up. God knows that they serve very well. I mostly go to Dışkapı and Etlik.

Under these circumstances, what do you think about the life conditions? Is it easy to survive? How?

N- This house is almost collapsing. I could not buy a tin of paint to paint the home. The phone is out of service for one year. If I had money, I would buy many clothes for myself. I could not buy a coat for myself. I swear the God, I feel embarrassed. I am asking my husband for some money but he replies whether we have got any. My husband says that we are always short of money. If I can find a babysitting I will look after the child at my home. I would accept anything offered which is earned honestly. I suffered from poverty too much. I slept on the beds which were made of grass, straw and alike. I bought this house two years after we came here.

Do you receive any aid from your hometown?

N- We never receive any aid from the hometown.

Do you attend to women's days in the neighborhood, like sugar, rice day etc.?

N- I never attend to the women's meetings at homes within the neighborhood network because my husband do not allow.

Could you please talk about your monthly expenses like water, electricity, telephone, charcoal etc.?

N- We pay 30 million TL for the electricity and 20 million TL for the water per month.

Do you receive any aid from any organization?

N- Melih Gökçek provided us 20 bags of charcoal. We used them during the winter time. He also has been providing food aid for the last two years. God save him.

Which foods mostly do you consume?

N- We always eat soup and dough staff.

Why?

N- Because these are the cheapest

Do you have any monthly installment?

N- We pay 40-50 million TL as installments per month. I felt embarrassed to have my daughters' spouses' father and mother visit us. I bought new glasses and plates.

If you had more money, what would you buy?

N- I do not have anything except the ring my daughter gave as a mothers' day present. I wish I had a bracelet, but it is impossible.

If you have less money, what would you sacrifice firstly?

N- How can you sacrifice from food? You need to eat three times a day. Yesterday I cooked boiled and pounded wheat and one of our neighbors brought us pickle, we ate them together. I want to eat sausage but my husband brings horse meat. And I say myself that lets eat it and die but it does not happen. If I had more money, I would buy sausage and dried meat first, I love eating I swear.

Is this your house? Are you paying rent?

N- We bought this house two years after coming to Ankara. It has title deed. We loaned some amount of money from the union and then they cut off from my husbands' salary. We owned this house by this way. Three years ago, I asked my husband to buy a tin of paint, I told him that our daughters' spouses' parents were coming to visit us. But while we were buying this house I said we should not buy it for three times, our uncle fooled us.

What kind of house would you like to live?

N- I always wanted a house which is located in a good neighborhood. I wish the God will give me the luck to have my death in a flat.

Where do you buy your clothes?

N- A pickup comes to here to sell clothes. I buy my dressings from it. I pay attention to its cheapness.

Do you smoke?

N- No, never. My husband and daughter smoke too much. In total it costs us 60 million TL per month. We quarreled this morning again.

Do you have a washing machine? How did you buy it? Who decided to buy?

N- I had a necklace which was a present of the brother. We sold it and my husband gave the rest and we bought a washing machine. But I am not very happy with it. It washes and I boil them one more time.

Do you have a fridge? How did you buy it? Who decided to buy?

N- We have got a fridge located in the coal cellar in the garden. A few years ago we bought it by installment from Gima. It is very necessary because keep the food in it.

Is there any cellular phone?

N- My daughter has a second hand cellular phone. Her fiancé is in Italy. We bought that phone for their connection.

Could you please talk about one day in your life? What do you do in the daytime and the nighttime?

N- I spent all the day with housework.

Do you go to Ulus or Kızılay? If yes, with whom?

N- I never go to Kızılay but I always go to Ulus. I only go for shopping. I do not know the money as well. They write me paper then I go.

Did somebody help you to settle down in Ankara when you first migrated?

N- My deceased uncle helped my husband to find a job when we first came to Ankara.

If your marriage were broken up, what would you do?

N- If my marriage breaks up, I would take shelter in my brothers' home.

Do you like to live in this neighborhood?

N- There happen gossips and fights in the neighborhood. When they are fighting, I run to home for not to be shown as a witness.

Who informs about something new (like infrastructural works) related with the neighborhood?

N- The chief informs about the things to be done.

What type of place would you like to live? Who decides where to live?

N- If I had a flat, I would even do not take any furniture from this home, instead I prefer to stay in the empty home. But the husband decides on where we will live, who else would decide on this.

If you are in trouble, who would you trust the most?

N- If I am in trouble, I call my brother for help.

Are you happy with the chief of the neighborhood?

N- I love the chief, if I demand for an official paper; he always gets half of the document's price.

Do you have superstitions?

N- When I wake up, I pray to God. I always use my right leg at first while getting up.

If you are short of money or you are in a big trouble, who would you go first?

N- Our neighbors are the people who are from our village. We loan money from them if necessary. However, if I starve for forty years, I never demand anything from anybody.

Could you please compare yourself with the other people living in this neighborhood?

N- Everybody is at the same level in this neighborhood. Look, if someone has a flat in another place rather than this neighborhood, this person is superior to us. If someone whose husband is a manager and goes shopping to Canerler, she and her husband are superior to us. In the past, our material situation was better than today. Living is getting more expensive. But, I do not know what will happen in the future. What is your urgent need now?

N- Our urgent need is a television, now. If I had money, I would also buy a carpet. What is poverty? Who are the poorest?

N- We are poor. If you think what you will cook for the dinner and you are financially dependent on your husband, you are poor.

Do you think women are powerful?

N- Woman is weak, even if she does not earn, she totally depend on her husband. If husband beats you, you push yourself into the bed next to him, what else will you do?

What is your urgent requirement, now?

N- I swear to God, I do not have many things to put on; I wish I had a raincoat. When my rubber sole slid, I fell down on my guts the day before yesterday, now; I swear that it hurts so much.

What do you think about the Government?

N- During the last election, I voted for CHP, they said that it is better. Women in my neighborhood said that they vote for CHP. We would vote for Mesut Yılmaz. I love him so much like my son. I have got a green card from his term. Melih Gökçek gives us some aid more or less. God bless him.

What do you think about Turkey's future?

N- I hope our country goes to better. I hope my country won't be in a condition like underdeveloped countries'.

Who informed about the aids arranged by the organizations?

N- Chief of our neighborhood informed me about the aids. Then, I registered to the municipality for the aid and I got charcoal aid.

Who is the scariest person at home?

N- I am scared with my husband. If you do something wrong, they beat you terribly. I am also beaten by the children. We do not see each other and I will not speak to him anymore. My husband orders me to buy something, and then I buy that thing. He asks me which food will be bought for the meal then I answer him.

Thanks you very much for your hind interest.

N- You are very welcome, anytime...

APPENDIX H

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM DESIGNED FOR DAUGHTERS

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF WOMEN STUDIES

WOMEN'S DEPRIVATION AND LIVING STRATEGIES IN CITY
PUBLIC SURVEY STUDY
(DAUGHTER POLL)

This study constitutes the field study of the thesis study to be prepared related to women's deprivation in city and living strategies they develop which will be presented in the department of Women Studies at the Middle East Technical University. The answers to be given in this part have been prepared with the aim to submit it as a thesis to the department mentioned above according to the scientific moral principles. Confidentiality is the fundamental principle.

Süheyla TÜRKYILMAZ

POLL NUMBER:

THE DISTRICT THE POLL IS CODUCTED:

THE DATE OF THE POLL:

POLLSTER'S NAME/NAMES:

HOUSEHOLDER:

HOUSEHOLD'S ADDRESS:

(FALL, 2002)

FAMILY TREE, CHILDHOOD, MIGRATION

- 1) Your birthplace? Your birthday?
- 2) If you aren't from Ankara, where have you lived before? When did you migrate to Ankara? With whom and why did you come to this city? What has changed since you migrated to Ankara? Then have your relations with your village continued? Do you miss your village? If you had a chance, do you want to go back?
- 3) If those who migrated to this city were your parents, when and where did they come from? When they came, were their citizens in their immediate vicinity? How was their house? Did they live in a house like this? How is it now? When they came, did they build a squatter's house or did they rent a house?
- 4) Have you always lived in this neighbourhood in Ankara? If not, which neighbourhoods have you lived in?
- 5) With whom did you live in your childhood? Did you live in a big family? How many siblings did you have? Were you the eldest daughter? Do you tell us about your childhood? Do you tell us a memory you have never forgotten? How were your relations with you siblings? How were your relations with the adults in your house? Did you have any problems with your mother and father? If you have, what types of problems were they? Who solved them?
- 6) If you think about your past since your childhood, how did your parents' situation change in terms of income and real property? Did it get better or worse?
- 7) Did any language other than Turkish use to be spoken in your house? If yes, which languages used to be spoken? Could you speak these languages or could only the adults speak them?
- 8) Are your parents alive? If they are alive, how old are they? If they aren't alive, how old were they when they died? Why?
- 9) Which job was your father busy with in your childhood? Did his job change later on? What is he busy with now? Where does he live? Did (do) you have any problems with your father? If you have, who solves them? How is your mother attitude in such a situation?

10) What did your mother use to be busy with in your childhood? Did she use to work apart from the housework? Or did she use to be busy with anything which provided income? What happened then? What is she busy with now? Where does she live? Did (do) you have any problems with your mother? If you have, who solves them? How is your father attitude in such a situation?

11) What do you think about marriage? What kind of a person do you want to marry? Why? Do you yourself choose the person you would marry or do your parents decide who would be your husband? Why? Are you opposed to this situation? Do you want to live with his family after your marriage? Why? Do you want to marry someone like your father? Why?

12) Do you want to marry someone from another religion or religious sect? Why? Was an official or religious wedding important for you while getting married? Which one do you give priority to? What do you think about bride-price? Do you put together a trousseau for your marriage? Why?

EDUCATION LEVEL, ATTIDUES TOWARDS EDUCATION

13) How did you remember your school life? Were you a successful student? Or did you have difficulty at school? Where and which schools did you attend? (she will be asked in which villages and cities she attended primary school/high school/university and if these schools were state or private schools or how they were.)

14) Was it the education you wanted to get? Or did you want to attend schools different from yours? And did you want to study another field? What did you want to be? Which school did you finish last? If you couldn't complete your education, what was its reason? Could your parents give a chance to you and your siblings to get education as they wanted? Or did they really want you and your siblings to get education? Was there any discrimination among the siblings in terms of gender and etc. to get education? How?

15) Did you attend any course related to your field of interest throughout your school years or after school?

- 16) What kind of a person do you want your son or daughter to marry? Do you want him/her to marry a person from another religion, religious sect or region? Why?
- 17) What kind of education do you want your children to get? Do you think you will be able to afford it? (or can you afford it now?) why?
- 18) Will the opportunities of the next generations get better or worse when it is thought from the aspect of education? why?

