

**A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF WORKING URBAN POOR
IN ISTANBUL AND GAZIANTEP**

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ABSTRACT

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF WORKING URBAN POOR IN ISTANBUL AND GAZİANTEP

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In this study, the aim is to find some indications about urban poverty in Turkey, which recently became a major topic in sociological studies. In order to study this topic, the thesis focuses on working urban poor to be able to examine the effects of the changing labor market. Urban poverty in general, and more specifically the working urban poor, are analysed in three levels, namely macro, mezzo and micro. In the macro level, the effects of great transformations after the 1980's and the new international division of labor, on the emergence of new urban poor is discussed. In the mezzo level, "Structural Adjustment Policies" as one of the significant impacts of this transformation, which mostly have affected the underdeveloped countries like Turkey is understood. The thesis, however, will mostly focus on the micro aspects of poverty. In the micro level, family and kinship reciprocal relations and mutual ties of solidarity; values and customs about social and economic life; survival strategies; the effects of culture of poverty; and factors of disempowerment are examined. Furthermore, the starting definitions of the urban poor are based on Peter Lloyd's study, which was carried out in Peru.

In this context, a field study was carried out in Istanbul and Gaziantep to find out some indications to understand the regional differences of the working urban poor in Turkey. Turkey has also been affected by the conjunctural changes in the world and a new urban poor has been also emerging. In terms of regional differences of working urban poor İstanbul labor market reflects the effects of new international division of labour and the structural adjustment policies more than Gaziantep. İstanbul has an urban labour market which mainly performs as the periphery of international capital. Urban labour market in Gaziantep however, includes rural and local elements of casual labour as well, besides its links to the new international division of labour. In the micro level, İstanbul working urban poor represent more western and urban values, more literacy and higher level of education and more positive attributes to the role of education, better working conditions of casual labour, more feelings of isolation but also more hopeful for future prospects and more motivated for initiating coping mechanisms. On the other hand, Gaziantep working urban poor represent a very complicated and multi-step migration process compared to İstanbul migrants and migrant women in Gaziantep tend to work more in pieceworking jobs due to agro-industry. Hence, the thesis argues that to designate urban poverty and more specifically working urban poor in Turkey, regional, cultural factors and dynamics of migration are significant.

Key Words: Working Urban Poor, Urban poverty, Flexibilization of the Urban Labour Market, Casualization, Culture of Poverty.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE ÇALIŞAN KENT YOKSULLARI ÜZERİNE SOSYOLOJİK BİR ÇALIŞMA: İSTANBUL VE GAZİANTEP ÖRNEKLERİ

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, son yıllarda sosyoloji çalışmalarında önemli bir konu haline gelen Türkiye’deki kent yoksulluğu hakkında bazı ipuçları elde etmeye çalışmaktır. Bu konuyu araştırırken değişen işgücü pazarının etkilerini de incelemek amacıyla, çalışan kent yoksulları üzerine odaklanılmıştır. Genel olarak kent yoksulluğu, ve daha ayrıntılı incelendiğinde de çalışan kent yoksulları makro, mezzo ve mikro olmak üzere üç düzeyde analiz edilmiştir. Makro düzeyde, 1980’lerden sonra meydana gelen büyük değişimlerin ve yeni uluslararası işbölümünün, yeni kent yoksulunun ortaya çıkışı üzerindeki etkileri tartışılmıştır. Mezzo düzeyde, bu değişimin en önemli etkilerinden biri olan ve en çok Türkiye gibi geri kalmış ülkeleri etkileyen “Yapısal Uyum Politikaları” irdelenmiştir. Fakat, bu tez genelde yoksulluğun mikro yönleri üzerine odaklanacaktır. Mikro düzeyde aile ve akrabaların karşılıklı ilişkileri ve ortak dayanışma bağları; sosyal ve ekonomik hayat ile ilgili değerler ve gelenekler; hayatta kalma stratejileri; kültürel yoksulluğun etkileri incelenmiştir. Ayrıca, kent yoksulu kavramının ilk tanımlarında Peter

Lloyd'un Peru'da gerçekleştirdiği çalışma temel alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'deki çalışan kent yoksullarının bölgesel farklılıklarını anlayabilmek için gereken ipuçlarını bulmak amacıyla İstanbul ve Gaziantep'i kapsayan bir alan çalışması yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, dünyadaki konjonktürel değişimlerden Türkiye'nin de önemli ölçüde etkilenmiş olduğu ve yeni bir kent yoksulluğu olgusunun ortaya çıkmış olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Çalışan kent yoksullarının bölgesel farklılıkları açısından, İstanbul işgücü pazarı, Gaziantep'e göre yeni uluslararası iş bölümünün ve yapısal uyum politikalarının etkilerini daha fazla yansıtmaktadır. İstanbul, uluslararası sermaye hareketlerinden oldukça etkilenen bir kentsel işgücü pazarına sahiptir. Fakat Gaziantep'teki kentsel işgücü pazarı kırsal ve yerel düzensiz işleri içermekle birlikte, yeni uluslararası iş bölümü bağlantılarına da sahiptir. Mikro düzeyde, İstanbul'da çalışan kent yoksulu batılı ve kentli değerleri daha fazla yansıtmaktadır; daha yüksek okuma yazma oranı ve eğitim düzeyi, eğitimin rolü hakkında daha olumlu tutum, düzensiz işçilik açısından daha iyi çalışma koşulları, gelecek hakkında daha umutlu olma ve hayatta kalma stratejilerini hayata geçirme açısından daha motive olmuş insanlar fakat daha fazla soyutlanmışlık hissi İstanbul'daki kent yoksullarının özellikleridir. Diğer taraftan, İstanbul'daki göçmenlerle karşılaştırıldığında, Gaziantep'teki çalışan kent yoksulları çok karmaşık ve çok aşamalı bir göç sürecini yansıtmaktadır. Ayrıca, Gaziantep'teki göçmen kadınlar tarım-endüstrisi nedeniyle parçabaşı işlerde daha fazla çalışmaktadırlar. Bu nedenle, bu tezde Türkiye'deki kent yoksulluğu ve daha da ayrıntılı şekilde çalışan kent yoksullarının belirlenmesinde bölgesel ve kültürel faktörlerin ve göç dinamiklerinin önemli olduğunu savunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kent Yoksulu, Çalışan Kent Yoksulları, Emek Piyasasının Esnekleşmesi, Geçici İşçilik, Kültürel Yoksulluk.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the study is to find some clues regarding ‘urban poor’ and also to identify the reasons of poverty in specific areas in Turkey. In this respect, the concept of poverty and the effects of poverty, working conditions of the poor, the attitudes of the poor to these conditions, residential characteristics, their opportunities to access to health and educational services, their future expectations and social values are examined. Additionally, the study aims at analysing the effects of poverty on the young generation included in the research.

Poverty has not only been a permanent problem in the world, but conceptualizing and measuring of the concept of poverty are problematic as well. The main obstacles in the way to come to an agreement on poverty are its multidimensional characteristic and its being taken into consideration as a political issue.

Two main descriptions of poverty can be made while considering some aspects of poverty: absolute and relative. Applying the standard of absolute poverty, ‘a household is considered poor if it consumes less than the cost of absolute minimum required to provide its members with nutrition and shelter’(WBR, 2000, P.34). According to the World Bank Report, the poverty line is one dollar per day. On the other hand, the relative poverty line is defined as 50% of monthly median expenditure per equivalent adult, according to the OECD equivalence scale. Households with a monthly income under the corresponding relative poverty line are considered relatively poor, \$137 for an average household per month (WBR, 2000, PP.35-36). When the concept of absolute and relative poverty are considered, poverty can be analyzed in four

main dimensions: Income poverty, health and education poverty, personal and tenure insecurity and disempowerment.

Exploring the causes of poverty is another significant issue of poverty. This issue brings with itself the concept of ‘deserving’, ‘undeserving’ poor, and ‘culture of poverty’. This issue is analyzed in detail from individualistic to structural reasons to reveal the dynamics of poverty. Hence, dealing with the reasons for poverty is a considerable matter not only in terms of academic studies but also for political applications.

In this study, the concept of urban poor is defined drawing on Lloyd’s economic, social, political categories. In this study, study explores the concept of the urban poor in terms of patterns of social stratification, origin of people, consumption, life styles, creativity of employment capacity, education qualifications, working conditions, patterns of social relations, residential characteristics, and attitudes towards inequality. In other words, Lloyd dwells on the concept of poverty as a multidimensional issue. Parallel to Lloyd’s study, this study tries to emphasize the multidimensional characteristics of poverty as well. In this respect, the concept of urban poverty is studied in the macro, mezzo and micro levels. Firstly, in the macro level, international economic and political relations are examined. Then, in the mezzo level, the importance of national dynamics are analyzed. In this context, distribution of national resources, income sectoral distribution of labor power, consumption, education, health, growth of economy will be considered. Finally, in the micro level, family relations, educational system, kinship and religious or ethnic relations, gender issue, customs or values will be stated.

According to Human Development Report 2003, Turkey is ranked 96th among the 175 countries considering the development index. When rapid urbanization, increasing rate of population, unequal income distribution, unrecorded economy, low educational level are considered, poverty has always been a crucial problem in Turkey. On the other hand, 1980’s neo-liberal approaches of political economy and ‘Structural Adjustment Policies’ reinforced this process. The main features of these policies were the

liberalization of foreign trade and financial markets and privatization. The very significant effects of the structural adjustment policies have been deregulation in the labor market and more flexible forms of work organization. The main policy in the labor market was particularly flexibilization. In this respect, flexibilization created a flexible milieu where employers can ignore the regulations of labor market and where they can cut down on labour costs. In other words, workers are employed temporarily and are prevented from joining any trade union. They mostly work in informal sector and find their jobs through the subcontractor firms.

Under these circumstances, informal relations, clientelism, close family relations and kin ties become more important as survival strategies. One of the main impacts of this process is that ethnic and religious sect based solidarities are reinforced among the urban poor in the cities due to harsh conditions they face and living in close communities.

Another significant issue in this study is that whether young urban poor generations are able to benefit from urban opportunities or not. Accordingly, are they in anyway involved in a process of identity formation under these new social environment? New generations, similiar to their parents, live in isolated residential areas; they are mostly unskilled and uneducated, thus they have to work at similiar jobs as their parents do and they almost do not use the urban mechanisms and ways of communication which leads to a lack of awareness about the opportunities. In other words, intragenerational and intergenerational vertical social mobility chances seem unconceivable for the young generations.

In this framework, in the first chapter, poverty is examined from historical perspective. Definition of poverty and explaining the causes of poverty have changed throughout the history and social policies have been influenced by these discussions. Therefore, in examining poverty, multidimensional explanations of poverty have become popular instead of explanations through individual failure or inadequacies.

Secondly, some difficulties about conceptualizing and measuring of poverty is analyzed. In this respect, poverty is analysed in macro, mezzo and micro levels. When international, national, community, family and even individualistic level are considered that poverty is not a 'lack of resources' issue but 'distribution of resources' problem.

Third part of the first chapter is devoted to the issue of urban poverty. Lloyd's study, *Third World Proletariat?*, is adapted to form a definition of the urban poor concept. However, taking into consideration reasons of the urban poverty is as crucial as its definition. This issue is reinforced in this study as different from Lloyd's study.

Then, survival strategies and the concept of culture of poverty are examined as the results of poverty, rather than the reasons of poverty. Similar to creation of culture of poverty by the poor, survival strategies are produced in case of weakness of the welfare state and social policies which ignore the human factors, and lack of conditions to exercise democratic rights. In the chapter, it will be discussed whether the concept of culture of poverty can be used as a political tool willingly or not willingly.

In the third chapter of the study research methodology is explained. The research was carried out in two different neighbourhoods, Gazi and Zübeyde Hanım in Istanbul and four different neighbourhoods, Vatan, Ocaklar, Perilikaya, Düztepe in Gaziantep. Having different ethnic and religious sect characteristics of the neighbourhoods was taken into consideration to form of the sample. The number of households is 200 in total and 100 for each city. In-depth interviews were conducted to collect the data. Moreover, focus groups and life stories are made in order to get more qualitative information on experiences of the urban poor.

In Chapter three, the issue of urban poverty are examined in context of Turkey. Main characteristic of the urbanization is rural-urban migration rather than industrialization in Turkey. One of the major outcomes of this process is increasing rate of urban population, widely spreading squatter-settlement

areas, and increasing employment in the informal urban labor market. Furthermore, income inequality has become another important matter in Turkey. Although poverty has always been a crucial problem, 'Structural Adjustment Policies' reinforces this process. One of the basic principles of these policies is flexibilization of the urban labor market. By means of these policies, on the one hand, informal sector has been continuously growing, on the other hand, workers' rights have been dissolved.

Second part of the two chapter are devoted the matters of survival strategies and the concept of culture of poverty. While also considering the current developments of the urban labor market, one of the major ways to tolerate these harsh conditions is to develop some informal mechanisms. In this respect, ethnic and religious sect based solidarities gain more importance. Furthermore, as an another crucial aspect for the survival strategies, the urban poor loose their health since the very early ages and they are excluded from the labor market. Thus, the major impact of this process is that child labor are widely seen among the poor households.

In this context, lastly, the issue of young generations' opportunities to improve the living conditions are dealt with. The young generations family background, educational level, working conditions, socio-cultural milieu are not different from their parents. Their upward mobility chances are bounded by these harsh conditions.

CHAPTER 2

WHAT IS POVERTY?

2.1. Historical Perspective

“Poverty is a word that is used in at least three different ways. Each poses questions which every society should be prepared to answer. The first usage poses questions about hardship, misery, and ‘destitution poverty’- conditions which are still occasionally to be found, among low-paid workers as well as people out of work. The second usage poses questions about the incomes, wealth and real living standards of different kinds of people: the answers will not provide a scientific measure of ‘subsistence poverty’, for that cannot be clearly defined, but they will show whose standards are lowest and may suggest the reason for these patterns. The third usage poses questions about inequality, exclusion, discrimination, injustice and ‘relative poverty’. If this third concept of poverty is to have any practical cutting edge it calls for nothing less than a new morality” (Donnison, 1982, p.7).

The history of poverty dates back to the history of poverty. Approaches to the issue of poverty have differentiated through history. Although there are systematic quantitative and qualitative analyses across countries, it can be said that, there is not an agreement on the definition and measurement of poverty yet. Different definitions and measurements of poverty lead to different poverty policies to reduce or eliminate it.

“It is a series of contested definitions and complex arguments that overlap and at times contradict each other. It is differently seen as a big phenomenon or a small phenomenon, as a growing issue or a declining issue, as an individual problem or social problem. Thus in understanding poverty the task is to understand how these different visions or perceptions overlap, how they interrelate and what the implications of different approaches and definitions

are. In a sense we learn that the answer to the question- do you understand poverty? - Is: that depends what you mean by poverty” (Alcock, 1997, p.4).

The source of the different perspectives about poverty is caused by assessing the issue of poverty in their current conditions through the history.

According to the original approach of the Christian Church, external factors were playing a crucial role in the emergence of poverty. In other words, poverty was explained as a God’s will, nature or other forces, so individual factors were ignored before the 16th century. Explaining the causes of poverty as an individual aspect firstly appeared in 1601 in England. Therefore, poverty was defined as an individual failure or inadequacies and differentiated ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ or ‘able-bodied’ or ‘impotent’ poor (Kameron and Kahn, 1997). Through the 16th and 17th century, regarding the issue of poverty had been changed from religious-based approaches to secular approaches. Therefore causes of poverty and social policies were reformed in this process. Woolf classifies the poor during the 16th to 18th centuries in some European countries as: the structural poor unable to work because of physical or mental disease or old age; the crisis poor as unemployment or casual employment and low wages, peasants, as consequences of environmental conditions and artisans and small retailers, as consequences of individual or personal reasons. However the key turning point met by the late 18th century was the Industrial Revolution. Within the Industrial Revolution, industrial capitalism emerged and required mass of cheap labor, so this period is the beginning of becoming more aware of the structural causes of poverty. One of the most important studies that explored the living and working conditions of the people is Engels’ *The Working Class In England*. Medical and Surgical Journal in 1836, described the living conditions as;

“...there are neither sewers nor other drains, nor even privies belonging to the houses...society in such neighborhoods has sunk to a level indescribably low and hopeless...”(Engels, 1987, pp. 77-78).

And by the late 19th century, Rowntree put the 'line of poverty' in his study *Poverty: A Study Of Town Life*. On the other hand, according to some argument, poverty line was Charles Booth's invention. As Gillie pointed out in his article, the 1870 Elementary Education Act in England developed a scale to select the poors who didn't pay the school fees. This article asserts that bases of the Rowntree's studies are Booth (Gillie, 1996). This argument also supported Rose;

"Booth's importance, however, lay less in his revelations as to the extent and causes of poverty, invaluable though these were, than in the method by which he approached and measured poverty. His concept of the 'poverty line' has been described by professor Simey as, 'perhaps his most striking single contribution to the social science' "(Rose, 1974, p.28).

Rowntree followed Booth's studies and carried out survey in 1899, in England. One of the important contributions was defining poverty not only as a matter of income, but also distinguishing between primary and secondary poverty. Therefore, he defined the poverty beyond the physical well-being. In addition, another crucial contribution was the concept of 'the poverty cycle'. In this concept, he stressed that poverty is not a static but a dynamic concept which means people can be richer or fall the below the poverty line in his life (Rose, 1974). Through this century one of the important development was exploring the causes of poverty. Booth and Rowntree put out those low, inadequate or irregular earnings, casual jobs are playing a crucial role among the causes of poverty.

"low earnings, irregular employment, large families, sickness, widowhood, and old age- these rather than intemperance or idleness were the root causes of poverty in the nineteenth century" (Rose, 1974,p.20).

Therefore, focusing on the causes of poverty led to structural factors rather than individualistic approaches.

Unfortunately quantitative research data are not existent until the late 19th century, and systematic data until the World War II (Kameron and Kahn,

1997). After the World War II, industrialized countries had widely overcome the problem of poverty, so poverty studies mostly began to describe the notion of development. The roots of the systematic and cross country surveys began with the 1980 World Bank Reports. Therefore, while absolute poverty rate is mostly used in analyzing developing countries, multidimensionality approach emerged for analyzing mostly the developed ones. However, with the 1980's, concept of 'the new poor' has emerged as a result of conjunctural fluctuations. Neo-liberal politics, privatization, and free market economy causes structural unemployment, underemployment or part-time, temporary, fixed-term contracts which leave people with no or inadequate income. People also are not supported with social benefits. Moreover, Lenoir defined 'the new poverty' in terms of 'social exclusion'. According to him, exclusion from the labor market, risk of losing link to full-time waged work is the two meanings of the new poverty in the French debate on poverty (Kameron and Kahn, 1997).

The trend of the history of poverty consists of too complex and a long process for a detailed analysis in this study. On the other hand, examining this trend even in such an incomprehensive manner leads us to understand the roots of the poverty debate and to analyze the current poverty issue.

2.1.1. Conceptualizing and Measuring of Poverty

Poverty has been a persistent problem in the world. Systematic analysis has recently gone though. However, conceptualizing and measuring of the concept of poverty is still problematic. Its being a multidimensional and political concept prevents coming to an agreement on this issue. Moreover, countries having different development levels define poverty differently, so a proper cross-country comparison cannot be achieved.

Poverty, basically, can be defined as lack of food in an absolute sense. However, a broader analysis has to consider other physical conditions of life, and also social, psychological and cultural aspects. Briefly poverty can be

analyzed in four main dimensions: Income poverty, health and education poverty, personal and tenure insecurity and disempowerment. In fact these four main dimensions are based on absolute poverty and relative poverty. While defining the income poverty, the poverty rate, that is, the percent of the population who are poor and how that has changed over time; the poverty gap, that is, the difference between the individuals', households' or families' actual income and the poverty measure; persistent vs. transient poverty, that is, long-term and chronic or short-term and temporary poverty have to be considered.

In addition, the concept of "relative poverty involves deciding on the income concept for relatively (mean or median) and on the fraction of adjusted income which signifies poverty. We mainly rely on a relative concept of poverty, the percent of persons living with incomes below half of median income. Using the average or mean income means measuring social distance from something other than the average household" (Smeeding, 1997, p.200).

In this respect, poverty can be defined as follows:

"The lives could be prematurely shortened, made hard, painful or hazardous, deprived of understanding and communication, and robbed of dignity, confidence, and self-respect" (Ananad and Sen, 1997, p.5).

Qualitative and quantitative analysis have to be combined so as to put forth the multidimensional characteristics of poverty. This will enable us to understand how poverty is produced and reproduced and to develop appropriate strategies to reduce it. In other words, income and development statistics will be analyzed in the micro level and social and cultural factors in the macro level. Countries' economic indicators and development indexes cannot be ignored especially when analyzing international comparisons, and at the same time when analyzing poverty in the micro level.

In the macro level, poverty may be defined as lack of development. Development is measured using some economic, social, and political indicators. World Bank Reports, UNDP (United Nations Development

Programme) and Habitat Reports have been generally made use of, for scientific studies when analyzing the concepts of development and poverty.

Total fertility rate, infant mortality rate, under 5 mortality rate, life expectancy rate and net primary enrolment rate, in the demographic terms, and per-capita national income, in the country-grouping terms are considered in The World Bank Human Development Reports. According to these basic indicators in the 2000/2001 World Development Report, except for the female adult illiteracy rate and access to sanitation in urban areas rate. Turkey is classified as a middle-income country but in the adult illiteracy rate Turkey shares the same category with the countries, moreover, according to the same indicators Turkey's rate of urban population increased from 44% to 74% between 1980-1999 years, but as it will be explored in the following sections of this study, 'urbanization' have to be multidimensional analyzed. Analyzing only the rate is not sufficient.

Another important indicator is labor force based on The International Organization Statistics, which appears in The World Bank Reports. But not to include homemakers and the informal sector workers is a crucial problem, in addition child labor statistics do not exist because of the illegal implementations and also agricultural sector workers or workers working with their families cannot be included in the total labor force statistics. Such a difficulties are important in the developing countries as Turkey.

According to World Bank development indicators, world development indicators can be analyzed in five main headlines, which are human capital development, environmental sustainability, macro economic performance, private sector development, and the global links. These main aspects of developments contain demographic indicators such as mortality rates, child malnutrition, life expectancy and adult illiterate; economic indicators such as government finance statistics, or balance of payments; social development indicators such as population growth, labor force participation, income distribution, health status, poverty rates, school enrolment, and achievement, and gender differences in educational attainment; environmental indicators

such as land usage and agricultural output, deforestation, and protected areas, water resources, energy consumption, and carbon dioxide emissions, states and markets indicators such as the roles of the public and private sectors in the economic growth, global links indicators such as information on trade and financial flows (WDR, 2000/2001). These world development indicators are used to classify countries' economies and combat poverty politics and allow cross-country comparisons.

While measuring and defining the concept of poverty world development indicators are widely used. In this context, some of these indicators should be given more importance to analyze the concept of poverty properly.

Poverty is also an important indicator to constitute the development index. Although measuring comparisons of poverty line has some difficulties, one-dollar-a-day poverty line is used to compare consumption to decide who is poor. While considering monetary non-business and non-investment expenditures, gifts, earnings and transfers in-kind, consumption from stocks, consumption from own production and imputed rents from owner-occupied housing, consumption criteria has been used instead of income to measure standard of living (UNDP, 2000, UNDP, 1990). According to 1994 world Bank data, the percentage of population below one dollar a day 2.4% so absolute poverty is seen not as a crucial problem but with the rate of 18% population below two dollar a day is seen a crucial problem as an indicator of importance of relative poverty (UNDP, 2000/1).

Another debatable issue appearing in the World Bank Report is unit of analysis in measuring poverty. Although the household level is used in the measurement of poverty, individual level is also important as it considers intra-household factors and different types and causes of deprivation in terms of gender, child, disabled, or old people (World Bank, 2000/1, Thomas, 2000, World Bank, 1999, WDR, 1990).

Distribution of income as a national level is another important issue in this study. Although average annual growth rate of GNP per capita is an important

economic indicator, distribution of them is more important than the average while considering poverty. As GNP does not reflect the income distribution within a country we can say that it has limitations in the measurement of poverty; secondly, national surveys are based on household level, so inequalities within households are ignored. And finally, another drawback of GNP is that it is difficult to convert local prices' purchasing power for commodities to international comparisons (Thomas, 2000). Therefore Gini index is used while measuring the extent of the distribution of income among population. According to Gini index, zero represents perfect equality, and 100 perfect inequality. According to 1994 data, Gini index is 41.5 for Turkey, on the other hand, when percentage, share of consumption at lowest 10% level is considered, statistics show 2.3%, which is important as an indicator of level of poverty in Turkey (WBR, 2000/1).

Another important source about issue of poverty is UNDP. Main approach in this study is to handle the issue in a multidimensional manner. Poverty is considered as intersecting inequalities in terms of social, political, an economic, as UNDP Poverty Report, 1998 states: "Fundamentally, poverty is an affront to human rights. Good health, adequate nutrition, literacy and employment are not favors or acts of charity to be bestowed on the poor by governments and international agencies" (UNDP, 1998, p.11). The Report considers the concept of poverty as four crucial principles, sustainability, empowerment, participation and equality which means that poverty and inequality not only threat social stability but also civil and political rights. Eliminating all forms of discrimination and marginalization in terms of social status, gender, religion, race and ethnicity is based on the eradication of all causes of poverty. The same report explores some forms of poverty definitions, for example, the international one-dollar-a-day poverty line as absolute poverty, changing standards across countries or over time as relative poverty, the lack of minimally adequate income or expenditures as income poverty, the lack of essential human capabilities, such as being literate or adequate nourished as human poverty and the inability to satisfy essential non food as well food needs define as overall poverty (UNDP, 1998). In addition, Human Development Report in UNDP, Turkey 2001, emphasized that,

considering deprivation and inequality are crucial to fight against poverty. Because although Turkey is progressing, inequality is still persistent (HDR, 2001). Inequality has to be considered in a wide range from income distribution, rural-urban disparities, regional disparities within countries or residential areas to gender, or ethnic or religious disparities or among household members inequalities as it will be explored in the following sections. Therefore poverty, inequality and human development are closely related issues. In this respect, UNDP report has defined sustainable human development as;

“development that not only generates economic growth but also distributes its benefits equitably; that regenerates the environment rather than destroying it, that empowers people rather than marginalizing them. It gives priority to the poor, enlarging their choices and opportunities, and provides for their participation in decisions affecting them. It is development that is pro-poor, pro-nature, pro-job, pro-women and pro-children” (UNDP, 1998, P.18).

Dimensions of human development have been re-explored so redefined each year. Besides income and poverty, health, education, environment, women and children issues, empowerment, cooperation, equity, sustainability and security dimensions are added as well in the 1996 Human Development Report. These new dimensions are also important to explore the concept of poverty.

According to HDR 1996, the expansion of people’s capabilities and the participation in the decision-making process are related to their own development. In a similar way Batliwala defines power as;

“control over resources (physical, human, intellectual, financial and the self) and control over ideology (beliefs, values and attitudes). If power means control, then empowerment is the process of gaining control” (HDP, 1997, p.176).

In fact, all the above aspects are interrelated with each other, for example, freedom from chronic threats, from sudden and hurtful disruption or

joblessness as a major source of insecurity affect control over resources i.e. empowerment. Moreover, considering opportunity to be educated as an aspect of sustainability are mutually exclusive and related issues. And cooperation as a cultural aspect emphasized the importance of people's sensation of cohesion in cultural level and sharing common social values and beliefs that consider people as a social being who participate in the life of their community. In other words, feelings of belongings are considered as an important source of well-being. This issue will also be explored in the urban poverty section as one of the important aspects of survival strategies. Another source examined in this section is Habitat Report whose main issue is urbanization process. The Report also examines urban poverty with respect to the aspects mentioned above. Therefore, psychosocial consequences of poverty will be explained using this Report quoted from R.Wilkinson' work on "Inequalities in Blue". In this quotation Wilkinson proposes negative influences of income poverty to physical and mental health.

"From the point of view of the experience of people involved, if health is being damaged as a result of psychosocial process, this matters much more than it would if the damage resulted from the immediate vulnerable, frightened, physical effects of damp housing and poor quality diets...to feel depressed, cheated, bitter, desperate, angry, worried about debts or job and housing insecurity; to feel devalued, useless, helpless, uncared, isolated, anxious and a failure; these feeling can dominated people's whole experience of life, coloring their experience of everything else. It is the chronic stress arising from feelings like these, which does the damage. It is the social feelings, which matter, not exposure to a supposedly toxic material environment. The material environment is merely the indelible mark and constant reminder of the oppressive fact of one's failure, of the atrophy of any sense having a place in a community and of one's social exclusion and devaluation as a human being" (Habitat, 2001, p.111).

This issue is quite debatable in the poverty literature, so it will be explored under the headline of 'culture of poverty' in the urban poverty section.

In the light of the introductory section the issue of poverty can be reviewed as follows:

Material well-being can be examined regarding food security and unemployment; psychological well-being regarding power and voice and cultural and social norms; state provided infrastructure; poor's assets that is, physical capital; human capital; social capital; assets and vulnerability, and current and catastrophic shocks and environment decline (Narayan, 1999).

Material well-being includes food security, water, shelter, and sanitation and employment insecurity. Unskilled wage labor, lack of access to job opportunities can be considered as the causes or contributing factors in micro level. Whereas, macro economic crisis and failure of public services can be considered as the causes or contributing factors in macro level. One of the important consequences of the mass unemployment especially in the cities are growing informal sector.

One of the important consequences of income poverty is feelings of powerlessness and helplessness. Lack of choices and resources is one dimension of sense of powerlessness. In other words, poor people are forced to working bad economic conditions especially in the uncontrolled informal sector in the developing countries, or they are discriminated in terms of gender, religion, or ethnic identity. Therefore, social solidarity becomes more crucial among small communities based on some common cultural and social norms to eliminate the sense of psychological marginalization and exclusion from important social networks.

In addition to the limitations of access to private goods, access to state-provided infrastructure is important to examine poverty as well. State-provided infrastructure includes water security, sanitation, transportation, electricity, roads, and health care services. State-provided infrastructure aspects of poverty can be considered from the aspect of health problems because of the lack of basic hygiene conditions to the aspect of having no access to education opportunities because of living too far to school (Narayan, 1999).

Moreover Narayan explores assets, physical, human, social and environmental and forms of their sharing and controlling rather than income while he is

examining poverty. This points also important to explore the causes of poverty through considering responsibilities of policy formation in terms of availability of assets form population and in terms of the way the circumstances these assets are mobilized. According to Narayan, house or land ownership is the two most important criteria separating the poor from the destitute. House ownership, as it will be studied later and verified in my data, has a function of temporary insurance in case if illness or other emergency cases. Secondly, human capital which includes health, education, training, and labor power is a material and a productive asset. Human capital' aspects are also mutually exclusive and related, for example, participating labor market requires being health, good training and education. In addition, uncontrolled and arbitrary working conditions in the informal sector in the developing countries can lead to increase in the number of people who are disabled, which prevents the efficient work. This issue will be explored in the urban poverty chapter as well. On the other hand, poor people have to ignore education and training to survive besides it is too expensive to have an access to education services. Being a member with a social network, which means social capital, gives an informal social security to people.

Another key concept examining poverty and assets is vulnerability. This concept may be defined as economic, social and environmental uncertainty. Having insecure and risky conditions and having no assets in terms of all fields of life are the reasons of people's dropping below the poverty line in cases of illness, conjunctural economic crisis or another unexpected situations. The issue of vulnerability will be examined especially in Turkey as a developing country in which there are relatively more people working without insurance and quite bad, uncontrolled working conditions not only just their working under the high working accident risks but also having any security which allows persistence of casual jobs.

Another important issue of poverty is exploring the causes of poverty. This issue requires political debate. Some of the theories about the causes of poverty are the following: Theory of inequality, theory of stratification, class-theory, neo-Marxian theory, of theory marginalization, of theory relative

deprivation, of theory deviation, of theory access, theory of gender, theory of social change, theory of development, theory of modernization, theory of economic growth, theory of poverty culture, and theory of coping. (Oyen, 1992) causes of poverty are more debatable in the poverty literature as the conceptualization and measuring of poverty. This issue brings with itself the concept of 'deserving', 'undeserving' poor, and 'culture of poverty'. These are also key concepts in this study and it will be explored in the urban poverty chapter.

2.2. Urban Poverty

When world demographic indicators are examined, it is obviously seen that the proportion of the world population has increased in favor of urban population. This growth process is not only valid for developed countries but also for underdeveloped ones.

“While the population of industrialized countries is already largely urban, urbanization processes are still acute in developing countries. Today, 40 percent of the populations of developing countries already live in cities. By 2020, that figure will have risen to 52 percent” (Habitat, 2001, p.3).

On the contrary, this high speed of growing urban population has accompanied to the low growing institutional and financial capacity, reducing income levels and depraving income distribution and erosion of human rights all over the world particularly in the underdeveloped countries.

Urban poverty has grown with economic and social exclusion, marginalization, polarization, inequality, by the lack of access to job opportunities and health services, unhygienic living and working conditions, constrained access to educational opportunities and isolation of communities and cannot using the citizenship rights.

Growth of urban poverty thus means increasing inequality and polarization in the international, national, regional and also city level. Therefore, urbanization

process has showed differentiation between developed and underdeveloped countries. As Roberts pointed out patterns of urban growth in the undeveloped countries encompasses overpopulation, high levels of unemployment, lack of stable, well-paid industrial employment (Roberts, 1978). To put it more simply, urban labor market does not provide regular, permanent job for the people living in the cities. The lack of sufficient employment capacity, combined with the lack of qualifications to get a job, leads to a mass of urban poor in the cities.

2.2.1. Lloyd's Study:

Since there are different development progress between developed and underdeveloped countries, Lloyd's study which was carried out a third world country taken as a basis at the beginning of this study.

It was considered that Lloyd's study is more adaptable to Turkey because both Turkey and Peru are third world countries, and there is some parallelism between their economic dynamics. To form a definition of the urban poor concept, this study draws on Lloyd's economic, social, and political categories, Lloyd's study explores the concept of the urban poor in terms of patterns of social stratification, origin of people, consumption lifestyles, creativity of employment capacity, education qualifications, working conditions, patterns of social relations, residential characteristics, and attitudes towards inequality. According to these basic characteristics, this study aims to explore the concept of urban poverty and effects on poverty on the poor people, their attitudes to this condition, their future expectations, residential characteristics and getting some clues about young generation profile.

This study's objective is to provide and discuss in depth a definition of the concept "Urban poor" and the formation and dynamism of this definition. To form a definition of the urban poor concept, this report draws on Lloyd's economic, social and political categories. According to Lloyd, the economies

of the third world countries are predominantly oriented towards western countries and the investment of these countries in the third world are far from displaying any employment enhancing characteristics. Lloyd especially expands on the concept of “labor aristocracy” meaning a state of affairs where, in the process globalization, temporary labor devoid of social security and high status employment. As a consequence, Lloyd describes the spreading of line “informal sector” in third world countries, with individuals continuing to work within the family, using low-tech, with irregular working hours, without needing any qualifications, in low productivity jobs without a permanent and organized work place.

Another informative element of Lloyd’s definition of the urban poor is his social category. In this context Lloyd expands on the fact that the class of the urban poor is typically constituted by individuals who have migrated to the city and on the important role of the “social network”. This category constitutes an important element of the present study. The social network is assumed to have important functions in finding a job in the city, finding accommodation, in creating and maintaining a morally and culturally supportive network.