**WORK HISTORY, WORKING CONDITIONS AND ATTITUDES
TOWARDS WORKING: (IF SHE HAS EVER WORKED)**

- 19) How old were you when you began to work? Did you have a Social Security? How did you find that job? Did you yourself decide it? Was there anybody to support or advise it? What did working change in your life? (Did you fall from esteem or did it get stronger? How were your relations affected?) How much did you earn? How did you spend your money you earned? If you left, why?
- 20) Do you sometimes do anything which brings money at home or outside? Then how much do you earn? How do you spend this money? If you work at home, how long have you worked? How did you start working? Did you yourself decide it? Was there anybody to support or advise?
- 21) Do you want to work in a salaried job? Why? What kind of a job would you like to have? What is necessary to get such an opportunity? If you decide to work in a salaried job, who do you ask for help? Who or where do you think to apply?
- 22) If you don't work in a salaried job outside, do you have a permanent or temporary job which brings money at home?
- 23) **IF YOU WORK EVEN TEMPORARILY.** If you didn't work, how would the financial situation of your family be affected? From which aspect? How do you think the money you earn supports your family? How do family members evaluate your support?

HEALTH:

24) Who gets sick most at home? What is her/his illness? Under which conditions do you go to doctor's? Then do you have any illnesses you want to consult a doctor for? (Here especially the organs like eyes and teeth will be examined)

25) Is there anybody who has a chronic illness at home? Whose health do you think is the most important one? When were you be examined last? Do you get a regular examination? Have you ever had any serious operation or illness? Has your treatment finished? Or has your treatment continued? Do you have a social security? If you have, who did you get it through? How did you finance it?

26) Do you make use of the clinic present in your neighbourhood? Under what conditions and why do you make use of it? Do you find the services given in this clinic sufficient?

27) When you or anybody from your family get sick, which health institutions do you make use of? (Ask them separately) Why? How long does it take to go to there? Do you always go there? How much does it cost and how long does it take for you to get service from an average health institution?

INCOME, CONSUMPTION, SAVINGS AND SPENDING STYLES

28) What do you think about the living conditions in Turkey? How many people who work and assist in family income are there in your family? If there isn't any objection for you, can you tell us about the amount of their assist in family income approximately? At least can you tell us something about the total family income approximately?

29) Can you lead a life as you want under these conditions? Can you tell us what a life as you want reminds you of? What kind of a life is this? What do you think the level of your family income must be for you to lead a life as you want? What can you do for this? Do you have enough power to do it?

30) Do you have any pocket money? How much and where do you spend money? Who gives this pocket money to you? Do you think if it is sufficient or not? Is this pocket money sufficient for you? Is there anything you want very much but can't buy? What do you do when your pocket money is not sufficient? Do you make a reduction?

- 31) Have ever worked in a salaried job to earn your pocket money? If you got much money at your hand, what would you do?
- 32) Are you pleased with the house you live in? Why? Which part of the house do you like most? If no, what kind of a house would you like to live in? Which neighbourhood do you want your house to be in? Why?
- 33) Where do you generally buy your clothes? (From Large stores, boutiques, bazaars or from anywhere cheaper). What do you pay attention to while buying something? (cheapness, being practical, esthetics, fashion, soundness, etc.)
- 34) Do you smoke? How much does it cost to smoke?

SOCIAL LIFE, RELATIONS AND PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES

- 35) Can you tell us how you spend one day? Do you have a spare time? If you have, how do you spend it? How often do you go to Ulus or Kızılay? Why? With whom?
- 36) Is there any problems in your neighbourhood? If there is any, between whom does it arise? Who solves? How do you know about what happens in your neighbourhood? (road, water, electricity) Are you content with living in this neighbourhood? Why?
- 37) If you have any chance, do you want to buy a new house or rent a new house? Where and how do you want this house to be? Who decides where to live?
- 38) What do you think about mukhtar? Who do you consult in natural disasters, the outbreak of epidemic diseases and etc.?
- 39) Do you have any superstitions? Do you go to hodja or tomb when you have any problems?
- 40) Who do you consult when you have any problems such as having a disease or financial problems? Who do you trust in when you have a problem? How do you pay your debt? If you can't, what happens?

WHERE THEY PERCEIVE THEMSELVES

- 41) Among which occupational and income groups do you see yourselves in this city as such a family ? (**THEIR OCCUPATIONS AND INCOMES COULD BE**

MENTIONED). Which class do you think these people/families are in mostly? (like upper, middle, lower middle, lower classes). What kind of people/families do you think are below or above you? Why? Then how do they live?

42) What was your family's situation 5 years ago? What has changed since then? What will happen and change in 5 years? (**CAN YOU THINK ABOUT YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY SEPARATELY?**)

43) What do you think your the most urgent need is now? What can you do to solve these urgent problems? What do you think women can achieve?

44) What are the most urgent needs of your family? Do you order them according to their importance? What do you think women can achieve? What can you do or do you think you do for this matter?

45) What are your expectations from your family? Can they provide you with them?

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

46) Which part did you vote for last? Why? If there was a election today, which party would you vote for? Why? What do you think about the government present now? Do you think they perform their duties?

47) What do you think about the future of Turkey? How do you think Turkey will be 5 years later? Then what kind of future do you wait for? Do you feel safe?

48) Do you get any financial aid or aid given in kind from any association, foundation or municipality? How did you get this aid? Did anybody help you for this? How do you think this aid will be? What do you advise in terms of the ways of giving it and its amount?

49) Is there anything you want to do very much but you can't because of financial impossibilities? Why?

50) Who decides what at home? And who has the right to comment on what at home? Who is frightened most at home? Who gives the final decision? Why?

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM DESIGNED FOR THE DAUGHTERS (IN TURKISH)

ORTA DOĐU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ

KADIN ÇALIŞMALARI BÖLÜMÜ

KENTTE KADIN YOKSULLUĐU VE GEÇİNME STRATEJİLERİ ANKET ÇALIŞMASI (KIZ ANKETİ)

Bu çalışma Orta DoĐu Teknik Üniversitesi Kadın Çalışmaları Departmanı'nda sunulacak olan kadının kentte yoksullaşması ve geliştirdiĐi geçinme stratejileri ile ilgili hazırlanacak olan tez çalışmasının saha uygulaması kısmını teşkil eder. Bu bölüme verilecek cevaplar bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun bir biçimde yukarıda adı geçen bölüme tez sunulması amacıyla hazırlanmıştır. Çalışmada gizlilik her zaman esastır.

Süheyla TÜRKYILMAZ

ANKET NO:

ANKETİN YAPILDIĐI SEMT/MAHALLE:

ANKET TARİHİ:

ANKETÖR ADI/ADLARI:

HANE REİSİ:

HANE ADRESİ:

(GÜZ-2002)

AİLE AĞACI, ÇOCUKLUK, GÖÇ

1)Doğum yeriniz? Doğum Tarihiniz?

2)Ankara'lı değilseniz, bundan önce nerelerde yaşadınız?Ankara'ya ne zaman göçtünüz? Kimlerle ve niçin bu kente geldiniz? Ankara'ya göçtüğünüzden bu yana neler değişti? Peki köyle ilişkileriniz devam ediyor mu? Köyü özleyiyor musunuz? Eger bir fırsat verilseydi geri dönmek ister miydiniz?

3)Göç eden aileniz ise onlar bu kente ne zaman ve nereden gelmişler?Geldiklerinde çevrelerinde kendi hemşehrileri mi varmış? evleri nasılmış?Bu tür bir evde mi oturmuşlar? Şimdi nasıl?Geldiklerinde gecekondlu mu yapmışlar yoksa kirada mı oturmuşlar?

4) Ankara'da hep bu mahalledemi yaşadınız? Değilse nerelerde?

5)Yine çocukluğunuzu düşünürsek o zaman evinizde kimler vardı, büyük bir aile içinde mi yaşadınız? Kac kardeştiniz? Siz en büyük kız mıydınız? Bize biraz çocukluğunuzdan bahseder misiniz? Bize hiç unutamadığınız bir anınızı anlatabilir misiniz? Kardeşlerinizle ilişkileriniz nasıldı? Evin büyükleriyle aranız nasıldı? Anneniz ve babanızla aranızda sorun olur muydu? Olursa ne gibi sorunlar olurdu ve kim çözerdi?

6)Çocukluğunuzdan bu yana şöyle bir düşünürseniz, anne- babanızın durumu, gelir ve edinebildikleri irat v.b.g. açısından nasıl değişti? Daha iyiye mi, yoksa kötüye mi gitti?

7)Evde Türkçe'den başka diller konuşulurmuydu? Evetse, hangi diller? Bu dilleri siz de konuşabilir miydiniz, yoksa sadece büyükler mi konuşurdu?

8)Anne- babanız hayatta mı? Kaç yaşındalar? Öldüyse kaç yaşında öldü? Neden?

9)Siz çocukken babanız ne işle uğraşırdu? Daha sonra uğraşı alanı değişti mi? Şimdi ne yapıyor? Nerede oturuyor? Babanızla aranızda sorun olur mu(muydu)? Olursa kim çözer? Anneniz bu durumda nasıl davranır?

10)Siz çocukken ya anneniz ne iş yapardı? Ev dışında bir işte çalışıyor muydu ya da gelir getirici herhangi bir iş yapıyor muydu? Sonra ne oldu? Şimdi ne yapıyor? Nerede yaşıyor? Annenizle aranızda sorun olur mu(muydu)? Olursa kim çözer? Babanız bu durumda nasıl davranır?

11) Evlilik hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Evleneceğiniz kişinin nasıl birisi olmasını isterdiniz? Neden? Evleneceğiniz kişiyi siz mi seçersiniz yoksa aileniz mi karar verir? Neden? Siz bu duruma karşı mısınız?) Evlendikten sonra aileyle beraber mi oturmak istersiniz? Neden? Babanız gibi birisiyle evlenmek ister miydiniz?neden?

12) Başka mezhep veya dinden birisiyle evlenmek ister miydiniz? Neden? Evlenirken sizin için önemli olan resmi nikah mıdır yoksa dini nikah mıdır? Önceliği hangisine verirdiniz? Başlık parası için ne düşünüyorsunuz? Evlilik için çeyiz hazırlıyor musunuz? Neden?