In the theoretical framework of his research, Lloyd examines another factor, namely, his category of “political action”. In this context, Lloyd asks the fundamental question of how people show their reaction to social inequality. In the context of this research one of the important points examined is the question whether the living poor acquiesce to the existing social order or assume an attitude including radical action. However, as Lloyd points out, only very few urban poor are organized in this respect, as well as in other respects, e.g. not having a secure job they are also prevented from any effort to claim their rights as an organized body of workers. Also, Lloyd specifically states that the poor education of the urban poor forms an obstacle to them claiming justice in any organized manner.

As it is seen Lloyd examines the concept of urban poverty as a multidimensional issue. According to Lloyd's criteria urban poor can be defined as; Uneducated or low educated head of the family, unskilled or low skilled for urban labor market, having casual, irregular job, having low status and low wages in the job, having very low chances of attaining a better job, having no social security, labor intensive and having bad working conditions, being migrants, dwellers settling in disadvantaged residential areas.

Studies, which examine the urban poverty, emphasize this issue's multidimensional characteristics. Under the head of Lloyd's categories, social, economic, political, this study will extend enriching these categories' ingredients.

2.2.2. Conceptualizing Urban Poverty

Basically, poverty means lack of food, shelter and sanitation, or more widely, having no educational opportunities, employment, health care and more widely, not being able to use democratic rights, having no equal treatment under the law because of belonging to a certain race, gender, religion or nationality. However, this definition is too far away from analyzing why poverty is persistent and continuously reproduced. As it is mentioned above, the issue of urban poverty calls for more complex analysis than putting the economic factors as determining at the top agent and then explaining the other factors in the context of the basic reason-result relationship based on the economic factors. In other words, neither urban poverty can only be concerned as an economic marginality or material deprivation nor economic factors can be put as causes of the other dimensions of poverty. Therefore, urban poverty will be analyzed in a broad sense in this study as recent studies have done. For example, Townsend defines the urban poverty in terms of income rights and social rights and he expands his definitions under the 13 main headlines which include dietary (deprivation), clothing, housing deprivation, deprivation of home facilities, deprivation of environment, deprivation of location, deprivation at work, lack of right in employment, deprivation of family activity, lack of integration into community, lack of formal participation in

social institutions, recreational deprivation and educational deprivation (Townsend, 1993). In a similar way, R. Bryan's approach covers the concept of social marginality and exclusion. According to him, urban poverty is a matter more than individual income but rather it is part of the spatial and physical organization of the cities. While explaining the exclusion of the urban poor from access to adequate income and to urban services. Bryan underlines two important concepts: "the proletarianization of the mass of the urban population" which is used by Leeds and "marginality" used by Perlman. Leeds explores the concept of the proletarianization of the mass of the urban poor as a dynamic of capitalist system. He argues that "proletarianization is even more strongly delineated, less alleviated by "affluence", less ameliorated by great masses of better-paid, highly skilled wage earners, less softened by opportunities for upward mobility, less responsive to political protest and electoral expression, and generally more repressive in the 'underdeveloped' dependent societies than in the metropolis like Great Britain and the United States". On the other hand Perlman's marginality arguments indicates the causes of marginality, which means lack of participation of low-income groups in politics, lack of access to education, health care and adequate standards of consumption among the poor as a consequence of the poor people's own attitudes and feeling of hopelessness perpetuating from generation to generation.

Another broad definition of the exclusion is made by Wield and Chataway to explore the issue of urban poverty. If the issue of urban poverty is concerned in the context of social exclusion, which can be defined as "the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live", it can be analyzed as a multidimensional approach. The concept of social exclusion, firstly developed in France, include human rights, legal and civic and democratic rights, human and social capital, labor markets, education, health care provision and family and community support. Having basic rights, resources and the familial and community based relationships are impact on people's ability to gain and maintain work and employment (Wield and Chataway, 2000).

Such a kind of analysis requires exploring poverty in the macro, mezzo and micro level. In the macro level, international economic and political relations among the world countries will be examined, because world countries' economic development cannot be analyzed without considering a country as a part of the whole entity. In other words, each country is a part of the international economic system, and why some countries are developed or underdeveloped can only be examined considering international dynamics.

In the mezzo level, on the other hand, national dynamics become more important. Distribution of national resources, and income sectoral distribution of labor power, consumption, education, health, growth of economy, role of government in the economy are closely related issues with poverty (WDR, 2000/2001).

This issue will be examined in the another chapter about Turkey in the micro level in this study, family relations, educational system, kinship and religious or ethnic relations, gender issues, customs or values will be analyzed considering if these reproduce poverty or eliminate it.

In other words, if necessary to explain these three levels, Cypher and Dietz explore them under two headlines : “potential internal barriers to development “ and “potential external barriers to development”. They give these examples as internal barriers;

a)inequalities in the existing distributions of income and wealth, including the distribution of land ownership; for most countries, wealth distribution is intimately related to the nature and power of class relations in society and control over economic resources and political sphere, as well; b) the level of efficiency of infrastructural development (roads, electricity, water, communication services, port facilities an so on); c) the role and development of organized banking and lending activities and of equity (stock) and other financial markets and financial intermediaries; d) an ineffective or underdeveloped educational system, including both relatively low levels of general literacy and an imbalance between allocations of financial to lower and higher education; e)prevailing

ideological concepts and their impact on thinking and behaviour, including the influence of religious thinking, the accepted role of women and ethnic or religious minorities, the prevailing economic orthodoxy, and so on; f) the initial endowment of natural resources of a nation; g) the role of the state, that is, the power and nature of the influence of government, including the degree of political freedom and the strength of democratic process (including here is the macroeconomic environment that government at least partially controls, including the nature and definition of property rights and corruption and patronage and the impact of these on public policies and on economic behavior of those governed; I) the existence of substantial 'market failures', in which market signals are not fully, completely, or accurately transmitted to economic agents, thus distorting resources allocation, production decisions, spending patterns, and so on (Cypher and Dietz,1997, P.18).

External barriers, on the other hand, are;

a) multinational or transnational corporations; b)the international division of labor and the prevailing patterns of international trade (e.g., primary commodity exporting countries versus manufactured-good exporting countries), including the operation of the organized institutional structure of the international trade system, the effects of the World Trade Organization's negotiations and of regional trading arrangements, such as the European Union (EU) or the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); c) the functioning of international financial institutions, including not only the international private commercial banks, but also the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF); d) the influence of the geopolitical and strategic interests of larger economic powers vis-à-vis smaller and weaker economic entities; and e) the economic policies (on interest rates, for example, or on tariffs or non-tariff barriers) of more developed nations on the global economic system, and so on (Cypher and Dietz, 1997, P.18).

Such a broad perspective allows us not only to escape from the explanations which take economic dimension of urban poverty as a basis but also it allows us to make international comparisons about the definition of urban poverty, to recognize subgroups among the urban poor e.g., ethnic or religious issues and children and gender issues and to contribute to the state policies in terms of democratization, equal opportunities, political and economic stability.

In this context, it is argued that, poverty is considered more than and also different from lack of some livelihood entity or lack of productive capacity at national or individual level, but more importantly poverty is a problem of distribution in the macro, mezzo, and micro levels. Therefore, poverty is not only an economic issue but also a political and economic issue. This study, while analyzing the issue of poverty, will be examined under these three levels while analyzing the issue of poverty. To examine urban poverty in the macro level necessitates examining the international dynamics through historical perspective.

Its history goes back at least 500 years, in fact, in international or macro level, urban poverty has resulted from the policy of expansion of capitalist system, in other words, globalization.

“Europe claimed to have ‘discovered’ the non-European world of Africa, Asia and America. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that Europe discovered itself as the center of that world-as the hub of world commerce and of an emerging and expanding capitalist system which, in the course of four centuries, was to annihilate or remold all other modes of livelihood” (Bujra, 2000, p.219).

Although globalization is a new concept, in fact it expresses a long historical process. The process of globalization of the world economy dates back to European imperialist expansion of the five centuries earlier. European imperialist expansion, on the one hand, had supplied raw materials and labor power for establishment and development of European industry, colonized countries, on the other hand, had went through another transformation. The roots of the underdevelopment and economic dependency can be stretched to the beginning of the European imperialist expansion. In other words, when the concept of poverty, dependency, core- periphery hierarchies or developed or underdeveloped countries are maintained, international political economy has to be considered. World economy is not an aggregate of the each countries’ economy but more and also different from this. As Frank pointed out;

“Development and underdevelopment were not to be viewed as separate processes but as different outcome of the same process” (Frank, 1969 , p.16).

Moreover, Characteristics of the capital accumulation and functions of the periphery countries have constantly changed throughout the history of capitalism. Some neo-Marxist thinkers, for example S.Amin, A.G.Frank, E.Mandel, A.Szymanski and H.Magdoff analyze the capitalist development in four main stages. The mercantile phase, between 1500-1800, is defined as;

a “transfer of economic surplus through looting and plundering, disguised as trade”. The colonial phase, from 1800- to 1950- as a second stage of capitalist development, was the “transfer of economic surplus through ‘unequal terms of trade’ by virtue of a colonially-imposed international division of labor. Between 1950-1970, which is called neo-colonial period, dominated ‘transfer of economic surplus through ‘developmentalism’ and technological rents. The last stage since the 1970, post-imperialism, is mainly the “transfer of economic surplus through debt peonage” (Hoogvelt, 1997, p.17).

In the late 1400, Columbus’s arriving at the America was at the same time at the beginning of the European capitalist expansion to the ‘Rest of the world’, which is nowadays called ‘globalization’. The first period of the capitalist development, mercantile period, was based on slave trade and establishment plantations in the overseas communities. To conquer the pre-industrial overseas communities necessitated strong political, diplomatic and military powers which were financed by the states but the agents of these first capitalist expansion was merchants. They combed the coast of Africa, Asia and sought valuable metal, spices and slave.

“In Africa, a demographic crisis of similar proportions was spread over a period of nearly 400 years. The slave trade furnished one part of the colonial world with labor to fill the vast lands acquired by the colonial powers, at the cost of depopulating Africa. Between 1600 and 1900, approximately 12 million Africans were sold into slavery and brought to the west Hemisphere, with an additional 36 million dying as a result of

constant warfare throughout Africa, or on the long march to the coast, or in the slave pens awaiting shipment across the Atlantic from 1650 to 1850, Africa's share of world population fell from 18 per cent to 8 per cent, due at least partly to the effects of the slave trade" (Cypher and Dietz, 1997, p.71).

One of the important contributions of the merchants era was accumulation of the trade investment in the west which had provided widespread technological and industrial development of the west and had detained of the economic development of the Rest of the world. The critical effects of the slave trade devastated the native manufactures through the widespread vertical trade relationship between Europe and Africa.

Second era of the European expansion can be delineated as a direct political control of the European countries over the oversea countries. The major side of the era of industrial capitalism was internationalization of capital. Economic exchanges, in this period, increased between core and peripheries. In this process, while core countries exported manufactured goods and imported raw materials, peripheries only exported raw materials, agricultural goods and unprocessed minerals and imported manufactured goods. These unequal exchanges, in other words, international division of labor, advocated unequal development between core and peripheries. Cypher and Dietz analyze this process by exemplifying Indian deindustrialization as a result of British political economy in 1800's.

"India ceased to be a leading manufacturing country of the precapitalist era and was reduced to the position of a supplier of agricultural goods and raw materials to the industrializing economies of the West, particularly Britain. The long process of deindustrialization of India started with the catastrophic disappearance of cotton manufactures from the list of exports of India... For more than seventy-five years up to 1913, India remained the major importer of cotton goods from Britain, often taking more than forty percent of the British export. Other rural or urban manufactures were ruined partly by the rise of alternative sources of supply and by government restrictions" (Bagchi, 1984, p.82).

In the long term colonies became mono-exporters, which they only produced and exported what the colonial powers directed. As a result of these unequal exchanges colonies became the only source of raw materials for colonial powers' industrialization and distorted their development. As Frank pointed out underdevelopment is the outcome of neither the survival of archaic institutions nor the existence of capital shortage in regions which have remained isolated from the process of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment has been originated from the same historical process: the development of capitalism itself (Frank, 1969, p.9).

After the Second World War was the era which covered the was end of the direct colonialism and emergence of nationalist movements. Nevertheless political sovereignty didn't mean economic independency. In this period, the world economy was ruled by arrangements between nation-states. The most important arrangement was the Bretton-Woods agreement signed in 1944. This agreement provided (the world with such a financial system that the exchange rates of the various national currencies were fixed with the US dollar, but US dollar was itself tied to the value of gold. The world system meant move from national-centered economic behavior to internationally co-ordinated finance and trade. The financial, economic and political working of the world were regulated by Bretton-Woods institutions which were, the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). According to Amin, "This period was simultaneously, however, one of the progressive dismantling of auto centric national production systems and their recomposition as constitutive element of an integrated world production system. This double erosion was the new manifestation of the deepening of globalization" (S.Amin, 1997, p.2). Moreover, Amin argues that,

"A country's position in the global hierarchy is defined by its capacity to compete in the world market... this competitiveness is a complex production of many economic, political and social factors" (Amin, 1997, p.3).

For him, in this unequal fight the centres use their 'five monopolies'. These monopolies are technological monopoly, financial control of worldwide financial markets, monopolistic access to the planet's natural resources, media and communication monopolies and monopolies over weapons of mass destruction (Ibid, 1997). This process destroys industrialization in the peripheries for the sake of the centres profit. The result is deepening inequality of the distribution of income on a world scale and subordinating the industries of the peripheries and reducing them to the role of subcontracting (Ibid, 1997).

In addition, this period was import substitution industrialization whose argument was based on new or 'infant' industries which need time to develop, for only a short time because of the 'externally dependent' and constricted to produce luxury consumer goods (Hewitt, 2000; Hoogvelt, 1997). Moreover, advanced capitalist countries reorganized the peripheries' economy in such a way that it only produced primary goods for the industrial west. According to Hoogvelt, class alliances between foreign capital and comprador elites and extreme patterns of social inequality are the two crucial features of the peripheries. This process, at the same time, brought about overall economic stagnation and pauperization by which the great number of proletariat were thrown out of their existing jobs because of the path of industrialization was capital intensive (Hoogvelt, 1997).

The post-1970 was called as a 'second neocolonial era' by some thinkers as well. The main feature of this period was the end of the Bretton-Woods arrangements and the First and Second Oil shocks. The post -1970 period was the collapse of the Bretton-Woods system and strengthening of the European states 'industries. In other words, this period was the erosion of USA hegemony over the periphery. Another important event, the first oil crisis, led to the collapse of the Bretoon-Woods system. This crisis firstly affected the countries which are dependent on oil import, in terms of international trade. The second oil crisis which occurred in 1978 brought about scarcity of the oil and then sharp increase of the oil prices which was manipulated by the USA to

prevent the decrease of the oil prices. While oil exporter countries and advanced industrial countries get profit in this process, high inflation, stagflation, high unemployment and lack of economic growth occurred in the underdeveloped countries. Thus, at the beginning of the 1980s, international division of labor presented itself as a new formulation which was called 'new international division of labor'. The major characteristics of the new period was the emergence of multinational companies which "integrated circuits of production in different countries, with each country undertaking a part of the production process, but not making the whole product" (Hoogvelt, 1997, p.46). In S. Amin's term the time was to reshuffle the cards and revise North-South relations for capitalism to overcome the crisis without resorting a new imperialism. This period has been characterized a new pattern of extraction of economic surplus of poor countries by rich countries through the instrument of dept. The logic of the system is 'managing the crisis' rather than ending it.

"IMF did nothing to prevent the excessive borrowing of the 1970s because the rising dept was very useful as a means of managing the crisis and the overabundance of idle capital which it produced. The logic of adjustment now being carried out requires, therefore, that the free mobility of capital prevail even if this should cause demand to contract because of reduction in wages and social spending, the liberalization of prices and elimination of subsidies, devaluation, etc., and thus bring about a regression in the possibilities for development" (Amin, 1997, p.20).

Moreover, according to Wallerstein, the world-system is based on 'a single division of labor'. The main characteristic of the capitalist economy is the production to maximize the profit. This process, which has persisted at least the past, few centuries have brought about;

"growing gap" between industrialized countries and the Third World. These core-periphery relationships are also essential to the reproduction of capitalism as a system. In a similar way, E. Weede emphasizes the international dimensions as a main element of Third World poverty. According to him, multinational corporations (MNCs) most of which supply investment to the Low Developed Countries (LDCs) are the main responsible agents in Third World poverty. "In the short run, the inflow of

MNC capital contributes to investment and growth. In the long run, however, MNCs succeed in getting more out of LDCs than they put in, i.e., in decapitalizing Third World economies... MNCs apply capital, intensive production technologies than do not need much local and unskilled labor input and since they tend to produce only for the more privileged classes in LDCs and ally themselves politically with those classes, MNCs penetration reinforces income inequality as well”(Weede, 1998, p.371).

And he listed six independent variables to explore why poor people stay poor while reducing growth rates and increasing inequality:

“Vertical trade (or export of raw materials and import of processed goods), export commodity concentration, trade partner concentration, low government revenues as a proportion of GDP, high-trade-to-GNP proportions, and strong MNC penetration” (Ibid, p.371)

At the beginning of the 1980s academic circles have redefine poverty within a new terminology “new urban poverty”. The main effects of this process have been reducing expenditure on working conditions and social benefits, in other words employment became unstable, increasing subcontracted workers, growing of informal economy which means deregularization of wages, uncontrollable working conditions, diminished unionization of workers. In Castells and Henderson’s terms this new era is;

“the super-exploitation of the workforce... and the transfer of value from the informal sector to large corporations via subcontracting arrangements and networks, and decentralized production” (Castells and Henderson, 1987, p.2).

While fordist regime was characterized mass production, uniformity and standardization in the production process, single task performance by worker, payment per rate, high degree of job specialization, limited job security, emphasis on dimishing worker’s responsibility in the labor sphere and regulation, welfare state and collective bargaining in the state area, post-fordist, in other terms flexible accumulation, era means batch production, flexible production of a variety of product types in the production process, multiple tasks, personal payment, elimination of job demarcation, long on-the-

job training, emphasis on worker's co-responsibility in the labor sphere, and deregulation and privatization in the state area (Harriss, 2000).

As it is maintained at the beginning of the study, the definition of urban poverty is taken from Lloyd whose analysis is based on a field-study carried out in a third world country. Therefore, the dimensions of urban poverty will be analyzed in the context of the underdeveloped countries' dynamics rather than developed countries'.

Firstly, economic dimensions of urban poverty will be explored. Main visible reasons of the economic dimensions of poverty are employment insecurity, inappropriate technology, lack of education or qualifications to get well-paid jobs, bad health, lack of access to job opportunities. (Baharoğlu, 2001; Wield and Chataway, 2000).

As it is shortly mentioned above, 1980s is a great transformation in the international relationships called new international division of labor. This transformation derives from the 'volarization and accumulation of capital' driven by capitalist competition. According to Frobel et. al.,

“...The development of the world economy has increasingly created conditions (Forcing the development of the new international division of labor) in which the survival of more and more companies can only be assured though the relocation of production to new industrial sites, where labor power is cheap to buy, abundant, and well disciplined: in short through the transnational reorganization of production” (Frobel et. al. 1987, pp. 20-21).

The major attributes of this epoch is the intensification of trade, investment, finance, migration and culture interconnectedness across countries by multinational corporations, non-governmental organization, new communication technologies (internet links, cellular phones, media networks). As Mc Grew terms,

“...it signifies the deepening enmeshment of societies in a web of world-wide flows of capital, goods, migrants, ideas, images, weapons, criminal activity and pollution, amongst other things” (McGrew, 2000, p. 347).

Another major attribute of this epoch, on the other hand, is giving assurance of efficiency but not equity. In other words, global opportunities are distributed unequally among nations, people and corporations. That is why inequality has been rising between rich and poor countries since the 1980s.

“The gap income between the fifth of world’s people living in the richest countries and the fifth in the poorest was 74 to 1 in 1997, up from 60 to 1 in 1990 and 30 to 1 in 1960...by the late 1990s the fifth of the world’s people living in the highest-income countries had: 86% of world GDP- the bottom fifth just 1%; 82% of world export markets- the bottom fifth just 1%, 68% of foreign direct investment-the bottom fifth just 1%; 74% of world telephone lines, today’s basic means of communication-the bottom fifth just 1.5%” (HDR, 1999,, P.9).

These ratios mean increasing polarization among core and peripheries’ economies, the segmentation of the work force through the transformation of employment and occupational structure and increasing immiseration and marginalization of the peripheries. Despite the erosion of full-time employment, clear-cut occupational assignments, and a career pattern over the lifecycle are seen all over the world, periphery economies have been affected more, so this process means greater insecurity in jobs and income in these countries. Castells maintains two fundamental labor force in the flexible labor market.

“The prevailing model for labor in the new, information-based economy is that of a *core labor force*, formed by information-based managers and ... a *disposable labor force* that can be automated and/or hired/fired/offshored, depending upon market demand and labor cost” (Castells, 1998, p.272).

This process has also brought about flexibility in wages and working conditions or casualization. In other words, growth of structural unemployment, income inequality, poverty, social polarization and

marginalization among mostly the unskilled or low-skilled labor force. Furthermore, weakening of labor unions are also crucial aspects in the process of increasing productivity without employment creation. By industrialism, on the one hand, the main sources of productivity was the qualitative increase of factors of production, which are labor, capital and natural resources, by informationalism, on the other hand, the main source of productivity is the qualitative capacity to optimize the combination and use of factors of production on the basis of knowledge and information (Castells, 2000). In addition, Castells asserts the aspects of individualization of work, over-exploitation of workers, social exclusion and perverse integration as the social dynamics of informationalism. According to him, individualization of labor indicates;

“...the process by which labor contribution of production is defined specifically for each worker, and for each of his/her contributions, either under the form of self employment or under individually contracted, largely unregulated, salaried labor” (ibid, p.70).

This process brings about over-exploitation of especially certain types of workers who are unskilled/low-skilled, immigrants, minorities, women, young people, children, within the working arrangements which allow capital to systematically withhold payment/resource allocation, or impose harsher working conditions (ibid, p.70). In informational capitalism, Castells explains the concept of social exclusion as “...the possibility of access to relatively regular, paid labor” or “...the process that disfranchises a person as labor in the context of capitalism” (ibid, p.71).

He also argues that, the process of social exclusion brings about perverse integration which indicates the labor process in the criminal economy i.e. theft, prostitution, drug trafficking etc.

As Castells mentioned above, within particularly after the 1980s period, erosion of the stable wage-working conditions and job security obviously manifested itself.

“Under such circumstances, employers may seek to utilize casual workers through short-term wage-employment, subcontracting to smaller firms, and the harnessing of formerly self-employed workers into their supply and distribution system as disguised wage-workers or dependent workers” (Bromley and Gerry, 1979, p.9).

Under these circumstances, dual economy or differentiation between formal-informal sectors have emerged as typical aspect of underdevelopment economy in the urban labor market. Geertz describes the formal economy as a;

“firm-centered economy where trade and industry occur through a set of impersonally defined social institutions which organized a variety of specialized occupation. Whereas bazaar economy in which the total flow of commerce is fragmented into a very great number of unrelated person-to-person transaction” (Geertz, 1963, p.28).

When informal and formal sectors are compared, the following characteristics can mainly be stated; firstly, while it is easy to enter informal sector, it is difficult to enter the latter. Secondly, informal sector includes reliance on indigenous resources; on the other hand formal sector includes frequent reliance on overseas resources. Thirdly, first one is mainly characterized by family ownership of enterprises; second one is characterized by corporate ownership. The other pattern of the informal sector is having small scale of operation but formal sector has large scale of operation. Furthermore, while informal sector has labor-intensive and adapted technology the other has capital-intensive and often imported technology. In addition, another important pattern is that the informal sector includes skills acquired outside the formal school system but the formal sector includes formally acquired skills. Finally, while informal sector has unregulated and competitive markets, formal sector

have protected markets through tariffs, quotas and trade license (Gilbert and Gugler, 1989).

Informal sector is seen most widely in the underdeveloped countries than the developed ones, so, informal sector will be examined in the context of the underdeveloped countries' dynamics. On the other hand, before examining the informal sector, it has to be emphasized that informal sector is seen both in advanced industrial countries and underdeveloped countries. Castells and Portes state that ;

“the informal economy is not a euphemism for poverty. It is a specific form of relationships of production, while poverty is an attribute linked to the process of distribution” (Castells and Portes, 1989, p.12).

Moreover, they give the examples of a street seller in Latin America and a software consultant moonlighting in Silicon Valley. These two examples are called as the informal sector. Furthermore, they argue that the notions of economic dualism and social marginality have to be departed.

When underdeveloped countries are considered, another important aspect related to this process is the increasing labor supply. As Gillis et. al. point out labor in underdeveloped countries is plentiful, but nearly all-complementary resources, which are capital equipment, arable land, foreign exchange, and entrepreneurship and managerial capacity, are scarce. Therefore, these resources explain why cheap labor is so widespread in underdeveloped countries. In addition, urban poverty cannot be explained only by supply-demand analysis. One of the important characteristics of the underdeveloped countries' labor is that they are mostly underutilized. They are mainly called disguised unemployment which means although people have a job their contribution to output is low. In other words, as Gillis et. al. point out;

“low wages and productivity, large wage differentials, rapid growth of labor supply, and underutilization of the existing supply of labor are all characteristics of third-world countries” (Gillis et. al. 1987, p.179).

Lack of low-skilled labor supply is also another main feature of the underdeveloped countries. Being unskilled labor or lack of qualifications means worse effected by conjectural fluctuations of urban labor market. Moreover, this situation is reinforced by underdeveloped countries policies, which have not social security or unemployment benefit system for unemployed people. Although educational level and occupational qualifications cannot be denied to get a stable job more easily in the urban labor market, urban poor are also used as cheap labor in the labor intensive sectors, which are highly competitive with each other, and productivity and profits are low. Therefore, informal sector in which the structure of work is more flexible has emerged. This process brings about casualization in the labor market by lowering the quality and quantity of employment structure and harsher working conditions. Another important element of informal sector is the condition of work. Workers generally have to work under inappropriate working conditions ranging from inappropriate working clothes or other apparatus for safety of workers to defective physical conditions and long working hours which are arbitrarily regulated by the employers. Moreover, the inspectors mostly ignore these defective conditions. According to my field study, one of the important aspects of the casual working is to employ workers without paying any wages. One or two months later, workers don't want to work because of not being able to get any wages. This data is also supported by Gillie et. al's concept of “discouraged workers” ,“who have stopped looking for work because they believe none is available” (Gillie et. al., 1987, p.183).

On the other hand, it has to be stressed that labor force that is working in the informal sector is not necessarily unskilled/low skilled, but employers in the underdeveloped countries' uncontrolled state policies use them as cheap labor. Moreover, as Roberts argues, 'shortages of skilled' are artificially created by some sectors. Qualifications for entry demanded by firms (such as primary or

high school certificates) are not strictly necessary for the performance of the job (Roberts, 1978).

On the other hand, Castells and Portes evaluate the effects of the work process of the absence of institutional regulation, which are the status of labor, working conditions, form of management of some firms, and criminal in the informal economy. In this study, the first two aspects are mainly considered. In the informal sector, workers have to generally work under the undeclared working rules, lacking the social benefits and under very low wages determined arbitrarily by the employers. In Mazumdar terms, informal sector is the 'unprotected' sector (Sethuraman, 1976). The trade unions or governments do not protect the workers. As Gillie et. al. State "In a poor country, unemployment is a luxury" (Gillie et. al., 1987, p. 184), because there is not any unemployment insurance, so poor people have to accept the job whatever their conditions are. In other words they often have to change the job, as a result casual work is seen so widely. One of the important aspects of the casual job is having no assurance of continuity of employment; its contraction is generally daily, weekly or seasonal. Therefore, casual workers not only lack security of employment but also they are excluded from stability of income. Casual workers, as Browley and Gerry asserted, are used as 'reserve army' of labor (Browley and Gerry, 1979). On the other hand, with neo-liberal economical and political development, since the 1980's, workers' status and working conditions have become worse.

Growth of deindustrialization and the increase in informal sector have induced social polarization. As Van Kempen points out growing social polarization has changed the patterns of social stratification by settling a number of high-income professional and managerial casual, informal, temporary and part-time forms of employment at the bottom. In this respect, while middle-income groups have disappeared, polarization have magnified in the urban area (Van Kempen, 1994). Furthermore, in these circumstances, casual workers are not only used as a 'reserve army of labor', but also they are used as strike-breaking force or in other words they are used as a bargaining counter in negotiating

with employers' regularized labor force through threatening to pass jobs over to casual workers (Bromley and Gerry, 1979, p.9). Furthermore, growing inequalities have not resulted in an increase in overt group and class conflict, partly because of the considerable geographical mobility that is still characteristic of the population of many underdeveloped cities. The heterogeneity of low-income groups, their job and geographical mobility prevent the development of strong class-consciousness and class organization (Roberts, 1978). As also Gorz argues, the power of new technologies needs no longer to employ society's all population. So while 'small privileged group of full-time workers are eroded, unemployed or partly employed people or marginalization of working class emerged. As a result of this process, as Bauman states, 'new poor' has emerged who are not 'reserve army' for the urban labor market but 'permanently displaced' (cited in Bradley, 1996).

2.3. Population Growth, Migration and Poverty

World population particularly in the underdeveloped countries has been growing.

"From the current level of 5.9 billion people, the world's population is projected to increase by 80 million per year to the year 2025" (Hewitt and Smyth, 2000, p.127).

On the other hand, while population growth rate has declined in the developed countries, the same rate shows a opposite direction in the underdeveloped countries. The major aspects of the declining population growth in the developed countries are the improvement in health and environmental conditions, the increase in contraceptive use and the cost of raising children by urbanization, the increase in education and age of marriage for women, the decline in having children considering economic reasons, the change in cultural and traditional values, the decline in infant and child mortality. On the contrary, surrounding conditions in the underdeveloped countries are utterly distinct from the developed ones. Health and sanitary conditions is still unpleasant; children have still been perceived as an economic value and future

security by the families; usage of contraceptive using is too constricted by traditional, cultural or religious values, age of marriage is low particularly for women. On the other hand, underdeveloped countries show low mortality/high fertility characteristics which King calls this “demographic trap”. So, density of population presents uneven distribution in the world.

Another important uneven population distribution brings can be seen in national level. In this level, migration is the crucial aspect in population growth. Internal migration, which causes high density of population in particular regions or cities, has not always brought access to about economic welfare and opportunities of city life but has also brought about inequality, polarization, economic and social problems in cities. Therefore, decision for migration from rural to urban areas is not always an easily decision for the migrants, and relatively better life expectations or reluctantancy are the major characteristics of the underdeveloped countries migration. In other words, push factors, landless, or small separation of the land, high population rates, technological developments, terror and forced migrations, are dominant rather than pull factors, access to opportunities, education, health and infrastructural services, cities’ cultural and social life and employment opportunities. Since migrants often cannot access to these cities’ opportunities, dual economies, squatter settlements, and other social and cultural lives emerge in the cities. Therefore, migration, which is characterized mostly not as voluntary population movement, has emerged as a survival strategy among the rural dwellers in the underdeveloped countries.

The main characteristics of the migrants in terms of demographic side are as follows: They are too young, dominantly male, and they have quite poor socio-economic background, in other words, they are uneducated, low-skilled for the urban labor market and they are trapped by unexpected and involuntary migration movement due to economic difficulties in the rural areas. First migration experience is mostly realized by the migrants seasonal/temporary jobs with father, co-villager or kins at very early ages, whose range changes from 8 to 15. This kind of temporary migration sometimes changes to

permanent migration, but sometimes this situation persists bachelor rooms with the desire of reuniting their families one day.

Another pattern of migration is chain migration in which migrants make the decision to migrate after their acquaintances who had migrated to the city before, find a job. As Gugler & Gilbert explain, “potential migrants can afford to wait in the village until their urban contacts signal o job opportunities” (Gugler & Gilbert, 1989, p.54).

Chain migration supports the new migrants in terms of shelter, pocket money, until they find a house and get a job, and emotional assistance. One of the important impacts of the chain migration is to settle in the same residential areas for the migrants who come from same villages. Undoubtly, the features of the settlement areas can be listed as follows: Mostly, they lack infrastructural services; they are quite areas where houses are cheap to rent or they are appropriate to construct illegal houses. All these features cause people belonging to low socio-economic level, non- or low-skilled group for urban labor market to intensify in these areas. As Parkin explores,

“...the process of gentrification where higher income groups displace lower income groups has caused growing disparities in the housing provision enjoyed by different income groups...economic success has again been the cause, not the solution, to growing social exclusion in the city” (Jordan, 1996, pp. 9-10).

Furthermore, as Park points out,

“ One of the incidents of the growth of the community is the social selection and segregation of the population, and the creation, on the one hand, of natural social groups, and on the other, of natural social areas...” (Van Kempen, 1994, p.995).

This dual characteristics of the city reflects social polarization, social segregation and scarcity of intra- and inter-generational upward mobility chances for the migrants as well, Park and Wilson ascribe;

“...the lack of life chances of the inner-city poor and the persistence of their problems to the homogeneous and deviant social milieu, which has developed in the inner-city in the aftermath of selective migration and economic restructuring” (Ibid., p.996).

Therefore, in addition to the affirmative effects of the strong ties of the social networks, migration also brings about ‘social isolation’ which is cohesively related to the concept of ‘culture of poverty’, because, while these bonds do help individuals to survive, migrants acquire certain behavioral traits among themselves, Wilson expands on these bonds saying that these bonds may determine the quality of the schools that children attend, the formation of attitudes towards marriage life, the choice of children’s spouses from the same environment, adherence to the traditional role models, even tendencies towards criminal behavior, so, Wilson uses the term ‘social isolation’ rather than the culture of poverty.

Another crucial impact of the migration is unemployment in the urban labor market. The definition of ‘unemployment’ concept is quite complex and problematic in reality. As Gugler points out higher levels of unemployment are more common among the more educated people (Gugler, 2000). In other words, for unskilled/low-skilled and uneducated people unemployment is a luxury they cannot afford. When limited job opportunities for the limited skilled labor force are considered, migrants develop variety of income-earning activities, so, casualization and informal sector emerges. This process accelerates inequality and income gap between the city dwellers and exploitation of the labor force. Exclusion from stable-income and urban services bring about the concept of the myth of marginality defined by Perlman;

“...marginality as consisting the lack of participation of low-income groups in politics, their traditional attitudes and their lack of access to education, health care and adequate standards of consumption” (Roberts, 1978, p.139).

In other words, as Roberts asserts;

“The uneven development of the urban economy often implies a diversity of means by which people struggle, culturally and socially, not simply to survive but to better their position” (Ibid, p.141).

2.4. Survival Strategies

If it is considered that culture of poverty is widespread among the poor, survival strategies which are developed by the poor show us that culture of poverty can be elaborated as a result of the defective conditions but not as a reason of the poverty itself. A large number of field research supports that poor people work to produce strategies to survive. Survival strategies can be extended from domestic level to labor market. Similar to creation of culture of poverty by the poor, survival strategies are produced in case of weakness of the welfare state and social policies which ignores the human factors, and lack of conditions to exercise democratic rights.