EĞİTİM DURUMU, EĞİTİME İLİŞKİN TUTUM

13) Okul yaşamınızı nasıl hatırlıyorsunuz? İyi bir öğrenci miydiniz yoksa zorla mı okudunuz? Nerelerde, hangi okullarda okudunuz? (ilkokul, lise ve üniversiteyi hangi köy/kentlerde okuduğu, gittiği okulların özel mi, devlet mi, yoksa nasıl okullar olduğu sorulacak)

14)Sizin de görmek istediğiniz öğrenim bu muydu? Yoksa başka okullara gitmek veya farklı bir dalda öğrenim görmek ister miydiniz? Ne olmak isterdiniz? En son bitirdiğiniz okul? Eğer eğitiminizi tamamlamadıysanız nedeni? Sizce aileniz, sizi ve diğer çocuklarını istediği gibi okutabildi mi? Ya da okumalarını istedi mi? Bu açıdan kardeşler arasında cinsiyete v.s. bağlı farklar var mıydı?nasıl?

15) Okula giderken veya bitirdikten sonra kendi ilgi alanınızla ilgili herhangi bir kursa gittiniz mi?

16) Oğlunuzun ve kızınızın nasıl birisiyle evlenmesini isterdiniz? farklı mezhep, din, bölge vs.den insanlarla evlenmesini ister misiniz?Neden?

17)Peki, siz çocuklarınızın nasıl bir eğitim almasını isterdiniz? Bunu sağlayabileceğinizi düşünüyor musunuz (veya sağlayabiliyor musunuz)? Neden?

18) Eğitim açısından düşünüldüğünde sizden sonraki kuşakların olanakları daha mı iyi yoksa kötü olacak? Neden?

**İŞ TARİHÇESİ, ÇALIŞMA KOŞULLARI VE İŞE YÖNELİK TUTUM:
(EĞER ÇALIŞTIYSA):**

19) İlk çalışmaya kaç yaşınızda başladınız? Sosyal güvenceniz var mıydı? İş nasıl buldunuz? Kendiniz mi karar verdiniz? Destekleyen ve bu işi öneren oldu mu? Çalışmak yaşantınızda neleri değiştirdi? (Örneğin, mahalledeki itibarınız daha mı güçlendi yoksa zayıfladı mı? İlişkiler nasıl etkilendi?) Peki bu işten ne kadar kazanıyordunuz? Kazandığınız parayı nereye harcıyordunuz? Ayrıldıysanız niçin ayrıldınız?

20) Peki arada sırada da olsa ev veya ev dışında gelir getirici işler yapıyor musunuz? Peki bundan yaklaşık ne kadar kazanıyorsunuz? Bu parayı nereye harcıyorsunuz? Evde çalışıyorsanız ne kadar zamandır bu işi yapıyorsunuz? Bu işe nasıl başladınız? Kendiniz mi karar verdiniz? Destekleyen bu işi öneren oldu mu?

21) Ücretli bir işte çalışmayı düşünür müsünüz? Neden? Bunun ne tür 1 iş olmasını isterdiniz? Bu fırsatı elde edebilmek için ne gibi şeyler gerekir? Ücretli bir işte çalışmaya karar verseniz kimlerden yardım istersiniz? Kimlere ya da nerelere başvurmayı düşünürsünüz?

22) Ücretli olarak ev dışında çalışmıyor iseniz evde devamlı ya da ara sıra yaptığınız ufak da olsa gelir getiren bir işiniz var mı?

23) **(EĞER ARA SIRA DA OLSA ÇALIŞIYORSANIZ)** Siz çalışmasaydınız ailenizin geçim durumu bundan nasıl etkilenirdi? Ne açıdan? Sizin kazancınızın nasıl bir destek sağladığını düşünüyorsunuz? Aile bireyleri sizin katkınızı nasıl değerlendiriyor?

SAĞLIK:

24) Evde en çok hastalanan kim? Hastalığı nedir? Hangi durumlarda doktora gidersiniz? Peki gitmek isteyip de gidemediğiniz bir hastalık var mı? **(Burada özellikle diş ve göz gibi şeyler kontrol edilecek.)**

25) Evde kronik hastalığı olan birisi var mı? Sizce en çok kimin sağlığı önemli? Peki siz en son ne zaman muayene oldunuz? Düzenli olarak muayene olur musunuz? Ciddi bir ameliyat veya rahatsızlık geçirdiniz mi? Tedavi oldunuz mu? Yoksa tedavi sürüyor mu? Sosyal güvenceniz var mı? Varsa kimin üzerinden? Bunu nasıl finanse ettiniz?

26) Mahallede bulunan sağlık ocağını kullanırmısınız? Hangi durumlarda, ne nedenle kullanırsınız? Sağlık ocağında verilen hizmeti yeterli buluyor musunuz?

27) Hastalık durumunda kendiniz / ailenizden herhangi biri (**ayrı ayrı sor**) hangi sağlık kurumlarını kullanırsınız? Neden? Ne kadar surede ulaşırsınız? Her zaman gidebilirmisiniz? Size ortalama bir sağlık kurumundan hizmet almak ne kadara mal olur, zaman ve para olarak

GELİR, TÜKETİM, TASARRUF VE HARCAMA BİÇİMLERİ

28) Türkiye’de yaşam koşulları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Ailenizde şu anda çalışan ve aile gelirinize katkıda bulunan (**KAÇ KİŞİ VARSA SÖYLEYİNİZ**) kaç kişi var? Yaklaşık olarak sizce sakıncası yoksa katkı değerlerini söyleyebilir misiniz? En azından ailenin yaklaşık toplam geliri hakkında birşey söyleyebilir misiniz?

29) Bu koşullarda istediğiniz gibi bir yaşam sürdürebiliyor musunuz? İsteddiğiniz gibi bir yaşam size neyi hatırlatıyor, kısaca anlatabilir misiniz? nasıl bir yaşam bu? Bir fikrimiz olması için acaba ortalama hane geliriniz ne olsa böyle dilediğiniz gibi bir yaşam sürebilirdiniz? Peki siz bunun için neler yapabilirsiniz ve gücünüz ne kadarına yeter?

30) Harçlığın var mı? Aylık nelere, ne kadar para harcarsın? Bu harçlığı sana kim verir? Sana göre bu yeterli mi yoksa değil mi? Bu harçlık sana yetiyor mu? Çok isteyipte alamadığın şeyler oluyor mu? harçlığın yetmediğinde neler yapıyorsun? kısıntı yaparsın?

31) Harçlık kazanmak için hiç gelir getirici bir iş yaptın mı? Peki diyelim eline fazla para gecti, ne yapardın? Eline fazla para geçse ne yapardın?

32)Bu evde oturmaktan memnun musunuz?Neden? Evin en çok sevdiğiniz bir tarafını söyler misiniz?Hayırsa, nasıl bir evde oturmayı düşünürdünüz? Evin hangi semtte olmasını isterdiniz? Neden?

33)Ya giysilerinizi en çok nereden alırsınız? (büyük mağazalardan, butiklerden, pazardan, ucuz olan neresiyse oradan) Eşya alırken en çok nelere dikkat edersiniz? (ucuzluk, pratiklik, estetik, moda, sağlamlık v.s.)

34)Sigara içiyor musunuz? Yaklaşık sigara masrafı ne kadar oluyor?

TOPLUMSAL YAŞAM, İLİŞKİLER VE ETKİNLİKLERE KATILIM:

35) Bize 1 gününüzü anlatır mısınız? Boş zamanınız oluyor mu, oluyorsa nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Ulus veya Kızılay'a hangi sıklıkla gidersiniz? Neden? Kiminle?

36)Mahallenizde sorun olur mu? Olursa kimler arasında olur? Kim çözer? Mahallede yapılacak işlerden (yol, su , elektrik) nasıl haberdar olursunuz? Bu mahallede oturmaktan memnun musunuz? Neden?

37) Bir olanağınız olsa yeni bir ev almayı, ya da yeni bir eve taşınmayı istermiydiniz? Bu evin nasıl ve hangi semtte olmasını isterdiniz? Nerede oturulacağına kim karar verir?

38) Muhtar hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz? Herhangi bir doğal afet, salgın v.b.g durumlarda kime/kimlere başvurursunuz?

39) Batıl inançlarınız var mı ve sıkışık durumlarda hiç hocaya, türbeye gidermisiniz?

40) Siz bir derdiniz olduğunuz da örneğin hastalık halinde danışmak istediğinizde ya da paraya gereksinim duyduğunuzda kim/kimlere gidersiniz? Başınız bir derde girdiğinde kime güvenirsiniz? Aldığınız bu borcu nasıl odersiniz, ödeyemezseniz ne olur?

KENDİLERİNİ NEREDE GÖRÜYÖRLER:

41)Siz kendinizi böyle bir aile olarak (**İŞLER VE GELİRLERİ SÖYLENEBİLİR**) bu kentte hangi mesleklerde ve gelir düzeyinde insanlar arasında görüyorsunuz kendinizi? Bu kişiler/aileler sizce dah çok hangi tabakada yer alıyor?(Üst, orta,

ortanın altı, alt gibi). Sizce ne tür aileler ya da kimler sizin üstünüzde kimler daha altta yer alıyor? Neden? Peki onlar nasıl yaşıyorlar?

42)Peki ailenizin bundan 5 yıl önceki durumu neydi? O günden bu yana neler değişti? Peki onümüzdeki 5 yıl içinde nasıl olacak ve neler değişecek? (**KENDİNİZ VE AİLENİZ İÇİN AYRI AYRI DÜŞÜNÜR MÜSÜNÜZ?**)

43)Şu anda sizce en acil ihtiyacınız nedir? Bu acil sorunların çözümü için neler yapabilirsiniz? Sizce kadınların gücü nelere yetebilir?

44)Peki ailenizin en acil ihtiyaçları nelerdir? Bunları önem sırasına göre sıralar mısınız? Sizce kadınların gücü nelere yetebilir? Siz bu konuda neler yapabilirsiniz ya da yapmayı düşünürsünüz?

45) Ailenden ne gibi beklentin var ailen bunları karşılayabiliyor mu?

POLİTİK KATILIM

46)En son hangi partiye oy verdiniz?Neden? Bugün seçim olsa hangi partiye oy verirdiniz?Neden? Şu andaki hükümet hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce görevlerini yerine getiriyorlar mı?

47)Türkiye'nin geleceği konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce bundan 5 yıl sonra Türkiye nasıl olacak? Peki siz nasıl bir gelecek bekliyorsunuz? Kendinizi güvende hissediyor musunuz?

48)Herhangi bir dernek veya vakıftan veya belediyeden aynı veya maddi yardım alıyor musunuz? Peki bu yardıma nasıl ulaştınız? Biri size bu konuda yardımcı oldu mu? Bu yardım sizce nasıl olmalı? Bu yardımın verilmiş şekli, miktarı konusunda siz neler önerirsiniz?

49)Peki son olarak maddi olanaksızlıklardan dolayı yapmak isteyipte yapamadığınız 1 şey var mı? Neden?

50)Peki evde kim hangi kararları verir ve hangi konularda söz sahibidir? Evde en çok kimden korkulur, kimin sözü geçer? Neden?

APPENDIX J

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM DESIGNED FOR WOMEN

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT of WOMEN STUDIES

WOMEN' S POVERTY and THEIR SUBSISTENCE STRATEGIES in URBAN QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is comprised of the field study section of the thesis that researches upon women's poverty and their survival strategies in urban life and the study will be presented to the department of 'Women Studies' in Middle East Technical University. The answers section of this questionnaire will be kept confidential in conformity with the scientific ethical rules and will be submitted to the abovementioned department as in the form of a thesis study. Confidentiality is strictly observed in this study. Süheyla TÜRKYILMAZ

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM NO:

A DISTRICT/ TOWN:

DATE:

THE NAME OF THE INTERVIEWER /S :

HEAD OF THE FAMILY:

ADDRESS:

(FALL-2002)

FAMILY TREE, CHILDHOOD, MIGRATION

1. What is your date and place of birth?
2. If you weren't born in Ankara, what places have you been before you came to Ankara? When did you migrate to Ankara? Why and with whom did you migrate? What kind of changes has taken place since you migrated to Ankara? Are you in contact with your village of origin? Do you miss your village? If had a chance to return back to your home town, would you want to go back?
3. If it was your family that migrated to Ankara, (do you know) from where and when did they migrate? Did they have had fellows/acquaintances of the same origin in the environment? How did their house look like? Was it similar to the current house? And how does the house look like now? Did they build their own *gecekodu* or did they rent a house?
4. Have you always resided in this district of Ankara? If not, in which places have you resided in Ankara, other than this neighborhood?
5. Were you raised up in an extended family in your childhood? If yes, who were the other people residing with you? How many siblings do you have? Are you the eldest daughter? Could you tell us about of your childhood? Could you tell an unforgettable memory from your childhood? How was your relationship with your siblings and other members of the family? Did you have problems with your mother and father? If yes, what kind of problems were they and who was helping to solve them?
6. From your childhood to up to now, have there been any changes about your family income status and financial circumstances? Has it got better or worse?

7. Were there any other languages spoken in your family house other than Turkish? If yes, which languages were they? Were they only spoken by elders? Were you able to speak them as well?
8. Are your parents still alive? If yes, how old are they? If no, how old were they when they died? What was the cause of their death?
9. What was your father's job in your childhood? Has it changed? If yes, what is his profession now? Where does he live now? Do/Did you have any problems with your father? If yes, who solves those problems? How does/did your mother react when you have/had a problem with your father?
10. What was your mother's job in your childhood? Was she working outside the house? Was she being paid for that work? Has that situation changed? What is her profession now? Where does she live now? Do you have or did you have problems with your mother? If yes, who helps to solve these problems? How does/did your father react when you have/had a problem with your mother?

QUESTIONS RELATED WITH THE HISTORY OF THE MARRIAGE

11. Are you still married?
12. Is it your first marriage or did you marry before? If it is not your first marriage, what are the main reasons that made two of you end up in divorcing? Who has made the decision about it? Could you tell us how it happened briefly?
13. How old were you and your spouse when you were first got married? How did the marriage take place? Is your husband a kinsman? Was the marriage the decided upon by mutual agreement with your partner or was it arranged by the family through inspecting a prospective partner whom you have not thought of before? If the marriage was decided upon by mutual agreement with your partner,

did any of the family members on both sides object to this decision? Did you get married by religious or official wedding? If you have practiced both types of marriages, which was practiced first, why and when? If you have not betrothed officially, are you planning to do it?

14. Have your spouse paid an amount of money to your family for the marriage to take place? If yes, how much did he pay? Did you receive gift or jewelry or any other support at your marriage? What was the approximate value of such presents? Do they still belong to you? (Did you receive any financial support other than receiving jewelry?) In the first years of the marriage, did any relative of your husband live with you, or is any relative of your husband still living with you? Who were they, how long did they stay? Do you think these circumstances affected your marriage? What were the impacts of living with relatives of your husband?

15. If your family had opposed to your marriage, what would you do? How would you respond to their objection? From whom would you expect support?

16. Have you ever had a serious quarrel with your husband? If yes, what were the reasons and how was it settled? How did you feel then, why?

17. Did you have a dowry when you got married? What does the dowry consist of? What did you value most or what was the most valuable thing in your dowry? What makes that one so special? What happened to it?

18. How many children do you have? What are their sexes and their professions respectively? How many children would you like to have, why? Were you giving preference to one of the sexes be it male or female? If yes, why? Did your husband agree with you in this respect or not? Have you ever given birth to a dead child or experienced miscarriage? Have you ever had abortion? If yes; why and where

(hospital, polyclinic, doctor's office)? Did you decide on abortion with your husband or alone?

19. (If she lives alone) How did the death of your husband or divorcing from your husband affect you? What were the subsequent changes in your life in every respect? (Financial, social etc.)

(THE QUESTIONS IN THIS PART WILL BE ASKED TO SINGLE INDIVIDUALS)

20. What do you think about marriage? What are the characteristics of the husband that you would prefer to marry, and why? Can you decide about your future husband on your own, or the decision about whom you will get married with is made by your family? If the second one is applicable to you, do you have any objections to that kind of a marriage? Would you want to live in the extended family after you get married, and why? Would you like to marry with someone who is like your father, and why?

21. Would you marry with someone belonging to any other religion or sect, and why? Which one do you attach more importance to; religious or official wedding? Why? What do you think about bride's price? Do you prepare dowry for wedding, why?

EDUCATIONAL STATUS, ATTITUDES IN REGARD TO EDUCATION

22. What are your impressions about your school days (life)? Were you a successful student or were you unwilling to attend the school? What sort of schools did you attend to? Where were these schools? (In which towns/cities did you attend

to primary school/high school/University respectively?) Were they state or private or any other type of schools?

23. Does the educational life you pursued suit your initial expectations? Would you like to have attended other schools and/or study other fields instead? What do you like to do as a profession? What was the last school that you attended? If you couldn't complete the education program you attended, what is the main reason for that? Are your parents satisfied with the educational opportunities that they provided to you? Did sexual differences among your siblings played a role in your family's support concerning the educational opportunities? If yes, please explain?

24. Have you attended any courses in your area of interest during your school life or after the school finished?

(QUESTIONS APPLICABLE TO BOTH WOMEN AND THE DAUGHTERS)

25. Do you know what sort of schools that your husband attended, and where? What is his job now? Has your husband attended any course related with his occupation during his school life or after the school life ended? What kind of a job you would wish for your husband to have?

(QUESTIONS APPLICABLE TO BOTH WOMEN AND THE DAUGHTERS)

26. What kind of educational opportunities do you want to make available for your children? Do you think that you will be able to provide these opportunities, or do you think you are providing them at present? Why?

(ONLY FOR WOMEN)

27. What kind of schools is your children attending to, and where? Have they attended any other courses, lessons and/or received any training? What sort of schools do you wish for your children to attend, and what kind of occupations would you like them to have?

(FOR BOTH OF THEM)

28. What are the characteristics that you prefer your children's spouses should have? What do you think about their getting married with people from different religion, sect, and region, why?

(FOR WOMEN)

29. Compared to the educational opportunities in your childhood, are today's educational opportunities for your children better or worse than your childhood, and why? Do you think that you have made sacrifices for the education of your children, if yes, how? Is there a mutual agreement between you and your husband on such educational issues? If not, what is the difference and what is his attitude towards to the education of your children?

(IF RESPONDENT IS SINGLE)

30. Regarding the educational opportunities, do you think the next generations will have better or worse conditions, and why?

**WORK HISTORY, WORKING CONDITIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD
WORK (IF THE RESPONDENT HAS ALREADY WORKED):**

31. At what age did you start to work? Did you have a social security? How did you find job? Was it your own decision to work? Did anybody support you in this respect or did anyone suggest that you should work? What kind of changes has taken place in your life after you have started working? (For example, in what manner your position in the social environment or the attitudes of your neighbors towards you has changed?) How much was your income? What were you spending your income for? If you quit your job, why did you quit it?

32. Do you work occasionally and then at home or outside home to earn some money? How much do you earn approximately for that kind of work? What do you spend your money for? If you are working at home, how did you start working? For how long have you been doing it? Was it your own decision to work? Did anybody support you in this respect or did anyone suggest that you should work?

33. Would you like to work for a regular salary? Why? What kind of a job would you prefer? What qualifications or requirements are essential to get this kind of job in your opinion? Suppose that you have decided to work to earn a regular salary, from whom would you ask for help? To whom or what kind of institutions would you like to apply?

HEALTH:

34. Which member of your family gets ill more frequently than others? What is the mostly encountered illness of this person? Under what circumstances do you decide that you should visit a doctor? Do you have an illness, which, in your opinion,

should be examined by a doctor, but, you still have not been able to visit a doctor yet? **(The health status of the teeth and eyes will be observed.)**

35. Has anyone from your family any chronicle illness? For you, whose health problems have the priority among the family members? When were you last examined by a medical person? Do you regularly have a health check? Have you ever had a serious medical operation or a severe illness before? Did you receive any medical treatment? Or, is the medical treatment still going on? Have you got any social security or do you benefit from someone else's social security right? Who is this person? How did you finance it?

36. If you do not work out of home, do you do occasionally or continuously smaller jobs that bring mediocre income? **(Questions for people working occasionally)**

INCOME, CONSUMPTION, SAVING AND SPENDING PATTERNS (FOR BOTH OF THEM)

37. What do you think about life conditions of Turkey? How many members from your family are receiving income and contributing to the revenue of the household? If that does not interfere with you privacy, could you tell the amount of money each working family member adds to the total income of the household? If you do not want to tell that, could you give an idea about the total revenue of the family?

38. Are you content and satisfied about the life you are pursuing? Are your life conditions compatible with what you have always desired? How do you describe a life that you have aspirations to and in which you would feel content and satisfied? For us to form a mental picture of the life style aspired for, could you please state an

amount of income that would enable the attainment of such a life conditions? To attain such a life, what kind of deeds you could by yourself? How much of that aspired life could you attain with your current abilities?