One of the important survival strategies created among the poor is to attempt multiple jobs and to accept any jobs no matter how the working conditions and wages are. As it is asserted above, unemployment is luxury particularly among the poor. Therefore, one of the major characteristics of the labor market which employs the un- or low-skilled labor force is casual, temporary, subcontract or part-time working in harmful conditions. As Bromley and Gerry assert;

“casual workers have greater flexibility of working hours and locations, and greater job mobility than contracted workers with a degree of job security, and casual workers may be particularly involved in illegal, immoral, or simply clandestine operations” (Bromley and Gerry, 1979, p.10).

In a similar way, Henry examines the informal economies as survival mechanisms for those people who have no choice;

“the roadside and empty-lot mechanics, who will weld on a Bornville cocoa tin to mend an exhaust pipe of the civil servant’s Mercedes, the

leather workers making hand-made bags for the tourist trade, the furniture makers, the men who collect empty Essolube cans from garages twice a day and have them processed into serviceable oil-lamps by sunset...It is in this way that the informal economy becomes the means by which large numbers of people in underdeveloped countries make a living” (Henry, 1982, p.466).

Another important survival strategy is seasonal migration to work in the labor market or agriculture sector. While urban labor market cannot absorb the urban labor force, seasonal agricultural jobs are widely seen particularly in underdeveloped countries. The pattern of these kinds of jobs is based on the family labor force. In addition to the agricultural work, domestic work and informal sector are other two areas which employ child and women labor force.

The major reasons for using women labor force at informal sector can be stated as follows: Women are generally defined as housewives so home duties are excluded from wage, on the other hand, their working outside home is only seen as a support for family budget. Therefore, women labor force is cheaper than the men's,

“...the image of homeworkers as housewives supported by a husband's wage, seeking a bit of 'pin money' for work in their spare time, was challenged by factual accounts of women who were forced by economic need to undertake long hours of work at home for appalling wages” (Allen and Workowitz, 1987. p.3).

Not only women labor force is used as cheap labor, but also atomistic and unorganized working conditions lead to exercise of restrictions over women by the employers. This situation, on the one hand, reinforce the social division of labor which is based on sexual division of labor in the labor market and strengthens male domination at home on the other hand. Furthermore, girls are excluded from the school at very early ages, in case family has to choose among boys and girls to attend school due to lack of money. Therefore, women's vulnerability increases as the cost of survival strategies. Unequal

income distribution, massive migration from villages to the cities, increasing population, chronic unemployment among adults or lack of income, family structure, death of the head of the households and not applying social welfare state policies, are the major agents of the occurrence and rising of the child labor.

Another important survival strategy is to have many children and to use them as supporters of family budget since very early ages. At the same time, the value of children, psychologically, socially or economically, affects the number and sex preferences. In economic sense, having more children means having one more person to help economically, in the old age, and also around the house.

Rising clientalism, importance of family, kinship networks are other social outcomes of the survival strategies, Social networks support poor not only in emotional sense, but also from taking decision of the migration to the city, building a house, finding a job, to exchanging of loans. Jütte views the social networks as groups focusing on problem solving -‘problem anchored helping networks’- and expands on relations within this network, such as, family, kin, friendship and common local origin relationships (Jütte, 1994). As unorganized labor market forces become weaker, urban poor becomes more isolated and weaker in case of lacking social networks. Therefore, regions which generally settle the poor are divided into small neighbourhoods where the poor are mainly from the same villages or cities. There is a counter parallelism between reinforcing kinship, family or townsmen ship solidarity and reducing social welfare policies, unionization rights of workers, social benefits and so on.

Making home-made bread and other food, reducing food and other expenses, several families living in the same house, preferring to live in the absence of infrastructure services such as water, sanitation, electricity or using them in illegal way are the other major survival strategies.

Working in the unstable and unprotected working conditions firstly influences workers' health and they are excluded from the working life due to working accidents or harsh working conditions. Moreover, they generally have to work in unsociable working hours i.e. night shifts or weekends, or they become too tired to arrive home so some problems occur in their relations and particularly in family relations. However, it has to be stated that this aspect is seen quite luxury for poor people, if their depressed living conditions are considered.

In addition while women's inferior status in the labor market and society are reinforced, male domination at home is supported. Children are excluded from the school at early ages and they also develop low self-reliance and self-esteem personal characteristics. Therefore, their upward mobility chances are very limited. Other crucial effects of child workers are losing health at very early ages, using drug and alcohol at high rates, delinquent activities i.e. theft, carrying a weapon or vandalism, reducing concentration in class and lessening future expectations about education, rising anxiety, depression, tension, fatigue, headaches, stomachaches, and so on (Steinberg, et.al. 1993).

2.5. Culture of Poverty

Being poor besides the exclusion from stable urban labor market, means lack of options, isolation from communities, insufficient channels of information for obtaining jobs, insufficient knowledge to use legal citizenship rights, or not being able to use them, the absence of opportunities to participate in decision-making process.

Causes of poverty have persistently been a quite debatable issue in not only academic but also political circles. This debate goes back to the concept of deserving –undeserving poor as well. The effects of the urban labor market on the urban poverty have been discussed in the previous section. Another important argument is also to indicate the poor as responsible for their own situations. This argument emphasizes the poor's individualistic characteristics such as, hopelessness, laziness, dependency, helplessness, inferiority, fatalism, incapacity to adopt to modern patterns, etc.

This argument, particularly supported by the conservative school, has used the concept of poverty which was explored by Lewis in 1960s. On the other hand, Lewis' aim has never been to stigmatize the poor while exploring this concept. Therefore, what 'culture of poverty' means has to be clarified by any studies which used it.

Lewis explores the culture of poverty as "subculture with its own structure and rationale, as away of life that is passed down from generation to generation along family lines" (Lewis, 1969, p.187).

According to him, culture of poverty emerges from following set of conditions;

"1) a cash economy, wage labor, and production for profit; 2) a persistently high rate of unemployment and underemployment for unskilled labor; 3) low wage; 4) the failure to provide social, political and economic organization, either on voluntary basis or by government imposition, for the low-income population; 5) the existence of a bilateral kinship system rather than a unilateral one; and finally, 6) the existence in the dominant class of a set of values that stresses the accumulation of wealth and property, the possibility of upward mobility, and thrift and that explains low economic status as the result of personal inadequacy or inferiority" (Ibid, pp. 187-188).

Furthermore, he analyzes the concept in the four major levels: Firstly, he explores the relationships between the subculture and the larger society. According to him, one of the crucial features of the culture of poverty is the lack of effective participation and integration of the major institutions of the larger society.

"Low wages and chronic unemployment and underemployment lead to low income, lack of property ownership, absence of savings, absence of food reserves in the home, and a chronic shortage of cash. These conditions reduce the possibility of effective participation in the larger economic system" (Ibid, pp.189-190).

In this respect, he asserts that;

“people with a culture of poverty are aware of middle-class values; they talk about them and even claim some of them as their own, but on the whole they do not live by them” (Ibid, p.190).

This argument leads us to the concept of relative deprivation which is not particularly related to the absolute poverty as the concept of poverty. Relative deprivation means “a comparison with the imaged situation of some other person or group” (Runciman,1979, p.301). As the poor people’s expectations increase or communications with the people who are richer and have more assets intensify, relative deprivation, increases as well. Therefore, culture of poverty may emerge among the people who are the members of the large society but they cannot access to opportunities of them, so they cannot feel themselves belong to that society. Under these circumstances;

“the most likely candidates for the culture of poverty are the people who come from the lower strata of a rapidly changing society and are already partially alienated from it. Thus, landless rural workers who migrate to the cities can be expected to develop a culture of poverty much more readily than migrants from stable peasants villages with a well-organized traditional culture” (Lewis, 1969, p.189).

Furthermore, this process, at the same time, separates the urban poor from the society and encloses them in the local community level which means common ethnic or racial roots, kinship ties etc. This type of closure can be seen as a survival strategy economically, socially and psychologically at the same time. Moreover, Wilson analyzes the concept of social isolation the degree of contact or interaction with individuals and institutions that represent mainstream society...(and) the level of opportunities to develop cognitive, linguistic and other educational and job-related skills” of the poor people (Wilson, 1991). Joseph describes this vicious circle;

“...as a ‘cycle of deprivation’ in which the inadequate parenting, lowered aspirations and disadvantaged environment of families and communities became internalized as part of the values of their children as they grew up. Thus when these children reached adulthood their expectations and

abilities were lowered, and they more readily expected and accepted the poverty and deprivation of their parents and acquaintances” (Alcock, 1997, p.38).

At the same time, the degree of closure of the community determines the poor’ job networks, marriageable partners, quality of schools and conventional role models as a social network.

The third major aspect of culture of poverty is on the family level. Lewis explains this aspect as;

“...the absence of childhood as a specially prolonged and protected stage in the life cycle; early initiation into sex; free unions or consensual marriages; a relatively high incidence of the abandonment of wives and children; a trend toward female- or mother-centered families, and consequently a much greater knowledge of maternal relatives; a strong predispositions to authoritarianism; lack of privacy; verbal emphasis upon family solidarity, which is only rarely achieved because of sibling rivalry; and competition for limited goods and maternal affection” (Lewis, 1969, p. 191).

At the individualistic level, as a fourth level, the culture of poverty’s main characteristics are strong feelings of marginality, of helplessness, of dependence, and of inferiority (Ibid, 1969). When these four levels of culture of poverty are taken into account together, crystallization of a subculture in an ‘isolated area’, and entrapment of the poor into the cycle of poverty seem inevitable. Moreover, Wilson indicates the changing structural conditions to analyze culture of poverty thesis.

“This shift from goods-producing to service-producing industries, the increasing polarization of the labor market into low-wage and high-wage sectors, innovations in technology, the relocation of manufacturing industries out of central cities” has increased joblessness and social isolation (Wilson, 1991-1992, p.640).

As it is mentioned in the previous section, structural changes, particularly after 1980s structural adjustment programs brought about erosion of the full-time employment, social security in the jobs, social benefits, unionization of the workers through the subcontracting, casualization, part-time workings, or temporary jobs. These changing conjuncture leads at the same time to the exclusion of the masses from authority or decision-making process, which in more widely used term ‘monopolization of knowledge’. This process at the same time means disempowerment of the masses while excluding them from the exercise of authority. Here Parkin distinguishes two main closure strategies in the modern capitalist society, the institutions of property and academic and professional qualifications and credentials (Hamilton and Hirszowicz, 1987). According to him,

“property is characterized...as a form of closure designed to prevent access to the means of production and its fruits while credentialism is a form of closure designed to control and monitor entry into key positions in the division of labor” (Ibid, pp. 43-44).

One of the crucial consequences of these closure strategies is blocking upward mobility chances or opportunities of the poor.

Therefore, culture of poverty has to be seen as realistic reactions of the poor to their own situations rather than stereotyping, stigmatizing, and harassing the poor by questioning their morality and their values. Stigmatizing the poor leads to labeling them as ‘undeserving’ poor i.e. they are not deserving any economic or social benefits. Some conservative thinkers argue that welfare state provision supports the culture of poverty and dependency (Murray, 1984). On the other hand, culture of poverty thesis should not be generalized as a typical attitudes model or it should be argued that it is not so widespread among the poor. Besides the realistic reactions, the poor have been developing some strategies to deal with their economic, social and psychological situations. If the culture of poverty affects the poverty, it should be examined as a result of the poors’ situation but not as a reason.

CHAPTER 3

URBAN POVERTY IN TURKEY

3.1. Urban Poverty in Turkey

Human Development Report 2003-Turkey presents that, according to human development indicators, Turkey is standing 96th rank among the 175 countries in terms of development index.

The total population is 69.3 million and the rate of the urban population reaches 66.2% as an outcome of rural-urban migration rather than industrialization. Moreover, economically inactive or dependent population within the economically active population is too high; Turkey has dominantly young population with the rate of 31.2% under 15. Share of income as another important indicator in respect of poverty and inequality shows that while according to 2000 data, the richest 10% of the population shares 30.7% of the national income and the richest 20% of the population shares 46.7% on the one hand, the poorest 10% of the population shares 2.3% of the income and the poorest 20% of the population shares 6.1% of the income in the other hand. In other words, income inequality is high in Turkey. Gini coefficients for income and consumption per capita shows 0.45 and 0.41 rates in 1994 data respectively, According to a World Bank research,

“the main factor driving the worsening of the distribution of money incomes appears to be differentials by educational attainment” (The World Bank, 2000, p.vii).

As the Report shows poverty is being encountered intensely in the households in which the head of the family is illiterate or is employed in seasonal or casual

jobs. 15% of the household whose head is illiterate are poor in absolute sense and every fourth wage earner in Turkey is a casual employee. In addition, working poor and unemployed people are excluded from the social protection system. Furthermore, public expenses priorities also show the increase in polarization and inequality in Turkey. For example, dept payment with the rate of 15.2% get the first rank and military expenses get the second rank with the rank of 4.9%, however education and health expenses share the 3rd and 4th ranks with the 3.6% and 3.5% rates. The shares of education and health in the state budget are too low to improve living standards of the poor. Therefore, although compulsory education is increased to eight years, access to educational opportunities and the quality of education for poor people have been still debatable issues in Turkey.

It has to be emphasized that, while exploring this unequal income distribution or other socio-economic indicators, neither internal nor external dynamics should be ignored, In other words, they are mutually exclusive factors to examine countries' development and growth process. As it has been explained in the previous chapter, although the concept of globalization has particularly been used since the last two decades, international division of labor goes back far more than this. This is valid for Turkey's socio-economic development process as well. In this respect, the growth and development of Turkey has been an extension of progress and underdevelopment ideologies (Boratav, 1993; Sönmez, 1998; Yeldan, 2001; Şenses, 1996).

The first years of the Turkish Republic can be characterized by import-substitution industrialization under the protection of state, in other words, private investments were supported by the state, and native bourgeoisie were created. Although state promoted the development of bourgeoisie, Turkish industry is left without protective taxes by the Lausanne Treaty, so state couldn't follow protective policies in the international trade. Towards the end of 1920s, Turkey participated in the world economy as raw material exporter and industrial products importer. The rate of investment accumulation to the gross national product was 9.1% and the rate of the external trade deficiency to the aggregate investments reached 40% (Boratav, 1993). While the industrial

sector rate was 13.6% in the GSMH in the 1923, this rate decreased to 9.95 in 1929. Turkey became an import agricultural exporter country in this period. This process was particularly the result of international division of labor (Boratav, 1993; Sönmez, 1998). According to 1927 industry census, the share of agricultural enterprises was 43.59%, textile was 23.88% and mine industry, machinery production and repair was 22.61% in totally 65.000 enterprises. Furthermore, 71% of the enterprise employed 3 or less than 3 workers, on the other hand, only 0.23% of them employed more than 100 workers and children labor rate was 2.5 for each enterprise in this period (Kepenek and Yentürk, 2000, p.45). Once more, Boratav examines that, it is difficult to find reliable data about the workers' wages in this period, on the other hand, it can be said that, workers' economic situations were protected by the national economy (Boratav, 1993). In addition, workers' demand was too restricted due to being quite limited in number. Furthermore, according to 20 April 1924 Constitution, peasants, workers, enterprises, craftsmen, merchants etc. were seen as agents of national integrity and on the basis of solidarity, interest conflicts and classes in the society were ignored. However, state policies hardly have always taken into consideration the aim of achieving equality among the different social classes through the Turkish Republic history.

At the end of the first ten years of establishment of the Turkish Republic, domestic industrial production couldn't be realized even in the basic industrial consumption, so, production and income had declined in the main sectors of economy. As in addition to this development, the 1929 World Crisis occurred. In this period, did the production capacities decline while unemployment increased, but also import goods' prices dropped. During the crisis, the price of raw materials dropped more than the price of industrial goods, thus, while exportation decreased, the capacity of importation was constricted. The main outcome of this process was the increase in import-substitution investments, which constituted the first industrialization attempt in the Third World Countries in the first half of the 20 century to limit the reflection of the crisis' effects in Turkey (Boratav, 1993). Therefore, according to Boratav, 1930-1939 period can be claimed as the first serious effort to industrialization of Turkey.

As Kruger explore, "...the decline in export earnings attendant upon the Great Depression virtually forced a shift in economy policy" (Kruger, 1974, p.5). This world crisis was considered by the Turkish politicians as the demonstration of the deficiency of the free enterprise system, therefore, etatism has been introduced as a state economy policy to provide industrial development under the state protection. This period can be characterized by increasing protection in foreign trade and drawing up First-Five-Year Development plan in 1933. This program of industrialization consisted of the production of basic goods which were imported, in other words, industrialization, in this period, didn't go further than import-substitution patterns. According to Kepenek and Yentürk, on the one hand, lack of production technologies, qualified labor force and intermediate inputs were the main reasons which hinder establishment of the industrialization based on the production of investment goods. Question of the efficient usage of the investment goods was another issue on the other hand (Kepenek and Yentürk, 2000).

The burden of transferring resources from agriculture to industry was reflected to the peasants though increasing industrial good taxes, so peasants and workers paid the taxes in an indirect way even though 'aşar' tax' was abolished. While direct taxes decreased from 46.3 billion Turkish Liras in 1923 to 43.7 billion in 1939, indirect taxes increased five times in the sane period (Boratav, 1993; Kepenek and Yentürk, 2000). Furthermore, working conditions were regulated by the 1936 Labor Law, but the rights of establishment of trade union, collective agreement and strikes were banned. Although this law was regulating working conditions of women and children under 16, it was only valid in the working places where more than ten workers work. If we consider the unregistered economy as well, the labor law included quite small number of workers in fact.

During the Second World War, planned economy policy was postponed, industrialization became stable on the one hand, war expenses dominated over

the state budget, on the other hand. Under the war economy, declining peasants' and workers' income and living standards accompanied to high inflation and regression of agricultural and industrial products and growing service sector. Demographic movements had not yet began, 16.6% of the population lived in places having more than ten thousand people and this rate increased to 18.4 percent in the 1945.

The main characteristics of the post-war period were to gain speed of the social transformation. One of the major effects of this process was getting to the dominant role of America to construct Turkish political economy. America suggested some radical alterations due to having included Turkey to the aid programs of America. Some important requirements for these alterations were as follows: Public investments had to be reduced instead of establishing heavy-metal industry (iron-steel, heavy chemistry, chemical fertilizer and cellulose paper); agricultural goods had to be processed; the branch of the industry which included construction equipments, light metal, leather, forestry products, ceramic and hand-crafts had to be considered. Local and foreign investments had to be supported for economic development. Turkey could only have taken the place in international division of labor upon meeting these requirements. In other words, while capital-intensive sector concentrated in the developed countries, labor-intensive sectors concentrated in the underdeveloped ones. Under these circumstances, agriculture sector had fundamentally changed throughout the rapid mechanization, increasing usage of tractor, which supported to the prices of agriculture products and the extending of the agricultural production areas. Opening up the agriculture products to the market and rapid urbanization were the two crucial outcomes of these process. Furthermore, Turkey approved the Bretton Woods agreement after 1945, so Turkey's economy politics has began to determined by the IMF'S and the World Bank's direction (Kepenek and Yentürk, 2000, Sönmez 1998).

Rapid urbanization brought about increasing rate of urban population, wide spreading squatter-settlement areas and increasing the rate of population,

working in the urban labor market. Although political, social and unionization rights were given to the workers; they couldn't be put into practice in this period, and real wages remained behind the inflation as well. On the other hand, income distribution data is nonexistent to analyze distribution as peculiar to this period. 1960's was characterized by planned industrialization covering five-year plan was based in the public sector and government intervention. Subsequent plans had dominantly emphasized the supporting of private sector and the role of public sector was limited to being a supporter of private sector. Furthermore, as Kepenek and Yentürk assert, integration to the western capitalism was aimed, on the one hand, democratic rights, economic and social rights were ignored in favor of capital accumulation, on the other hand (Kepenek and Yentürk, 2000). The resources, which were allocated for education and health, were gradually inclined, but even foreseen proportion hadn't been realized in practice.

Within the 1970s Turkey's economy has been exposed to economic and political crisis. Sharply increasing oil prices, Cyprus issue and some countries' economic crisis, which were linked to Turkey, were the three major factors of the crisis in 1970s. These three factors brought about increasing energy costs, military defensive costs and increasing exportation and cancellation sending labor force to the other countries. External debt had reached to 14.6 billion dollars and income distribution inequality had increased (Sönmez, 2000). Therefore, Turkey began 1980's with crisis, stabilization and structural adjustment policies were introduced in Turkey. The main features of these policies were the liberalization of foreign trade and financial markets and privatization. This transformation meant the changing from import substitution development strategy to market-based policies. As Şenses points out, structural adjustment program in January 1980 meant a sharp reversal of earlier policies.

“In close collaboration with Bretton Woods institutions, in particular the World Bank, there was a series of reforms in the sphere of financial and trade liberalization of capital transactions in August 1989” (Şenses, 1996, p.72).

The crucial impacts of the structural adjustment policies have been deregulation in labor market and more flexible forms of work organization. In addition to the structural adjustment program, military takeover in September 1980 imposed a compulsory income policy and banned the trade unions and strikes. Under these circumstances,

“certain social groups, including labor, the agricultural workforce, the lower-level bureaucracy, and elements of small business had been major losers from the process of adjustment and reform” (Onis and Riedel, 1993, p.101).

Flexibilization was particularly the main policy in the labor market. The major argument of the supporter of the flexibilization policy was to increase wages meant losing competitive force in the international market. This argument was also supported by the government and the requirements of the new regulation about the part-time employment, permanent jobs, flexible working hours were emphasized in the 7th Five-Year Plan. Furthermore, the concept of flexibilization was often used instead of the concept of ‘deregulation’ and it meant individualization of the labor laws, wide spread of contract instead of labor laws, getting rid of bureaucracy in labor laws, opening all relations to the labor market domination of the bargain between the labor and capital, adjusting working days and hours as to necessity etc. In this respect, flexibilization created a flexible milieu where employers can escape from the regulations of labor market and where they can pull down the workmanship costs. In other words, workers are employed in temporary status and are prevented from joining any union trade in the informal sector throughout the subcontractor firms which use the main firm’s working place and equipments. Moreover, main firms are divided into small companies, which employed less than 10 workers to prevent trade unionization and to provide flexible wage and working conditions (Ansal, et.al. 2000). Small firms employment and unregistered labor usage had increased in the private small factories between 1990-1992 (Yeldan, 2001). The major impact of the flexibilization presents itself in the rate of labor force, working in the informal sector. According to ILO definition, informal sector is defined as self-employed, unpaid family

workers and employers who employed less than four workers. In this respect, urban informal sector got 25.5% of the total employment in 1988 and this rate increased to 26.3% in 1992. On the other hand, the rate of regular wagedworkers was only 12% in this period (Ibid. 2000). The major characteristics of the informal sector are their being labor-intensive and using low-technology, mostly not requiring any qualification, creating low added value and employing people with too low wages. In addition to increasing labor force working in the small workshops, piece work at home, subcontracting also spread particularly among women. Growing of the informal sector has been also supported by massive internal migration since the 1950's in Turkey.

3.1.1. Migration

At the beginning of the 1950's migration from the rural areas to the cities had been the crucial social phenomenon in Turkey. In a similar way of with the other underdeveloped countries, migration has been cornerstone for the urbanization process in Turkey as well. As Danielson and Keleş point,

“Industrialization has not been able to be moved together with urbanization. In a similar way with the other developing countries, most of the cities in Turkey have grown faster than their industrial bases” (Danielson and Keleş, 1985, p.30).

The major factor of emerging migration in the cities is push factor in the villages rather than pull factor of the cities in Turkey. The main factors to the migration have been the economic development in the third world and the mechanization of agriculture. (Karpas, 1976) Structural changes in the Turkish agricultural policies have followed the rules of liberal economy politics rather than being “regulative and preventive” as parallel to the changing structural economy politics (Kazgan, 1999; Köymen, 1999). Under these circumstances, working and living conditions have become more difficult throughout the years. While migrants in 1950s and 1960s relatively had found a house and a job, these conditions have become more difficult for the next generations.

Moreover, new generations are less supported by their villages economically, socially and psychologically. Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç point out that, all aspects of socio-economic life have become highly competitive. (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 1998; 2000) Therefore, new migrants are in a dilemma as taking the migration decision or not.

3.2. Migration and Urbanization

The major impact of the international and national state policies is the mass internal migration in Turkey. These expensive migration directed towards the large cities during the past 50 years has also produced pressing problems. The appearance of this form of urbanization, economic growth and socio-cultural development through a steady increase of urban population have also brought about the concept of the ‘urban poor’, because while urban employment opportunities lack the capacity to absorb this dense population, these groups also lack access to the other facilities. The urban poor form an ever more increasing population mostly not contributing to the country’s economy, marginalized, lacking security, working in casual jobs not able to get benefit from municipal services and trying to survive in squatter settlement areas.

Migration reflects itself firstly in the cities as housing problems due to illegally constructed houses by the migrants in the treasury fields. These illegal houses which have been set up only one night found their name spontaneously: ‘Gecekondu’ (squatter settlement) or ‘built overnight’. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly that, gecekondu cannot be hold on only as an issue of development plan or development law or criminal problem. According to 1985 data 70% of Ankara is covered with squatter settlement areas (Göksu, 1985). If at least 50 year process is considered, squatter settlement can not be only regarded as an economic problem, but also and more importantly as a social phenomenon. As Tekeli points out, squatter settlement can not be hold on as we hold it on 50 years ago (Tekeli, 1991). It can be generally accepted that squatter settlement population have low income and commonly they are uneducated, unskilled or semiskilled, mostly illiterate. According to Danielson and Keleş;

“disparities between life in the cities and the villages, along with a rapid increase in rural population, underlies mass migration and accelerating urbanization in Turkey. Rural dwellers have lower incomes, less access to public services, and fewer amenities than city residents...education and health services are poorer in rural areas. The attractions of higher income, better schools, and more public services in the cities have been magnified by agricultural conditions in rural Turkey. There is no sufficient arable land to support a growing rural population, and this results in widespread unemployment and underemployment among *agricultural workers*” (Danielson and Keleş, 1985. pp. 31-33);

And they point out the quality of the jobs;

“...the expanding service sector accounts for most of the underemployment as large numbers of migrants find work as street hawkers, porters, bootblacks, messengers, parking-lot attendants, caretakers, and other marginal occupations characterized by intermittent employment and low productivity” (Ibid, p.39).

Besides, this uneducated and unskilled population is employed in unorganized working areas and they exist as a huge cheap labor power. The main result of this economic process is unequal income distribution, opportunity of inequality and becoming ‘distinct’ social group. This economically and socially low group has expanded by the organization and solidarity particularly among the people coming from same villages through building their squatter settlement in the same areas. Community organizations, kinship or relativeness has played crucial roles in surviving and adaptation of the migrants especially during the first years in the city. The main reasons for the present different social behavior and having different social relations network among the squatter settlement population from the other social groups are having to survive their life to struggle against the squatter settlement’s pulling down, the effect of the politics, bribe or giving tribute to mafia (Friedrich Ebert Vakfı, 1996). On the other side, removal of laws by the politicians as source of votes reason for the expansion of squatter settlement areas. According to Karpat;

“The right to vote has acquired in the squatter settlement...both symbolic and practical meaning as an ideal avenue for transforming the communal in politics to secure some benefits” (Karpas, 1975, p.101).

In addition, Karpas emphasizes that the politicians who sense the vote potential of the squatter settlements are quick to establish a foothold there from the very beginning. They promise titles to the land on which squatter houses are established, city water, electricity, and transformation which is the reason of the growing squatter settlements in the big cities. (Karpas, 1976) According to Heper, in this context,

“...these ceremonies inculcated the belief that once the squatter houses are built one would somehow obtain a title deed. Such a belief helped accelerated the migration to the urban areas. The politicians while legitimizing the completed squatter houses also encouraged new ones” (Heper, 1978, p.41).

As some of the politicians and city planners emphasize new approaches and strategies must be developed to prevent expansion of squatter settlement areas and new development laws must be introduced all the treasury fields should be transferred to local governments (Türk Belediyecilik Derneği-Konrad Adenauer Vakfı, 1994).

Besides the economic based migration, also forced migration raised in the late 1980s and particularly in the 1990s. The main elements of the forced migration are burned or destroyed villages, restrictions on buying food, prohibitions on going the arable lands and agricultural workings, closure of schools and health centers. Under these circumstances, villagers were forced to migrate or being village guards. According to official resources, after 1992, 3428 villages and mezra have been evacuated and 378.335 inhabitants of these settlements have been left (Tarih Vakfı, 1999).

Fundamental differences of the forced migration from the ‘voluntary’ ones are as follows: Migrants are relatively more unprepared for the city life economically, socially, culturally and psychologically. In addition to these

problems, they also suffer language difficulties. Moreover, they cannot deal with some advantages of chain migration, thus they have to live relatively more isolated socially and residentially and their survival becomes more severe in the cities. In addition, they not only lost all properties and assets in their villages, but also it's the first time they have seen a city. As Erder points out, the only chance of the migrants is to migrate at early ages. The time until the adulthood, se defines, is apprenticeship (Erder, 1995). Thus forced migrants' adaptation to the urban labor market may be more difficult, because they generally engaged only in the agriculture sector until they migrated. Furthermore, their 'social network' is more restricted to find a job or a house. In addition to these difficulties, they live some strenuousness while trying a house or find a job as they are stigmatized as 'terrorists'.

3.3. Urban Poverty Studies in Turkey

The issue of poverty is multidimensional as it was mentioned before. In this respect, although studies about this issue in Turkey have begun only recently, multidimensional approaches are already widely appparent.

Poverty has always been a crucial problem in Turkey, but furthermore, the 1980's political and economic developments in the world affected Turkish policies. One of the significant agents in these political and economic developments, namely "Structural Adjustment Policies" were started in Turkey also. Therefore, urban poverty, as an issue, entered not only state plans and projects but also has been discussed in the political and academic circles.

An important source of information on urban poverty is the Five Year Development Plans, published every 5 years. These reports periodically examine economic and social developments in Turkey and put out policies and projects about these issues. The last in particular, the Eighth Five-Year Development Plan, was devoted to the issue of poverty. The Report examines the distribution of income through some criteria. One of the significant criteria is, as mentioned before, the Gini index. According to the Report, unequal income distribution began to increase at the beginning of the 1980's.

Moreover, after 1987, these inequalities show up among the civil servants and wage workers. In other words, inequalities show up against the urban working population. In the urban places which have 20.001 and more population, while the poorest income group composes the first 20.0 percent of the population who got 5.43 percent in the total national income in 1987. This ratio decreased to 4.8 percent in 1994. On the other hand, the richest 20.0 percent income group's share from national income increased to 57.22 percent, from 50.93 percent in 1987. Additionally, when the results of 1994 and 1987 years are compared for different settlements, income inequalities have increased at a higher rate in the cities than in the other settlement areas. Furthermore, according to the Report, another significant indicator is gini coefficients. In the same period, gini coefficients increased from 0.444 to 0.555 (DPT, 2001).

Another study carried out by Turk-Is, examines the food expenses for a family of four person due to figures of nutrition. Moreover, house rent, transportation, clothes etc. expenses are also considered for determining the minimum wage to pay a worker, and the poverty line. According to 2001 Report, poverty line is 549.250.000 T.L.¹ per month. Furthermore, for the Harb-Is, 2004 data, hunger line 469.000.000 T.L. and poverty line is 1.358.000.000 T.L. for a family of four. Besides these non-governmental organization studies, SIS (State Institute of Statistics) *Poverty Bulletin*, 2002, examines the poverty line in Turkey. According to the Bulletin, 1.35 percent of the people in Turkey live under the poverty line in terms of food expenses. Moreover, 26.96 percent of the people live under the poverty line in terms of food and non-food expenses. Thus, 926.000.000 persons have to survive under the poverty line in terms of food expenses, and 18.400.000 persons have to survive under the poverty line in terms of food and non-food expenses, according to 2002 SIS data. According to the Bulletin, the main factors contributing to an increase in poverty are large household size, low education level, low status in the job and unemployment, and sectoral distribution of the labor power.

¹ In the year 2001, when the research for this thesis was carried out, 1 \$ equals to 1. 700.000 T.L. approximately. In the year 2004, due to a decrease in the inflation rates and Turkish Lira increase value, 1\$ equals to 1.430.000 T.L.

In a similar way, Dansuk, from State Planning Organisation, explores poverty in terms of consumption expenses. In this framework, food, clothing, furniture, health and personal care, transportation, communication, culture, education, house rent expenses are examined to calculate the poverty line. According to the study, 24.36 percent of people in Turkey have to survive under the minimum standard in terms of food consumption. Moreover, regional inequalities are examined in this study. Rate of the food expenses increases in the poorer regions. In other words, high food expenses among the consumption expenses are one of the significant indicators of poverty. Rate of food expenses in the total expenses is 35.41 percent in Turkey and 30.59 percent in Ege-Marmara regions, 40.62 percent in Akdeniz, 36.93 percent in Central Anatolia, 40.07 percent in Karadeniz and 44.71 percent in South and Southeast Anatolia (SIS, 2002).

Besides examining poverty in terms of economic level, another group of studies explores poverty from the sociological perspectives. Erder examines the effects of social networks and mobility opportunities on the social stratification in the field-study of Umraniye. According to Erder, the migrants who benefit from chain migration opportunities can more easily adapt to the city's housing and labour market. On the other hand, the migrants who cannot benefit from social networks are left out and cannot get social mobility opportunities. These processes reinforce poverty on some poor people, thus, new stratification systems rise in the city (Erder, 1996).

Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, on the other hand, explore the migration process and through their field-study carried out in Sultanbeyli in Istanbul, they emphasise the importance of earlier migrants' chances of getting rid of the poverty trap. They examine the urban poor's struggle to get land, house or other assets by the concept of "poverty transferred by turns" According to them, the main

dynamic of the poverty which is transferred is land occupation, its parcellation and its sale. In this process, on the other hand, the tenants who take part latest

in this transfer settle down at the bottom of the hierarchy. As a result of 1990's forced-migration, particularly, new migrants do not have as many chances as the earlier ones. Thus, urban poverty alters from earlier migrants to new migrants in terms of getting land, house and other assets (Pınarcıoğlu & Işık, 2001).

Within the conceptual framework of poverty transferred in turns, Buğra and Keyder criticize this concept on the basis of their own field study. According to them, particularly 1980's Structural Adjustment Policies, poverty has been a permanent problem in the world and especially in the underdeveloped countries. Their report indicates that a small amount of financial aid can be provided to poor people for their survival. This study also emphasizes the importance of aid, but the question of why poverty is a permanent problem is ignored (Buğra & Keyder, 2003).

In this context, Akkaya explores this problem in his article and examines the social policies of the state. According to him, capitalism needs a reserve army consisting of poor people, in order to survive. The existence of unemployed people or a reserve army of poor will effect the general wage rates due to increase or decrease in the negotiation power depending on the size of the unemployed and poor (Akkaya, 2004).

Furthermore, Koray says that growing inequality in the world should be seen as having two dimensions, which consist of growing richness and growing poverty. Thus, poverty should be examined within the principles of the human rights issues. In other words, while mentioning global empires, trans-national firms and economic powers, and the argument of human rights and while understanding the sharp inequalities which are the results of these processes, poverty can be seen as a source of the human rights problem. In this respect, human rights should be understood not only in political dimensions but also in economic dimensions which refers to poverty (Koray, 2001).