(ONLY FOR DAUGHTERS)

39. Do you get pocket money? How much money do you spend monthly, and for what? Who gives you your pocket money? Do you think that your pocket money is enough for your needs? Do you frequently find yourself in the position of abandoning your plans of buying an item which you have yearned for? What do you generally do when your pocket money is not adequate for your needs and purposes? On what kind of expenses do you practice economy or make reductions?

40. Have you ever worked to earn pocket-money? Suppose that you have earned/gained/received too much money, what would you do with it?

(FOR BOTH OF THEM)

41. Except from the family members' bringing regular revenue (the interviewer should confirm the names of each member bringing regular revenue), have you got any other income resources? (Such as the rental gain from the ownership of house(s), land(s) and shop(s), financial interests from the money put in bank accounts, monetary investments, revenues from agricultural practices etc.) Could you please explain each of the income resource? Are these resources gained by your own efforts as a family or were they inherited? If you obtained them through receiving heritage, were you able to increase the monetary value of that income resource in the course of the time?

42 Are supplies of storable food as sugar, wheat or legume sent from your village as assistance to the subsistence? If yes, who sends them in what frequency, and how much do you receive? Do you participate in daily events organized by women within the vicinity that enable the exchange of food stuff like sugar, rice etc. in sequence? If yes, how often do you participate in such events? Are they facilitating your subsistence?

43. Do you pay electricity bill? If yes, how much do you pay monthly?

44 Do you pay water bill? If yes, how much do you pay monthly?

45 Do you pay telephone bill? If yes, how much do you pay monthly?

46 What are the overall heating costs of your household? What kind of a combustible matter do you use to generate heat, how do you obtain it and how much do you pay for it?

47 Could you make estimation and give an idea about the monthly expenditure of your family, by summing up the expense items mentioned above such as health, education, food etc.? Is there any quantity of money that you can spare after all the expense items are subtracted from the total income? Is your family's total income adequate enough to meet all the expense? What do you generally do when your income does not compensate your expense? Do you borrow money from other people or from entities? If yes, who do you borrow money from? Who borrows money mostly in your family; you, or your husband? What happens if you cannot afford to pay the borrowed money back?

48. What kind of food items do you consume mostly? Suppose that you will host a special guest. What would you cook for him/her?

49. Are you paying parts of an installment deal you have made currently? Are you in the habit of paying by installments as you are doing shopping? If yes, could you give an example?

50 Do you put aside money from your income for times of hardship? If yes, how much money you are able to put aside approximately? Do all members of family know that you spare money? From which expenses you prefer to cut down when you are in hardship? (Food, clothes, education etc.)

51 If household expenses exceed family's total income, from which expense item will you cut down first? Which items do you consider as indispensable?

52 Let's think about the positive sides of the issue now; suppose that family income has increased substantially, which expenses of the family will be raised first and foremost? Suppose that you have received a substantial amount of money unexpectedly, how would you spend it? (Buying a house, investing, clearing the deficits etc.)

(FOR WOMEN)

53 Are you owner of the house that you are living in? If yes, when did you buy it? Do you own a title deed? Do you own a title deed? When and how (by obtaining credits, borrowing etc.) did you have a title deed? If public improvement services will be provided to this district, would you turn this property to account by the help of a contractor? How many square meters does your house occupy? How many rooms are there in your house? Who is the owner, if you are not the owner of the house? How much is the rent?

54 When did you repair the house or make any improvements lastly? (Painting the walls, renovating the windows by using PVC products, building another heating

system etc.) How did you finance it? Does the house require other kinds of essential repairing?

(FOR BOTH OF THEM)

55 Are you pleased and happy about residing in this house, and why? What do you like about the house mostly? If you do not like the house you are currently living in, please describe the house you would like to live in. In which district would you like your house to be located, and why?

56. Where do you generally buy your clothes? (Big shopping centers, bazaars, boutiques, cheaper shopping sites...) What do you pay attention mostly when you buy goods? (Cheapness, aesthetics, trends, durability...)

57. Do you smoke? Does your husband smoke? How much do you spend for smoking monthly?

(FOR WOMEN)

58a Have you got a washing machine? If yes, is it an automatic one or wringer washer? When did you buy it? Who decide to buy it? How did you buy it? (Second hand, present, grant, discount campaigns...) Is it still working? Has it made your life easier?

58b Have you got refrigerator? When did you buy it? (second hand, present, grant, discount campaigns...) Who decide to buy it? Is it still working? Has it made your life easier? Do you use it everyday?

58c Have you got a dishwasher? When did you buy it? Who decided to buy it, and why? Is it still working? Has it made your life easier? What did you pay attention to

when you were buying it? Do you use it everyday? (second hand, present, grant, discount campaigns ...)

58d Have you got microwave? When did you buy it? Who decide to buy it, and why? Is it still working? Has it made your life easier? What did you pay attention to when you were buying it? Do you use it everyday? (second hand, present, grant, campaign...)

58e Have you got video-camera? When did you buy it? Who decide to buy it, and why? Is it still working? Has it made your life easier? What did you pay attention to when you were buying it? Do you use it everyday? (second hand, present, grant, campaign...)

58f Have you got car? What is the brand of it? When did you buy it? Who decided to buy it, and why? What did you pay attention to when you were buying it? Who uses it? For which purposes it is used?

58g Have you got computer? When did you buy it? Who decided to buy it, and why? What did you pay attention to when you were buying it? Is it still working? Who uses it? (Second hand, present, grant, discount campaigns...)

58h Who owns mobile phones in your family? How long have you been using it? What did you pay attention when you were buying it?

SOCIAL LIFE, RELATIONS AND PARTICIPATING IN THE ACTIVITIES

59 Could you tell us an ordinary day of your life? Do you have leisure time? If yes, how do you use it? How often do you go to Kızılay or Ulus, and for what purpose? With whom do you go there generally?

SOLIDARITY, INFORMAL NETWORK S

60 Did anybody help when your family settled down to this area? Did some one help to find a job for any member from your family? If yes, who and how?

61 Suppose that your marriage terminated very recently. To whom would you place confidence & trust in and from whom would you expect support in the first instance?

(Questions between 130-134 will be asked to both of them)

62 Are there any conflicts around in your home district? If yes, who are the parties of the conflict mostly? Who helps to solve the problems arising out of conflicts? How do you get informed about the infrastructural public works such as road, water, electricity services etc. in your neighborhood, and why? Are you pleased with residing in this neighborhood, and why?

63 Suppose that you had the means to buy a new house, would you like to move to a new house? In which district, do you prefer to reside, and what are the characteristics of the house you wish to have? Who decides about where to live in your family?

64 What do you think about the local chief of your neighborhood? Where do you apply to in cases of emergency such as natural disasters, epidemics?

65 Have you got superstitious beliefs and do you visit hodjas, or sacred tombs in times of hardship to find a remedy for your problems?

66 When you have problems, like being ill, or when you need to borrow money, where and to whom do you appeal to? To whom do you trust when you are in trouble? If you borrow money, how do you pay it? What would happen if you are not able to pay back?

How do they perceive themselves with regard to their poverty. (FOR BOTH OF THEM)

67 Among the people of the upper, middle, lower stratas in the society, which group do you think your family belongs to considering the jobs of the family members and the family income levels? Which social strata do you place your family in? ..) What kind of people/families belongs to strata upper than your strata and what kind of people/families belong to lower strata than yours? Why? What kind of a life is these people/families belonging to different stratas pursue?

68 What were the conditions that your family was living under 5 years ago? What kind of things have changed since then? How do you think that your family's life going to change in the next 5 years? Can you provide your answers for yourself and for the other members of the family separately?

69 What do you think is the most urgent need of yours that should be provided for? What kind of commitments should you assume to respond to your urgent needs? According to your opinion, how powerful is a woman in her struggle with life? To what extent can she exert influence or power on matters and deeds?

70 What are your family's urgent needs? Could you describe them in order of importance and their priorities? To what extent can the woman exert influence or power on matters and deeds that should be decided upon or that should be handled? What are your plans or intentions about coping with those urgent needs?

(FOR THE DAUGHTERS)

71 What are your expectations from your family? Does your family respond well to your expectations?

(FOR BOTH OF THEM)

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

72 Which party did you vote for at the last election? If the election was today, which party would you vote? What do you think about government in power? Has it succeeded in its commitments and responsibilities?

73 What do you think about the future of Turkey? How will it be after 5 years? What kind of a future are you waiting for? Do you feel safe and confident about the future?

74 Have you taken aid from any municipality or foundation? If yes, how did you get it? Did anybody help you to take it?

75 Lastly, is there anything that you want to do, but could not do because of the scarce material conditions, why?

76 Who generally takes decision in your family? Who has an authority at home?

APPENDIX K

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM DESIGNED FOR WOMEN (IN TURKISH)

ORTA DOĐU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ

KADIN ÇALIŞMALARI BÖLÜMÜ

KENTTE KADIN YOKSULLUĐU VE GEÇİNME STRATEJİLERİ ANKET ÇALIŞMASI

Bu çalışma Orta Dođu Teknik Üniversitesi Kadın Çalışmaları Departmanı'nda sunulacak olan kadının kentte yoksullaşması ve geliştirdiđi geçinme stratejileri ile ilgili hazırlanacak olan tez çalışmasının saha uygulaması kısmını teşkil eder. Bu bölüme verilecek cevaplar bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun bir biçimde yukarıda adı geçen bölüme tez sunulması amacıyla hazırlanmıştır. Çalışmada gizlilik her zaman esastır.

Süheyla TÜRKYILMAZ

ANKET NO:

ANKETİN YAPILDIĐI SEMT/MAHALLE:

ANKET TARİHİ:

ANKETÖR ADI/ADLARI:

HANE REİSİ:

HANE ADRESİ:

GÜZ-2002

HANEDE YAŞAYANLARIN BİLGİLERİ

Akrabalık
Sayı Derecesi Cinsiyeti Yaşı Eğitim İşi Güvencesi

EVLE İLGİLİ BİLGİLER

Evdeki Oda Sayısı:

Tuvaleti evin içinde mi yoksa dışında mı?

Neyle ısıldığı:

Sıcak suyun elde edilme şekli?

AİLE AĞACI, ÇOCUKLUK, GÖÇ

1 Doğum yeriniz? Doğum Tarihiniz?

2 Ankara'lı değilseniz, bundan önce nerelerde yaşadınız?Ankara'ya ne zaman göçtünüz? Kimlerle ve niçin bu kente geldiniz? Ankara'ya göçtüğünüzden bu yana neler değişti? Peki köyle ilişkileriniz devam ediyor mu? Köyü özleyor musunuz? Eger bir fırsat verilseydi geri dönmek ister miydiniz?

3.Göç eden aileniz ise onlar bu kente ne zaman ve nereden gelmişler?Geldiklerinde çevrelerinde kendi hemşehrileri mi varmış? evleri nasılmış?Bu tür bir evde mi oturmuşlar? Şimdi nasıl?Geldiklerinde gecekodu mu yapmışlar yoksa kirada mı oturmuşlar?

4 Ankara'da hep bu mahalledemi yaşadınız? Değilse nerelerde?

5 Yine çocukluğunuzu düşünürsek o zaman evinizde kimler vardı, büyük bir aile içinde mi yaşadınız? Kaç kardeşiniz? Siz en büyük kız mıydınız? Bize biraz çocukluğunuzdan bahseder misiniz? Bize hiç unutamadığınız bir anınızı anlatabilir misiniz? Kardeşlerinizle ilişkileriniz nasıldı? Evin büyükleriyle aranız nasıldı? Anneniz ve babanızla aranızda sorun olur muydu? Olursa ne gibi sorunlar olurdu ve kim çözerdi?

6 Çocukluğunuzdan bu yana şöyle bir düşünürseniz, anne- babanızın durumu, gelir ve edinebildikleri irat v.b.g. açısından nasıl değişti? Daha iyiye mi, yoksa kötüye mi gitti?

7 Evde Türkçe'den başka diller konuşulormuydu? Evetse, hangi diller? Bu dilleri siz de konuşabilir miydiniz, yoksa sadece büyükler mi konuşurdu?

8 Anne- babanız hayatta mı? Kaç yaşındalar? Öldüyse kaç yaşında öldü? Neden?

9 Siz çocukken babanız ne işle uğraşırdu? Daha sonra uğraşı alanı değişti mi? Şimdi ne yapıyor? Nerede oturuyor? Babanızla aranızda sorun olur mu(muydu)? Olursa kim çözer? Anneniz bu durumda nasıl davranır?

10 Siz çocukken ya anneniz ne ne yapardı? Ev dışında bir işte çalışıyor muydu ya da gelir getirici herhangi bir iş yapıyor muydu? Sonra ne oldu? Şimdi ne yapıyor? Nerede yaşıyor? Annenizle aranızda sorun olur mu(muydu)? Olursa kim çözer? Babanız bu durumda nasıl davranır?

EVLİLİK TARİHÇESİ İLE İLGİLİ SORULAR:

11 Halen evli misiniz? (**Hiç evlenmemişse 35. Soruya geçiniz**)

12 İlk evliliğiniz mi, yoksa daha önce evlendiniz mi? İlk evliliğiniz değil ise birincisinin bitme nedeni neydi? Kim karar verdi? Bu süreç nasıl gelişti kısaca anlatır mısınız?

13 İlk evlendiğiniz de kaç yaşındaydınız? Eşiniz kaç yaşındaydı? Evliliğiniz nasıl oldu? Eşinizle bir akrabalığınız var mı?Anlaşarak mı yoksa görücü usulüyle mi? Anlaşarak ise aileniz ya da eşinizin ailesi karşı çıktı mı? Resmi ve dini nikahınız var mı? İkisi birden varsa hangisi daha önce oldu?Niçin? Ne kadar süre önce? yoksa siz ve eşiniz resmi nikah düşünüyor musunuz?

14 Eşiniz sizin için ailenize başlık parası verdi mi? Verdiyse ne kadar? Evlendiğiniz zaman size takı takıldı mı? yaklaşık değeri ne kadardı? Peki şu anda onlar hala size mi ait? (Takı dışında herhangi bir yardım yapıldı mı?) Evliliğinizin ilk yıllarında (ya da şimdi) eşinizin ailesinden herhangi biri/birileri de sizinle yaşadı/yaşıyor mu? Bunlar kim/kimler? Ne kadar süreyle? Evliliğinizi bu durum nasıl etkiledi?

15 Eğer aileniz eşinizle evlenmenize karşı çıkmış olsaydı ne yapardınız? Nasıl bir yol seçerdiniz? Kimlerden ya da kimden destek arardınız?

16 Eşinizle aranızda hiç şiddetli bir tartışma yaşadınız mı? Yaşadıysanız nedeni neydi ve nasıl sonuçlandı? Bu durumda ne hissettiniz? Neden?

17 Evlendiğiniz zaman hiç çeyiz getirdiniz mi? Bunlar neydi? İçlerinde size göre hangisi en değerli olanıydı? Ona şimdi ne oldu?

18 Kaç çocuğunuz var? yaşları nedir? Sırasıyla cinsiyet ve yaptıkları işleri söyler misiniz? Peki kaç çocuğunuz olmasını isterdiniz? Neden? Kız ya da erkek çocuğunuz için bir tercihiniz var mıydı? Neden? (Peki kocanız sizinle aynı fikirde miydi size baskı yaptımı) Ölü veya düşük bebek var mı? Hiç kürtaj oldunuz mu? Kürtaj olma nedeniniz neydi? Eşinizle birlikte mi karar verdiniz? Nerede kürtaj yaptırdınız? (hastane, poliklinik, özel muayene v.s.)

19 (**EGER YALNIZ YAŞIYORSA**)Eşinizin ölümü veya evliliğinizin bitmesi sizi nasıl etkiledi? Maddi ve manevi durumunuzda neler değişti?

DİKKAT BEKARSA BU SORULAR SORULACAK:

20 Evlilik hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Evleneceğiniz kişinin nasıl birisi olmasını isterdiniz? Neden? Evleneceğiniz kişiyi siz mi seçersiniz yoksa aileniz mi kara verir? Neden? Siz bu duruma karşı mısınız?) Evlendikten sonra aileyle beraber mi oturmak istersiniz? Neden? Babanız gibi birisiyle evlenmek ister miydiniz?neden?

21 Başka mezhep veya dinden birisiyle evlenmek ister miydiniz? Neden? Evlenirken sizin için önemli olan resmi nikah mıdır yoksa dini nikah mıdır? Önceliği hangisine verirdiniz? Başlık parası için ne düşünüyorsunuz? Evlilik için çeyiz hazırlıyor musunuz? Neden?

EĞİTİM DURUMU, EĞİTİME İLİŞKİN TUTUM

22 Okul yaşamınızı nasıl hatırlıyorsunuz? İyi bir öğrenci miydiniz yoksa zorla mı okudunuz? Nerelerde, hangi okullarda okudunuz? (ilkokul, lise ve üniversiteyi hangi köy/kentlerde okuduğu, gittiği okulların özel mi, devlet mi, yoksa nasıl okullar olduğu sorulacak)

23 Sizin de görmek istediğiniz öğrenim bu muydu? Yoksa başka okullara gitmek veya farklı bir dalda öğrenim görmek ister miydiniz? Ne olmak isterdiniz? En son bitirdiğiniz okul? Eğer eğitiminizi tamamlamadıysanız nedeni? Sizce aileniz, sizi ve diğer çocuklarını istediği gibi okutabildi mi? Ya da okumalarını istedi mi? Bu açıdan kardeşler arasında cinsiyete v.s. bağlı farklar var mıydı?nasıl?

24 Okula giderken veya bitirdikten sonra kendi ilgi alanınızla ilgili herhangi bir kursa gittiniz mi?

25 Oğlunuzun ve kızınızın nasıl birisiyle evlenmesini isterdiniz? farklı mezhep, din, bölge vs.den insanlarla evlenmesini ister misiniz?Neden?

(HER 2'sinde sorulacak)

26 Peki, siz çocuklarınızın nasıl bir eğitim almasını isterdiniz? ? Bunu sağlayabileceğinizi düşünüyor musunuz (veya sağlayabiliyor musunuz)? Neden?

KADINA SORULACAK:

27 Çocuklarınız nerede okuyorlar? Kursu gidiyorlar mı veya eğitimleriyle ilgili başka dersler alıyorlar mı?

28 Oğlunuzun ve kızınızın ne tür okullarda okumasını ve nasıl bir mesleği olmasını istersiniz?

SADECE KADINA SORULACAK:

29 Eğitim açısından düşünüldüğünde sizce bugün çocuklarınızın olanakları size göre daha mı iyi yoksa daha mı kötü? Neden(Bazı açılardan iyi, bazı açılardan kötü deniyorsa görüşleri o yönde alınabilir)?Siz bu konuda fedakarlık yaptığınızı düşünüyor musunuz? Peki nasıl? Çocuklarınızın eğitimi ile ilgili konularda eşiniz de sizinle aynı görüşleri paylaşıyor mu? Farklıysa, ne gibi bir fark?

BEKARSA

30 Eğitim açısından düşünüldüğünde sizden sonraki kuşakların olanakları daha mı iyi yoksa kötü olacak? Neden?

İŞ TARİHÇESİ, ÇALIŞMA KOŞULLARI VE İŞE YÖNELİK TUTUM: EĞER ÇALIŞTIYSA:

31 İlk çalışmaya kaç yaşınızda başladınız?Sosyal güvenceniz var mıydı? İş nasıl buldunuz? Kendiniz mi karar verdiniz? Destekleyen ve bu işi öneren oldu mu? Çalışmak yaşantınızda neleri değiştirdi? (Örneğin, mahalledeki itibarınız daha mı güçlendi yoksa zayıfladı mı? İlişkiler nasıl etkilendi?) Peki bu işten ne kadar kazanıyordunuz? Kazandığınız parayı nereye harcıyordunuz? Ayrıldıysanız niçin ayrıldınız?

32 Peki arada sırada da olsa ev veya ev dışında gelir getirici işler yapıyor musunuz? Peki bundan yaklaşık ne kadar kazanıyorsunuz? Bu parayı nereye harcıyorsunuz? Evde çalışıyorsanız ne kadar zamandır bu işi yapıyorsunuz? Bu işe nasıl başladınız? Kendiniz mi karar verdiniz? Destekleyen bu işi öneren oldu mu?

33 Ücretli bir işte çalışmayı düşünür müsünüz? Neden? Bunun ne tür 1 iş olmasını isterdiniz? Bu fırsatı elde edebilmek için ne gibi şeyler gerekir? Ücretli bir işte çalışmaya karar verseniz kimlerden yardım istersiniz? Kimlere ya da nerelere başvurmayı düşünürsünüz?

SAGLIK:

34 Evde en çok hastalanan kim? Hastalığı nedir? Hangi durumlarda doktora gidersiniz? Peki gitmek isteyip de gidemediğiniz bir hastalık var mı?

35 Evde kronik hastalığı olan birisi var mı? Sizce en çok kimin sağlığı önemli? Peki siz en son ne zaman muayene oldunuz? Düzenli olarak muayene olur musunuz? Ciddi bir ameliyat veya rahatsızlık geçirdiniz mi? Tedavi oldunuz mu? Yoksa tedavi sürüyor mu? Sosyal güvenceniz var mı? Varsa kimin üzerinden? Bunu nasıl finanse ettiniz?