When these studies are considered, poverty studies in Turkey have multidimensional approaches. On the other hand, human rights dimensions of

poverty requires empirical studies to explore poverty as a multidimensional issue in Turkish dynamics. For example, Çavuşoğlu examines the issue of poverty as human rights problem and she explores the workers' rights in benefiting from nutrition, clothing, house, health services in the domination of "free market" economic system. Therefore, according to her, the economic and social reasons that bring about poverty and exclusion should be investigated (Çavuşoğlu, 2002).

Besides the macro, and mezzo approaches, another group of studies explore the issue of poverty in the micro level. A study called "Coping Strategies with Poverty" explores survival strategies of the urban poor within the concept of "family pool". According to Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, family pool should be considered not only as solidarity among the core family members, but also intergenerational solidarity in terms of economic, social and cultural resources. According to their research results, they determine fifteen different kinds of supports in the family pool. Moreover, these supports are aggregated into some sub-groups. The supports among close family members are considered as participation of women in the labour market, parent's supports as land, house or furniture, close relatives' money or assets supports, participation of children in the labour market, multiple job strategies among the family members, supports of neighbours, ethnic and religious networks, political organizations and non-governmental organizations. Furthermore, they explore the conditions that do not work in combating poverty at the family level. Unemployment of the head of the household, disability of the head of the household or members of the household, disputes among the members of the household, inability to have contact among the women in social network, women not being allowed to work outside, regional differences of the ethnic and religious characteristics, some personal characteristics like selfishness, culture of poverty and the high number of economically dependent members in the household (Kalaycıoğlu&Tılıç, 2002).

3.4. Survival Strategies

General discourse about the urbanization in the underdeveloped countries emphasizes the informal relations, clientalism, close family relations and kin ties among the urban poor. And these traditional relations are presented as not being able to be a 'citizen'. This argument might be right as long as it has been examined reversely. In other words, these traditional relations are strengthened by the absence of social state policies. Similar to the other underdeveloped countries's urbanization characteristics, urbanization has been increased by rural-urban migration in Turkey. Moreover, throughout the establishment of Turkish Republic and particularly throughout most recent socio-economic transformations which are dependent on the international dynamics, 'deregularization' rather than 'flexibilization' was seen in the labor market. While the social security system does not work for the unemployed people, labor market is left to privatization. Therefore, the meaning of 'social state' has become 'aid' to the poor, instead of providing employment fields and educating or training them to supply them with humane living conditions. Thus, today, we mention 'survival' of the poor rather than living in proper standards.

In this context, it is seen that people coming to the city relying on the social networks which extends from family bonds and kin relationships to ties of common local origin and acquaintances have successfully been able to find jobs or to shift jobs; rent, buy or built a house, to marry; to educate or to find a job for their children; to maintain traditions, common values and behavioral patterns. In short, when a heavy migration to cities in Turkey which began in since the 1950s is examined, it is seen that families have been able to survive thanks to the mentioned mechanism.

As it was mentioned in the previous section, the portion of population remained deprived of social security and this group has been growing due to last structural adjustment policies in Turkey. Moreover, education remained poor and the quality of education has still been a debatable issue and state policy has been in favor of employers and shown a restrictive attitude towards

workers claiming their legal rights or workers are excluded from the social security system by the recent state policies. In this context, it might be observed that, in spite of the modernization project that state puts forward, large portions of the population try to carry on with the help of alternative strategies. With these survival strategies common local origin, family relations, kinship network replace non-governmental organizations or any kind of organizational struggle.

According to 2001 Ministry of Labor and Social Security data, 1.480.000 people were thrown out of their jobs, and only 40.000 of them were working in the public sector (Sönmez, 2002). This statistics presents one of the outcomes of the privatization after the 1980s. In other words, workers who do not belong to any social security system have been growing and unregistered economy, as parallel to this process, has been growing.

Growing unemployment is tolerated by some informal mechanisms. The major survival strategy during the unemployment period is family ties. Unemployed people are supported economically and psychologically by these family ties and they can survive until they find a new job. In addition to the family ties, relatives and kin relations are other important factors in order to survive in the city to find a job, to borrow money or food. Therefore, urban poor dwellers prefer to reside in the same areas and their relations develop in terms of kinship, ethnic or religious sect.

Another important survival strategy is to work without considering working conditions. This process is also supported by the state policies which ignore the effects of the 'deregularization' of labor market over the workers. So, while informalization of the labor market have been raised, on the one hand, working conditions have become harsher in the long period, on the other hand. Workers who are working in the unregistered economy may become temporarily or permanently disabled as a result of work accidents. In addition to work accidents, psychological and other physical defects also appear due to harsh conditions. The health implications of flexibilization of working time and conditions are explored by increasing.

“...over-fatigue, sleep disturbance, increased gastrointestinal and cardiovascular problems and a weakened immune response because of the disruption of the body’s circadian rhythms. Apart from such physical symptoms, psychological disorders, such as stress and depression, and have adverse effects on family and social life” (Politakis, 2001, p.408).

Selling house, furniture or valuable items can be seen as temporary survival strategies. Not being involved in the social security system increases poverty. The poor have to generally sell their houses or other items in case of urgent conditions, such as health problems, or making investment to become street peddler etc.

Growth of deregularization of the labor market brings about participation of women and children to the work life as a survival strategy. According to State Statistic Institute, the rate of participation of children 0-14 ages, to the labor force is 39.7% with 1990 data. Moreover, the rate of children 12-19 ages, working at waged-status is 40%. The rate of children working to support family budget is 35% in total (Çolak, 1998). If we consider the women, on the other hand, according to the 1994 HICES 8Household Income and Consumption Expenditure Survey), 20% of women in urban Turkey work for pay (HDR, 2001). However, when unregistered sector is considered, women who are working in this sector cannot be identified. The majority of the poor women are employed in the small workshops or they work at home piecework. Although house work, looking after children and traditional values prevent working elsewhere outside the house because of absence of breadwinners or not having enough to survive, women have to work in the city.

In addition to the kinship ties or fellow countryman, belonging to the same ethnic and religious sect are also other two important aspects to reinforce solidarity among the urban poor in the cities because of harsh conditions they face. One of the major factors of the rise of ethnic and religious sect identities, undoubtedly, is migration to the cities in 1950s. In addition to the migration, especially educated people realized their own identities (Çakir, 2003; Çamurođlu, 2003; Ayata, 1998). For example, during the 1990s forced

migration reinforced the Kurd identity. Because all of these reasons, the people belonging to same ethnic and religious sect began to feel themselves as a victim in the cities. Thus, they have enclosed themselves, their solidarity have raised.

3.5 Young Generations

In this section, main aim is trying to expand young urban poor generations' adaptation problem to city and the process of identity formation. The main issue will be whether or not new generations show different attitudes and values from their parents, their chances of upward mobility and whether they are different from their peers who benefit from the opportunities of cities. New generations, like their parents, also live in isolated residential areas; they are mostly unskilled and uneducated, therefore they work at similar jobs as their parents do and they almost do not communicate with city which causes their unawareness of the opportunities of the city. Considering all these, new generations cannot show different attitudes or values comparing to their parents. They mostly follow the same line with their parents by maintaining the same traditional values. Both young generation and their parents have the

“sense of resignation and passivity because of the pressures to day-to-day survival; feelings of fatalism and powerlessness because of separation from the political process; low aspirations because of lack of opportunity; feelings of inferiority because of the larger society's contempt and aversion for the poor; and creation of female-headed families because of the inability of poor men to be adequate breadwinners (Wilson, 1987, p.182).

Low self-esteem and hopelessness about the future life is common and dominant viewpoint among the young generation. As Tekeli argues the squatter settlement problem is a vision of the society's class structure in the sense of the space (Tekeli, 1982). Based on the statistical data, Boratav points out, social balance has turned against the working class, so high profit has been supplied to the capital during the 1980s. As a result of the state politics, working class' life standards have decreased and, as Sunar and Keyder explore, this process shows similar characteristics with the period of 1920's

state politics (Keyder, 1987; Sunar, 1974). Therefore, as Boratav points out, a typical working class family can not live even in minimal life standards. Saving money means ‘postponed consumption’ for this class. The head of the family, generally, has not a regular job, so children and women have to work to survive. In this respect, the inevitable result is the children leaving school. After primary school none of the education continues school, and during their education, their common idea is ‘going to school prevents getting more money’. While checking out the some data, among 31.3% of children whose parents are peasants uneducated, and 1.9% of children whose parents are white collar are uneducated (Boratav, 1995, p.41). If Boratav’s research results are considered, social mobility chances belong to the low class children are very low.

In this framework, considering ‘equality of opportunity’ become senseless. There is a strong relationship between the social inheritance and social mobility. As Crompton points out;

“equality of opportunity is a powerful justification for inequality. If all have an equal opportunity to be unequal, then the unequal outcome must be regarded as justified and fair, as a reflection of ‘natural’ inequalities of personal endowments, rather than of structured social processes” (Crompton, 1993, p.7).

According to Turner, equality of opportunity rewards being talented and being ready to use skills and abilities for personal achievement (Turner, 1997). Therefore, the concept of meritocracy is an important concept in this context; In the meritocracy, social status is distributed not according to age, gender, or socio-economic inheritance but according to the criteria of the universal achievement on the basis of personal abilities. In this framework, Wesolowski’s meritocracy definition is

“the effort a young person invests in obtaining higher levels of education and qualifications should be adequately rewarded, because greater effort deserves additional reward” (Wesolowski, 1981, p.251).

The concept of meritocracy leads to us to examine an important institution: Education. First of all school as an educational institution provides reproduction of social inequalities in a society. According to Douglas research, even though children who don't show any I.Q. differences, there are meaningful differences between the belonging different social group's children in respect of educational achievement. Douglas points out that, as we have mentioned earlier, working class children leave the school earlier than the middle class (Turner, 1997). This is not because of middle-class children being more talented or clever but because their parents have the resources to pass their advantages on their children. Stewards and others emphasize the importance of the relationship between education and occupation. One of the importance of making such a comparison between education and occupation is to explain the reproduction of social structure. It is clear that, having higher educational levels means getting better job opportunities. While they examine the level of education and occupational advantage, they argue that, education is a potential source of market advantage, and the way in which such advantage operates. Furthermore, according to their research result;

“the relationship between father's occupation and type of school is highly significant...fathers' occupation had a somewhat stronger influence in the higher type of schools, so the advantages of higher class background and higher type of school are increased still further when they occur in combination which they tend to do” (Steward et. al. 1980, pp.208, 218-219).

According to Mills' definition job, as a set of activities engaged regularly or not, is a major source of income, signifies the types of skills that are marketable.

“...occupations normally carry on expected quota of prestige, on and off the job, they are relevant to 'status position'. They also involve certain degrees of 'power' over other people, directly in terms of the job, and indirectly in other social areas”...according to him, distribution of property and income are important economically because “if they are not wide enough, purchasing power may not be sufficient to take the production that is desirable. Such distributions are also important because they underpin

the class structure and thus the chances of the various ranks of the people to obtain desired values...the chances are crucially influenced by one's position in the class structure of a modern society" (Mills, 1996, pp.101, 103).

If the concept of social mobility is considered, it can be said that, it is multidimensional and many social scientists hold on very different approaches on this concept. According to Goldthorpe, the patterns of social mobility are crucial to the identification of a class

"...the degree of distinctiveness of members of identifiable classes in terms of their life chances, their life styles and patterns of association, and their socio-political orientations and modes of action" (Crompton, 1993, p.60).

This explanations shows that, if we want to examine social mobility and class, these patterns in addition to occupation, income and education must be focused on as well. Goldthorpe, in the 'Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain', puts two different types of social mobility, absolute, relative;

"...absolute mobility rates change according to structural context, the latter can be described by comparing people from different backgrounds, their chances of entering different classes..." (Goldthorpe, 1987, p.74).

According to Goldthorpe;

"relative mobility rates, which we take as our indicator of the degree of openness, remained generally unaltered; and the only trends that could arguably be discerned (apart from over the early stages of the life cycle) were indeed the ones that would point to a widening of differences in class chances" (Goldthorpe, 1987,p.328).

Goldthorpe describes these two different types of mobility as a criteria for social fluidity

“...as a measure of whether or not changes in the structure of objective mobility opportunities over time are being equally reflected in the mobility experience of individuals of all origins alike” (Crompton, 1993, p.64).

One of the other dimensions of the measure of social stratification and social mobility is consumption. As Bourdieu puts in his article ‘*Knowledge, education and Cultural Change*’, consumption as a major role of status, is reflected in lifestyles and consumption practices, in the structuring of inequalities. According to him, cultural capital should be regarded as playing a similar role with the economic capital in the production and reproduction of inequalities. Brubaker points out that, although Bourdieu has been influenced by Marx’s and Weber’s theoretical work,

“the conceptual space with which Bourdieu defines class is not that of production, but that of social relations in general. Class division are defined not by differing relations to the means of production, but by differing conditions of existence, differential conditioning, and differing endowments of power or capital” (Crompton, 1993, p.157).

On the other hand, Wright perceives inequality, not as a result of inherent individual attributes but the inherent properties of the social system. He defines the ‘culture of poverty’ as

“...intergenerational transmission of a set of values that perpetuate endless cycles of poverty...he has put three crucial concepts, examining the class exploitation analysis of poverty, economic oppression is a situation in which the material benefits of one group are acquired at the expenses of another, and in which morally indictable coercive exclusion from resources is an essential part of the process by which this occurs” (Wright, 1994, p.35, 39).

As Wright said in his article ‘class and occupation’, “classes can only be defined in terms of their social relationship to other classes.” As it is mentioned above, unequal income distribution, and state policies at the beginning of the establishment of Turkish republic and lack of ‘real equality of opportunity’ have reason-result relationship with the poverty in the society

and class exploitation. Wright also explains economic oppressions and exploitations as;

“a) the material welfare of one group of people is causally related to the material deprivations of another; b) the causal relation in (a) involves coercively enforced exclusion in (b) is access to productive resources, and (c) this exclusion in (b) is morally indictable” (Wright, 1994, p.39). While Wright is explaining the concept of class structure in terms of exploitation relations he examines the legitimation and motivation as one of the important aspects to continuation and reproduction of the existing social and economic structures. As he argues, “particularly since one of the hallmarks of exploitation is that the welfare of the exploiter depends upon the effort of the exploited, it would normally be expected that such effort would be more readily forthcoming to the extent that there was some minimal level of consensus over the legitimacy, or at least the necessity of the existing class system. Each system of exploitation thus brings with it particular ideologies which attempt to defend the income returns to specific asset inequalities as natural or just...” (Wright, 1989, p.118).

On the other hand, like Turkey as an underdeveloped country, weakness of non-governmental organizations as a common concept but rather kinship relations clientalism, nepotism, exploitation can easily be continued since the beginning of the 1920's by the state politics and supported capital ownership against the working class.

For Turner, inequality is legitimized by the dominant ideology. People who whether or not feel alienation and dissatisfaction in a social system is more complex than the existence of objective inequality. Turner expands the meaning of accepting social inequality; people rarely accept social inequality as legitimate and justice, but if they don't any other choice they have to accept it as pragmatically (Turner, 1997). To examine the concept of social inequality and social mobility, it might be useful to expand the concept of 'social closure'. Weber emphasizes the monopolization of economic opportunities and distribution of power while examining the concept of social closure. As Parkin quotes from Weber,

“...by social closure Weber means the process by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligible... this monopolization is directed against competitors who share same positive or negative characteristics; its purpose is always to closure of social and economic opportunities to ‘outside’ ” (Parkin, 1982, p.175).

In this respect, it might be interpreted that class changing among the young urban poor generations, intragenerational and intergenerational vertical social mobility relatively seem unconceivable. Education, family background, opportunity of health services or cultural activities, as reproduction of social structure, are meaningful indicators of upward social mobility.

At the beginning of the 1950s and 1960s, although most of the migrants were not skilled due to adaptation period to city labor market, they built their own houses and found a job requiring any quality. On the other hand, for the new generations to find a job and to adjust city life has become too difficult. For these generations the meaning of police while working in the street, meaning of school as an obstacle preventing earning more money and the fear of having to pull down their squatter settlement by the police officer are different from their peer groups who are living at the ‘other’ side of the city. They realize sometimes since their babyhood that they are belong to other side of the city. Therefore, some of them show introversive, passive attitudes and some show extroversive and criminal behavior. While trying to form their identities, they can participate in different peer groups. As Peterson points out;

“the cultural explanation perhaps the classic statement of the relationship between the underclass and the poverty paradox, holds that the style of life to which the urban poor has become attached is self-perpetuating... In a world where jobs is arduous, or difficult to obtain and hold, it is more fun to hang out, make love listen to and tell exaggerated stories of love and danger, plan parties and escapades, and exhibit one’s latest purchases or conquests. Gangs provide young people thrills, protection, mutual support, friendship, prestige, and enough income to allow them to buy fashionable clothes, alcohol, and drugs” (Peterson, 1990, p.12).