36 Eğer çalışmıyorsanız, sağlık giderleri için ev dışında gelir getirici iş yaptınız mı?

GELİR, TÜKETİM, TASARRUF VE HARCAMA BİÇİMLERİ (Hem kadına hem de kıza sorulacak)

37 Türkiye’de yaşam koşulları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Ailenizde şu anda çalışan ve aile gelirine katkıda bulunan **(KAÇ KİŞİ VARSA SÖYLEYİNİZ)** kaç kişi var? Yaklaşık olarak sizce sakıncası yoksa katkı değerlerini söyleyebilir misiniz? En azından ailenin yaklaşık toplam geliri hakkında birşey söyleyebilir misiniz?

38 Bu koşullarda istediğiniz gibi bir yaşam sürdürebiliyor musunuz? İsteddiğiniz gibi bir yaşam size neyi hatırlatıyor, kısaca anlatabilir misiniz? nasıl bir yaşam bu? Bir fikrimiz olması için acaba ortalama hane geliriniz ne olsa böyle dilediğiniz gibi bir yaşam sürebilirdiniz? Peki siz bunun için neler yapabilirsiniz ve gücünüz ne kadarına yeter?

(SADECE KIZA SORULACAK:

39 Harçlığın var mı? Aylık nelere, ne kadar para harcarsın? Bu harçlığı sana kim verir? Sana göre bu yeterli mi yoksa değil mi? Bu harçlık sana yetiyor mu? Çok isteyipte alamadığın şeyler oluyor mu? Harçlığın yetmediğinde neler yapıyorsun? Kısıntı yaparsın?

40 Harçlık kazanmak için hiç gelir getirici bir iş yaptın mı? Peki diyelim eline fazla para geçti, ne yapardın? Eline fazla para geçse ne yapardın?

SORULAR KADINA SORULACAK:

41 Peki sizin hanenize düzenli gelir getiren kişiler dışında (Bunların kim olduklarını tek tek söyleyerek onaylattırın) irattan (arsa, ev, dükkan kirası aile bireylerinden katkı gibi), tarımdan ya da bankaya yatırdığınız veya başka şekilde değerlendirdiğiniz paraların faizinden ek gelir kaynağınız var mı? Varsa bunların tek tek neler olduğunu söyleyebilir misiniz? Bunları kendiniz mi edindiniz, aileden mi kaldı? Aileden kaldıysa çoğaltabildiniz mi?

42 Kışlık olarak köyden bakliyat, un, şeker gibi yardım geliyor mu? Geliyorsa hangi aralıklarla, ne kadar ve kim tarafından gönderiliyor? Mahalle içerisinde şeker, pirinç günü gibi günlere katılıyor musunuz? Hangi sıklıkta? Bunlar geçinmenizde ne gibi kolaylıklar sağlıyor?

43 Elektrik parası ödüyor musunuz? Ödüyorsanız aylık ne kadar?

44 Aylık su parası ödüyor musunuz? Ne kadar?

45 Ayda ne kadar telefon parası geliyor?

46 Yakacak maliyeti ne kadar? Nasıl alıyorsunuz?

47 Tüm yukarıdaki harcamaları göz önüne alarak bir ay içerisinde yaklaşık harcama miktarınız ne kadar olduğu konusunda bir fikir verebilir misiniz?(Sağlık+eğitim+ gıda olarak ne kadar harcıyorsunuz?) Elinize para kalıyor mu? Yetmediğinde neler yaparsınız? Hanenize giren aylık gelir, toplam harcamalarınızı karşılamaya yetiyor mu? Ne yapıyorsunuz? Borçlanıyor musunuz? Kime veya nereye borçlanıyorsunuz? Borcu daha çok siz mi istiyorsunuz yoksa eşiniz mi bulabiliyor? Peki sonra ödeyemezseniz ne oluyor?

48 En çok ne tür gıdalar tüketiyorsunuz? Diyelim ki özel bir misafir yemeğe geldi ona ne pişirilir?

49 Şu anda taksit ödüyor musunuz? Taksitle eşya veya başka şeyler alma alışkanlığı var mı? Örnek verebilir misiniz?

50 Gelirinizden kara gün için ayırdığınız para oluyor mu? Evetse genelde ne kadar? Bundan aile içinde herkes haberdar mı? Zorda kalınca nereden kısıntı yaparsınız?(yiyecek, giyecek, eğitim)

51 Hanenizin gelirinde giderek masraflarınızı karşılayamayacak bir düşüş olsa, en kolay vazgeçebileceğiniz harcama kaleminiz ne olurdu? Hiç vazgeçemeyeceğiniz nedir?

52 Şimdi de olumlu açıdan düşünelim. Farzedelim, aile gelirinde önemli bir artış oldu, ilk önce hangi harcama kalemlerinizde yükselme olurdu? Peki elinize beklenmedik bir şekilde önemli bir para geçse bunu ne şekilde kullanırdınız? (ev almak, yatırım yapmak, açıkları kapatmak v.s.)

53-54 KADINA SORULACAK:

53 Oturduğunuz ev size mi ait? Evetse, ne zaman satın aldınız? Tapusu var mı? Tapuyu ne zaman ve nasıl aldınız? İmar gelse müteahhite vermeyi düşünür müydünüz? Ayrıca nasıl satın aldınız- kredi, borç v.s.? Kaç metre kare? Kaç odalı? Hayırsa, kime ait? Buraya ne kadar kira veriyorsunuz?

54 En son evinizi ne zaman tamir ettirdiniz? (Boya, badana, pimapen, kat kaloriferi v.s. ne zaman yaptırdınız?) Bunun parasını nasıl karşıladınız? Halen tamir gerektiren yerler var mı?

HER 2'SİNEDE SORULACAK:

55 Bu evde oturmaktan memnun musunuz? Neden? Evin en çok sevdiğiniz bir tarafını söyler misiniz? Hayırsa, nasıl bir evde oturmayı düşünürdünüz? Evin hangi semtte olmasını isterdiniz? Neden?

HER 2'SİNEDE SORULACAK:

56 Ya giysilerinizi en çok nereden alırsınız? (büyük mağazalardan, butiklerden, pazardan, ucuz olan neresiyse oradan) Eşya alırken en çok nelere dikkat edersiniz? (ucuzluk, pratiklik, estetik, moda, sağlamlık v.s.)

57 Sigara içiyor musunuz? Eşiniz içiyor mu? Yaklaşık sigara masrafı ne kadar oluyor?

58. SORU SADECE KADINA SORULACAK:

BEYAZ EŞYALARLA İLGİLİ SORULAR:

58a Çamaşır makineniz var mı? Otomatik, merdaneli? Kaç yıl önce aldınız? Kim karar verdi? Nasıl aldınız? Çalışır durumda mı? Sizin yaşamınızı kolaylaştırdı mı? (2. El, hediye veya bağış, gazete kuponu, kampanya sırasında taksitle mi?)

58b Buzdolabınız var mı? kaç yıl önce aldınız? Kim karar verdi? Nasıl aldınız? Çalışır durumda mı? Sizin yaşamınızı kolaylaştırdı mı? (2. El, hediye veya bağış, gazete kuponu, kampanya sırasında taksitle mi?)

58c Bulaşık makineniz var mı? Kaç yıl önce aldınız? Kim karar verdi? Nasıl aldınız? Çalışır durumda mı? Sizin yaşamınızı kolaylaştırdı mı? (2. El, hediye veya bağış, gazete kuponu, kampanya sırasında taksitle mi?)

58d Mikrodalga fırınınız var mı?Kaç yıl önce aldınız? Kim karar verdi? Nasıl aldınız? Çalışır durumda mı? Sizin yaşamınızı kolaylaştırdı mı? (2. El, hediye veya bağış, gazete kuponu, kampanya sırasında taksitle mi?)

58e Video ya da kameranız var mı?Kaç yıl önce aldınız? Kim karar verdi? Nasıl aldınız? Çalışır durumda mı? Sizin yaşamınızı kolaylaştırdı mı? (2. El, hediye veya bağış, gazete kuponu, kampanya sırasında taksitle mi?)

58f Arabanız var mı?Kaç yıl önce aldınız? Kim karar verdi? Nasıl aldınız? Çalışır durumda mı? Sizin yaşamınızı kolaylaştırdı mı? (2. El, hediye veya bağış, gazete kuponu, kampanya sırasında taksitle mi?)

58g Bilgisayarınız var mı?Kaç yıl önce aldınız? Kim karar verdi? Nasıl aldınız? Çalışır durumda mı? Sizin yaşamınızı kolaylaştırdı mı? (2. El, hediye veya bağış, gazete kuponu, kampanya sırasında taksitle mi?)

58h Evinizde kimlerin cep telefonu var? Ne zamandan beri? Alırken neye dikkat ettiniz?

**BU BÖLÜMDEKİ TÜM SORULAR HER 2'SİNEDE SORULACAK:
TOPLUMSAL YAŞAM, İLİŞKİLER VE ETKİNLİKLERE KATILIM:**

59 Bize 1 gününüzü anlatır mısınız? Boş zamanınız oluyor mu, oluyorsa nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Ulus veya Kızılay'a hangi sıklıkla gidersiniz? Neden? Kiminle?

DAYANIŞMA, ENFORMEL AĞLAR: (SADECE KADINA SORULACAK)

60 Ankara'ya ilk geldiğinizde siz ya da anne-babanıza buraya yerleşmesinde yardımcı olanlar oldu/olmuş mu? Peki çalışanların (Ailede çalışanların adlarını vererek)..... iş bulmasında yardımcı olan oldu mu? Kim? Nasıl?

61 Diyelim ki bugün evliliğiniz bitti, ilk sığınacağınız, güveneceğiniz kim olurdu?

62 Mahallenizde sorun olur mu? Olursa kimler arasında olur? Kim çözer? Mahallede yapılacak işlerden (yol, su , elektrik) nasıl haberdar olursunuz? Bu mahallede oturmaktan memnun musunuz? Neden?

63 Bir olanağınız olsa yeni bir ev almayı, ya da yeni bir eve taşınmayı istermiydiniz? Bu evin nasıl ve hangi semtte olmasını isterdiniz? Nerede oturulacağına kim karar verir?

64 Muhtar hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz? Herhangi bir doğal afet, salgın v.b.g durumlarda kime/kimlere başvurursunuz?

65 Batıl inançlarınız var mı ve sıkışık durumlarda hiç hocaya, türbeye gidermisiniz?

66 Siz bir derdiniz olduğunuz da örneğin hastalık halinde danışmak istediğinizde ya da paraya gereksinim duyduğunuzda kim/kimlere gidersiniz? Başınız bir derde girdiğinde kime güvenirsiniz? Aldığınız bu borcu nasıl odersiniz, odayemezseniz ne olur?

KENDİLERİNİ NEREDE GÖRÜYÖRLER: (HER 2'SİNEDE SORULACAK)

67 Siz kendinizi böyle bir aile olarak (**İŞLER VE GELİRLERİ SÖYLENEBİLİR**) bu kentte hangi mesleklerde ve gelir düzeyinde insanlar arasında görüyorsunuz kendinizi? Bu kişiler/aileler sizce dah çok hangi tabakada yer alıyor?(Üst, orta, ortanın altı, alt gibi). Sizce ne tür aileler ya da kimler sizin üstünüzde kimler daha altta yer alıyor? Neden? Peki onlar nasıl yaşıyorlar?

68 Peki ailenizin bundan 5 yıl önceki durumu neydi? O günden bu yana neler değişti? Peki önümüzdeki 5 yıl içinde nasıl olacak ve neler değişecek? (**KENDİNİZ İÇİN VE AİLENİZ İÇİN AYRI AYRI DÜŞÜNÜRMÜSÜNÜZ?**)

69 Şu anda sizce en acil ihtiyacınız nedir? Bu acil sorunların çözümü için neler yapabilirsiniz? Sizce kadınların gücü nelere yetebilir?

70 Peki ailenizin en acil ihtiyaçları nelerdir? Bunları önem sırasına göre sıralar mısınız? Sizce kadınların gücü nelere yetebilir? Siz bu konuda neler yapabilirsiniz ya da yapmayı düşünürsünüz?

SADECE KIZA SORULACAK:

71 Ailenden ne gibi beklentin var ailen bunları karşılayabiliyor mu?

POLİTİK KATILIM (HER 2'SİNEDE SORULACAK) :

72 En son hangi partiye oy verdiniz?Neden? Bugün seçim olsa hangi partiye oy verirdiniz?Neden? Şu andaki hükümet hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce görevlerini yerine getiriyorlar mı?

73 Türkiye'nin geleceği konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce bundan 5 yıl sonra Türkiye nasıl olacak? Peki siz nasıl bir gelecek bekliyorsunuz? Kendinizi güvende hissediyor musunuz?

74 Herhangi bir dernek veya vakıftan veya belediyeden aynı veya maddi yardım alıyor musunuz? Peki bu yardıma nasıl ulaştınız? Biri size bu konuda yardımcı oldu mu? Bu yardım sizce nasıl olmalı? Bu yardımın verilmiş şekli, miktarı konusunda siz neler önerirsiniz?

75 Peki son olarak maddi olanaksızlıklardan dolayı yapmak isteyipte yapamadığınız 1 şey var mı? Neden?

76 Peki evde kim hangi kararları verir ve hangi konularda söz sahibidir? Evde en çok kimden korkulur, kimin sözü geçer? Neden?

APPENDIX L

MAPS

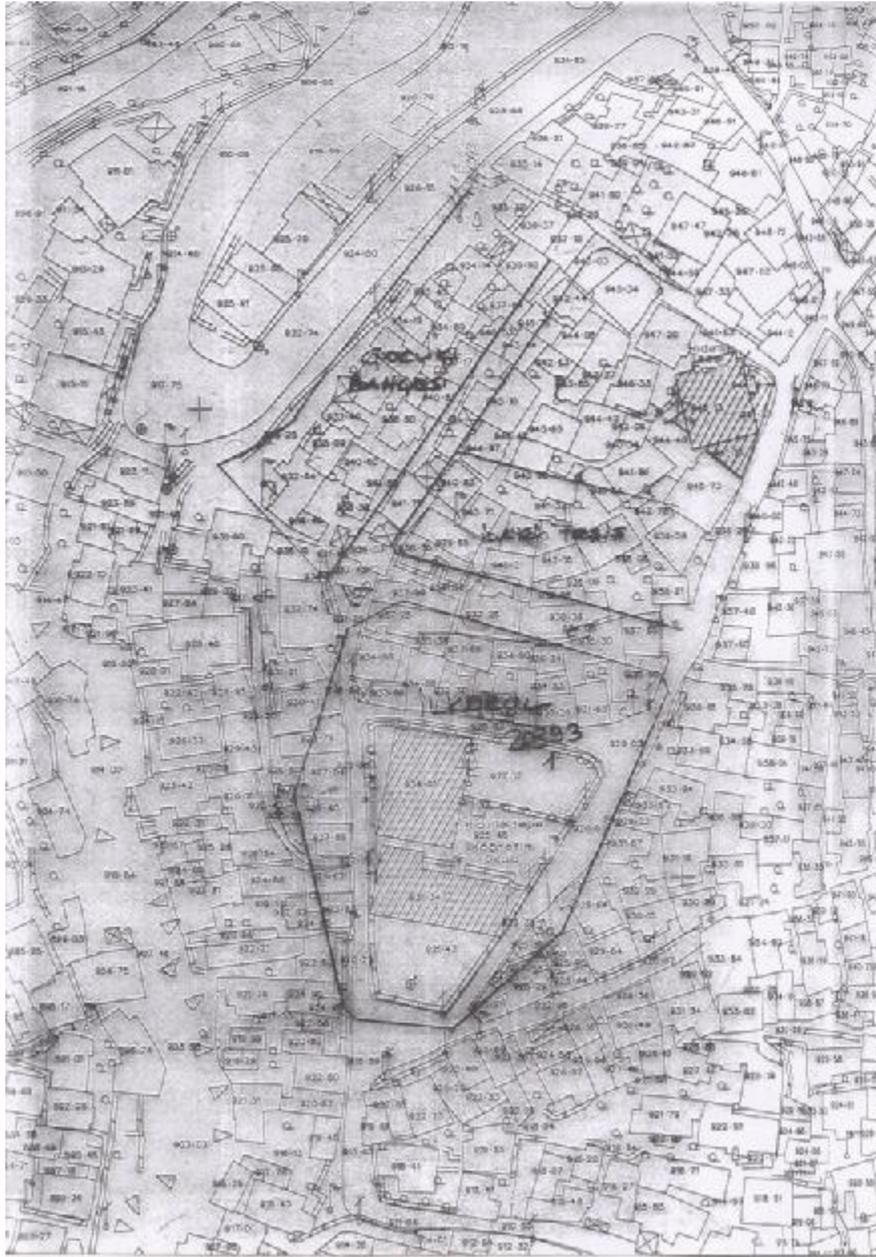


FIGURE L.1 A detailed sketch of Çandarlı-Hıdırlıktepe Region
(Source: Altındağ Municipality-2002)

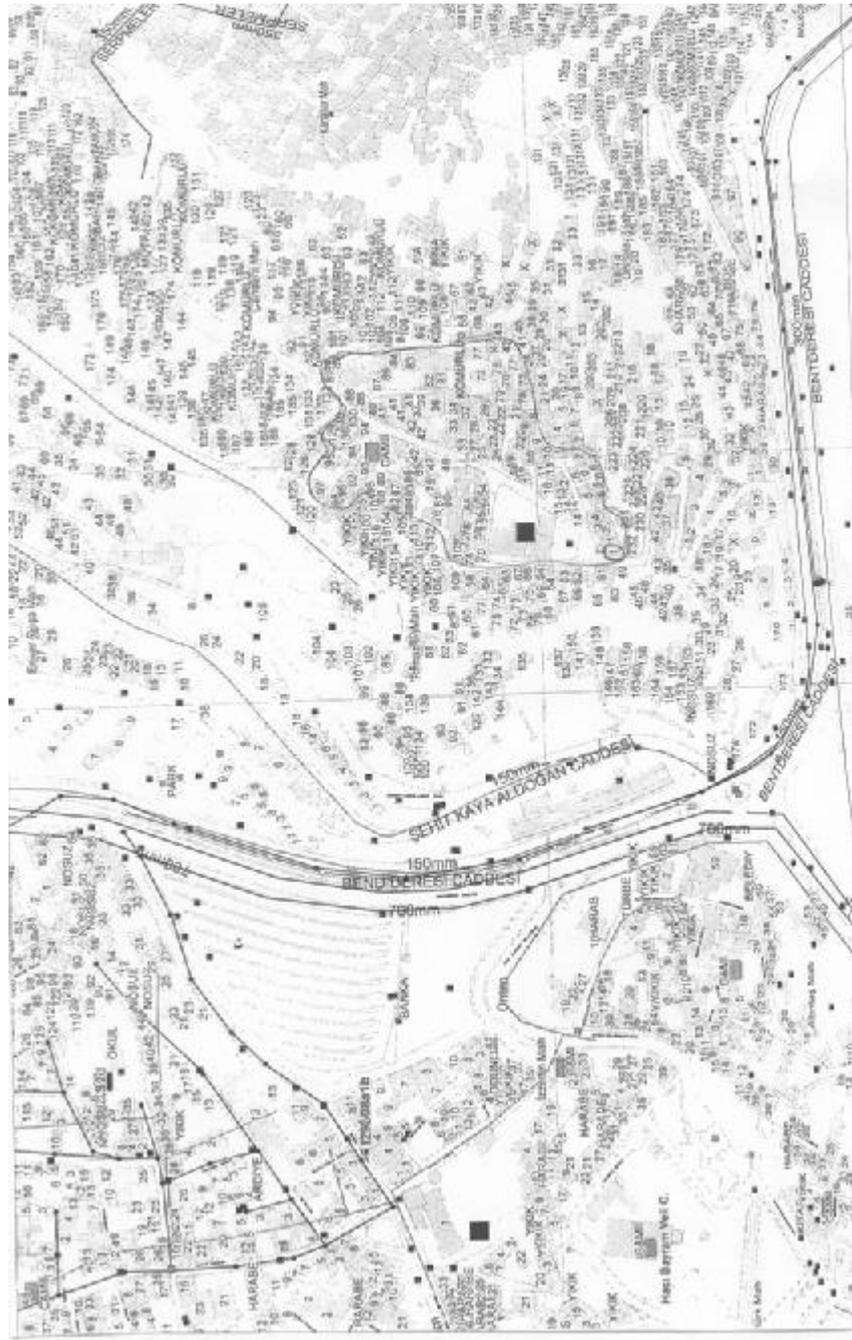


FIGURE L.2 A detailed sketch of Çandarlı-Hıdırlıktepe Residency
(Source: Altındağ Municipality-2002)