They are deprived of a 'proper' adult model at home besides their parents occupational and income level disadvantages. Furthermore, as it has already been examined, chances to obtain achievement at school is nearly gone, so their upward mobility chances seem too weak.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Selection of the Research Sample

In the course of this study, the aim is to obtain some hints about the understanding of “working urban poor”, the formation and dynamics of this concept and to figure out some of the causes of urban poverty. In this research on urban poor and poverty, the indicators related to demographic factors, employment and educational attainment, access to health care and services, sectoral development of industry, agriculture, construction and finance and also the level of development of infrastructural and other welfare investments are taken as a basis for understanding poverty. Also to this end, since we need to define “urban” and “urbanization”, the data prepared by State Institute of Statistics (SIS, 1997) in the study called “Socio- Economic Development Indicators” is drawn upon. Since I intended to conduct a comparative study, appropriate to my research objectives, I carried out the research in two cities², namely, Istanbul and Gaziantep. The reasons for the choice of these two cities can briefly be listed as follows:

Firstly, when the indicators of the level of development of different cities are considered, in Turkey, the fact of migration with its burdening socio-economic problems is not only a reflection of such issues, at the same time it aggravates the said socio-economic problems, create new ones and causes them to change

² In the Turkish administrative division the concept “city” refers to the province center only. Province includes both the urban and the rural areas in the province. The province and the province center carries the same name. Hence İstanbul and Gaziantep are both provinces and also province centers. Since the research is conducted in the province centers only I decided to use the concept city in the thesis.

their character. Urbanization, taking the form of heavy influx of population to the cities, also makes it difficult to define the concept of ‘urban’ in the Turkish context. State Planning Organization (SPO, 1994) study analyses urbanization rates of different cities in terms of education (See notes 1) and population employed in industrial production (see notes 2), or in tourism, trade, communication and in commercial and financial institutions (see notes 3). In this study, only 9 cities, out of 20 enumerated cities, can meet the standards of urbanization according to 4 of these criteria (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Bursa, Kocaeli, Tekirdağ, Adana, Kayseri, Eskişehir), and 6 cities are able to meet 3 indicators and are therefore included among the first 29 enumerated cities (Antalya, İçel, Konya, Isparta, Gaziantep, Denizli).

Secondly, in the above mentioned study, the main headings of 58 factors used to enumerate cities according to levels of development are as follows: Demographic indicators, education, health, industry, agriculture, construction, infrastructural indicators and financial indicators. Viewed by these indicators, Istanbul comes at the top of the list. İstanbul is also the most developed city of the most developed region³. On the other hand, to decide about the second city, I decided to take the relatively developed city of a less developed region which can also represent a fair amount of industry, agriculture, construction and finance sectors. Such a representation of sectors in each city is needed since I intended to study the working urban poor. Depending on such a consideration, I decided to choose Gaziantep from South Eastern Anatolia since it gave the most comparable profile to İstanbul as the most developed city of the less developed region and also a variety of sectoral distribution. Gaziantep ranked 25th in the development index for Turkey as the first representative of East and Southeast. After a scrutiny of the indicators, of the settlement of these two areas only Gaziantep fulfils the definition of a ‘city’. While Gaziantep, according to 1994 study, is the only city with a population exceeding 1 million, it is also the only South-eastern Anatolia city with a socio-economic

³In the 1994 study, SPO uses the traditional regional divisions of seven main regions in Turkey. Among those Marmara is the most developed, the South-east Anatolian Region comes 6th and East Anatolia is the 7th.

development listing on a Turkey-wide average. For example, according to SPO survey, while Istanbul is second on the list of the top 20 cities in terms of education, employment and urbanization rates defining socio-cultural change, no cities from Eastern or South Eastern Anatolian Regions even enters the list. Istanbul tops the list of cities with the highest population employed in production (32.9%). On the other hand, Gaziantep comes 8th (15.8%) (see notes 4). After Gaziantep, Hatay occupies the 17th rank (10.00%). With its urbanization rate Istanbul comes first (92.4%) and Gaziantep 6th (72.00%), the Turkish average is 51.01% (SPO,1994). Similarly, while the national average of agricultural activity is 53.66%, Istanbul is 5.13% and Gaziantep, while remaining under the regional averages with its rate of 50.15%, exceeds the other cities of the region in terms of industrial employment with a rate of 10.20%.

Additionally, as a third criterion, with its net migration speed of -0.5% , İstanbul is the city with the lowest population loss in the region. While Gaziantep does display emigration to other cities of the region, its influx comes mainly from East and Southeast Anatolia cities. Gaziantep's shares of incoming migration is 53% , its outgoing migration is 54% , whereas the figures for Istanbul are 149% incoming, 51% outgoing migration. Yet, according to data, these two cities show heavy migration and are living through the consequences. In the context of the issues we are researching, it is to be foreseen that Istanbul has a more cosmopolitan structure than Gaziantep. Although Istanbul comes first on the development index, it is a city characterized by heavy migratory influx and acute inequality. Another indicator to compare two cities is the level of employment and labour force participation of men and women. In Gaziantep the average rate of population actively employed within last week (age 12+) is 54.79% and from among those actively employed 30.74% are women. On the other hand, employment figures for Istanbul is that the rate of actively employed population is 48.31% and from among those 18.40% are women. These figures show that women in Gaziantep are more involved in the labour market than women in İstanbul. This may be interpreted as the outcome of the wider agricultural activities in Gaziantep compared to İstanbul.

After the selection of the cities, I have to decide on the neighbourhoods in each city where the research is to be conducted. For this purpose I used two separate strategies for two cities. For İstanbul, I used the social geographical map developed by M. Güvenç and O. Işık (1996). They carried out a research in all provinces of Istanbul using data about employment status and housing tenure types. At the end of this research, they came up with 16 groups of provinces and among these groups, the group which is called “D4” holds %5 of the urban population in İstanbul and it represents the most disadvantaged group. This D4 group includes many neighbourhoods in Istanbul. I studied these D4 group neighbourhoods in order to choose the one with the lowest socio-economic development. I determined 5 among them in the list. Then when I went to the field in İstanbul, I visited all 5 of them, talked with the local administrators (‘muhtars’) and finally decided on two of the neighbourhoods which include higher percentages of people employed in informal sector or marginal jobs compared to other neighbourhoods. Namely, in those neighbourhoods migration of young and economically active population still goes on and most of the settlements are owner occupied squatter houses. In those neighbourhoods tenants also represent a substantial group. After I decided on Zübeyde Hanım and Gazi neighbourhoods, I also visited Gazi Osman Paşa Municipality to get some more information, documents and maps. Muhtars of both neighbourhoods were also very helpful during the interviews with them about the population living in those neighbourhoods.

As mentioned before, to get access to official documents, maps and written information about Gaziantep was almost not possible since such documents do not exist. So I went to Şahin Bey Municipality, one of the two municipalities, to reach written documents and maps but I was told that such information does not exist and hence not available. I also went to Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality and I reached some general information and maps about the city. Additionally, I interviewed some social workers to determine the appropriate neighbourhoods for my research on working urban poor. I also interviewed a specialist from the South-East Anatolian Project working in Gaziantep. After I received some candidates for possible neighbourhoods, I visited all of them. Then I decided to focus the research in Gaziantep in Vatan, Düztepe,

Perilikaya, Ocaklar neighbourhoods. Finally, before I applied the questionnaires and interviews in the neighbourhoods of Zübeyde Hanım and Gazi in Istanbul and in the neighbourhoods of Vatan, Düztepe, Perilikaya, Ocaklar in Gaziantep, I talked with the grocery shop owners, some oldest dwellers, estate agents, cafe owners to get some more general information about the neighbourhoods.

4.2 Description of the Neighbourhoods

Gazi Osman Paşa (GOP) is one of the sub-provinces among the 31 sub-provinces of Istanbul. According to 1997 census, its total population is 635.000 and it is divided into 27 neighbourhoods. The two neighbourhoods in which field research was carried out are Gazi with the population of 30.612 and Zübeyde Hanım with the population of 28.743. G.O.P. province was called as Taşlıtarla in the past. This area has began to develop after 1950's and it took a province status in 1983. Before 1950's sheep-folds and small workshops were the main income resources for the dwellers. After the 1960's, industrialization has accelerated in this area. According to 1990 General Population census, this province has young population. Almost half of the population is under the 20. The rate of literacy is 88.1%. Furthermore, the rate of primary school graduated population is 75.7%, and secondary school graduated population is 12.9% and high school graduated population is 9.2%. According to the same census, almost half of the population above 12 years old actively participates in economic life. On the other hand, economically inactive population is mainly women. According to Tradesmen and Craftsmen Association's data, the number of small-scale enterprises is 498, the middle-scale enterprises are 18 and the large-scale enterprises are 18 in the province. Main activities in these workshops are chandelier, auto-motor repairing, metal businesses, textile, lathe-levelling and electricity installation and totally 3688 workers are employed. Although squatter settlements turn into apartment houses, new squatter settlements are also built particularly in the election periods. Therefore, legal constructions are within the illegal constructions in the neighbourhoods. Illegal constructions go over Alibeyköy dam and this area is not benefited from infrastructural services. Thus, sewer water flows length of the streets. Each

household has their own sewer deep hole that should be poured out in certain periods, but almost all of the households' deep holes overflow to the streets. One of the main reasons to come out some contagious diseases, typhoid, typhus, tuberculosis and some respiration diseases is sewer water in the streets.

The neighbourhoods in which was carried out the field study are situated in the outskirts of the city, thus, the dwellers' communications are almost none with the city. Therefore, they neither aware of the city opportunities nor they benefit from them. Similar to Gazi and Zübeyde Hanım neighbourhoods in Istanbul, illegal housing⁴ is spread among the legal settlement areas in the neighbourhoods. Thus, illegal usage of electricity and water are quite widespread.

4.3. The Criteria of Selecting the Sample

Poverty is a very broad and a very debatable concept. According to the criteria which are strongly linked to poverty, the sample population has been chosen. Two main criteria are employment status and education of the head of the household. According to the World Bank Report 2000, education and labor market status are important correlates of poverty. As stated in the Report, "One half of the households headed by an illiterate person are economically vulnerable and, nearly 15 percent are poor in an absolute sense." And also "The risk of poverty is the highest for households in which the head is employed in seasonal or casual jobs" (UNDP, 2000, p. ix)

Another important criterion is that working poor who are able to work but who cannot find a regular or permanent job due to their low qualifications and low educational level are selected as sample population. Although there isn't a common definition for "working poor" the U.S. Department of Labor defines the working poor as all "persons who have devoted 27 weeks or more to working or looking for work and who lived in families with incomes below the

⁴ Illegal housing refers to squatter houses (gecekondu) which are built on government land, without the title deeds. Most of the time they are scattered among the apartment houses who are built by legal

official poverty threshold (Schiller, 2001, p.79). However, disabled people have not been included in this research. This criterion leads us to analyze the relation between transformation of the Turkish labor market, socio-economic policies and their sociological consequences.

Poverty and especially urban poverty have constantly a crucial problem for Turkey. But, in the light of this research data, 1980's structural adjustment policies and the effect of last economic crisis on urban poor will be analyzed. According to Y. Kepenek, economic and political transformations in the world have reflections on labor market. One of the reflections is production technology which evaluates towards flexible production affects the labor market. The increasing rate of the white-collar labor in the 1990's caused the trade unions to lose their power. Furthermore, the ineffectiveness of the state to protect labor against economic fluctuations or crises has increased. To put it more simply, the concept of social state has lost its meaning. The process called as "removing production from centralism is crucial to provide flexible production" (Kepenek, 2000, p.438). As Toptaş pointed out, in this model main companies, except for core staff, does not employ permanent staff, so they transfer the production of goods to the subcontracted firms. The workers are employed without any settled rules and they work according to the working conditions which are determined by subcontracted firms. This economic process mainly affects the uneducated unskilled people who mostly have to work in construction sector, cleaning firms or making piece-work (Toptaş, 1998).

Also squatter settlement areas which mainly have emerged by migration were another criteria to select sample population.. Squatter settlement areas are not only cheaper than the other part of the city to rent a house but also physically disadvantaged regions. Infrastructure services almost do not exist as these areas have been constructed illegally. Moreover, the squatter settlement dwellers have almost no chance to contact with the people living in the other parts of the city. As to interviewee, 19, who is a wife of a scrap iron dealer and who is a primary school graduate, stated that "Everybody is ignorant in this neighbourhood; we can not learn anything from each other; all of us are blind

but if we would have settled in a better area we could learn something from other people. Therefore, residential areas are important both for economic indicators and for dwellers' interaction.

Another important criterion is house ownership. The sample is selected from tenants. As J.A. Agnew points out in "Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society", homeownership is not only a status and source of personal autonomy but also the house is an exchange-value and future security. Also, in the study by M. Güvenç and O. Işık (1996) about status-homeownership differentiation in Istanbul, they emphasized that the homeownership has great effects on household income that can be spent and so consumption patterns.

After all these studies and indicators, and also using Lloyd's definition as a starting point about defining poverty and urban poor the major criteria in selecting the sample population of the thesis was determined as follows:

- Dwellers settling in disadvantaged residential areas,
- Uneducated or low educated head of the family,
- Having casual, irregular job,
- Having no social security,
- Being migrants,
- Tenants,

Additionally, in the thesis major hypothesis which guided my research are :

- 1) The urban poor have quite minimal chances of upward mobility because of their living quarters and their poor access to education and employment opportunities.
- 2) Istanbul has a more cosmopolitan structure than Gaziantep. Gaziantep is more exposed to influx from nearer cities. Istanbul, on the other hand, is exposed to influx from every city in Turkey, therefore Gaziantep is more homogeneous culturally, socially and in terms of ethnic origins of people.

- 3) The religious sect people belong affects their beliefs, values, points of views, patterns of social relations, future expectations, attitudes towards inequality, women's positions in the households and communities will be considered.
- 4) Among the new migrants, it is expected that child labor be seen widely.
- 5) The migrants who can not make use of chain migration are more disadvantageous compared to the migrants who can make use of chain migration in terms of benefitting from the ties with the relatives, neighbors and ethnic and religious sect.
- 6) It is assumed that forced migrants have difficulty in surviving in the city compared to the migrants who have migrated due to economic reasons as they are less qualified to find a job in urban labor market.
- 7) In Istanbul, as well as Gaziantep, family and relative ties are foreseen to predominate over non-governmental organizations and state institutions in the survival strategies used in the city.
- 8) It is assumed that in Gaziantep women's opportunity to develop themselves are more limited than the women in Istanbul.

4.4 Data Collection

The household is taken as a main unit in the research. Although the questions were directed to either the heads of the households or to their spouses, factual information about all members of the household was collected. However, the attitude questions only reflect the views of the persons to whom the questions were directed. The number of households is 200, for each city 100. The households were reached through using snowball technique. To find my first contacts and households who will fit into my criteria to select the sample population (see below) I had to talk with a group of households, women and children in the streets. In both cities, after I find a couple of persons for the interviews, I asked them if they know other possible respondents who can fit

the criteria. So each respondent took me to another of similar conditions and I completed 200 interviews.

Structured interview questionnaires were used for data collection. It is administered face to face by using paper-pencil technique. Questionnaire forms consist of eight parts, including demographic characteristics, migration histories, working life, consumption patterns, family relations, social environments, customs and traditions about social life, value of children and gender issues, expectations and future prospects and lastly a sub-section specifically directed to the younger adults living in the house, if they were available in the house, at the time of the interview. There are 115 questions in the questionnaire form and each form approximately took 2.5-3 hours. Most of the questions are open ended. The research data was intended to be analysed both from a qualitative and a quantitative perspective for an analytical approach. Therefore, first the answers were coded for a rather statistical analysis to be able to see the major trends and differences between two cities. Then, also a content analysis of the answers was made and used in the thesis to point to individual differences between different age, gender, ethnic, religious sect and literacy.

The questionnaire was carried out in the houses, because to observe the house conditions was important for the research. The people weren't interrupted if they wanted to give more detailed information. Type recorder was used during the interviews. Additionally, focus group technique was applied. I conducted 4 focus groups with forced migrants (about their views on reasons of migration and state policies), with younger adults (about their views on working conditions, customs, values and future expectations and city life), heads of the households (about their views on working conditions, state policies, family relations, values), women (about their views on family relations, neighbourhood relations, working conditions). These groups appeared to point to significant differences during the interviews and so I decided to get some more detailed and qualitative information through focus group discussions. The interview issues that were chosen were mainly migration stories, compulsory migration,

women issues, working conditions, ethnic and religious problems, child working, information about the neighbourhood pasts.

Additonally, before applying the main research, a pilot research was carried out in four different neighbourhoods, namely, Yenidoğan, Örnek and Akdere in Altındağ district, and Durali Aliç in Mamak district, in Ankara, to test the questionnaire. After this pilot research some questions have been changed. Also some criteria like talking to tenants only were decided after the pilot. Also the choice of focusing on working urban poor came out as a result of this pilot study.

The research was carried out in two different neighbourhoods, Gazi and Zübeyde Hanım in Istanbul in August 2001 and four different neighbourhoods, Vatan, Ocaklar, Perilikaya, Düztepe in Gaziantep in November 2001. Each study was completed in a month. Each neighbourhood's different ethnic and religious sects characteristics were considered during the formation of sample population.

Thus, effects of the belonging to different ethnic origin or religious sect on the beliefs, values, point of views, patterns of social relations, future expectations, attitudes towards inequality, women's positions in the families and communities and young generations' profiles will be examined.

Notes**(1) The List of Cities the Highest Population Portion Graduated From University**

| CITIES | PERCENTS | CITIES | PERCENTS |
|-----------|----------|------------|----------|
| Ankara | 7.3 | Çanakkale | 2.8 |
| Istanbul | 5.3 | Tekirdağ | 2.8 |
| Izmir | 4.9 | Kırklareli | 2.8 |
| Antalya | 3.8 | Aydın | 2.8 |
| Eskişehir | 3.6 | Burdur | 2.8 |
| Muğla | 3.4 | Edirne | 2.7 |
| Isparta | 3.3 | Adana | 2.6 |
| Bursa | 3.0 | Trabzon | 2.6 |
| Kocaeli | 2.9 | Denizli | 2.5 |
| Içel | 2.9 | Kayseri | 2.5 |
| Balıkesir | 2.9 | | |

(2) The List of Cities with the Highest Population Portion Employed In Tourism, Trade, Communication, Economic and Financial Sector:

| CITIES | PERCENTS | CITIES | PERCENTS |
|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Istanbul | 32.8 | Muğla | 13.3 |
| Ankara | 25.4 | Aydın | 11.7 |
| Izmir | 20.7 | Kayseri | 11.7 |
| Antalya | 17.2 | Balıkesir | 11.1 |
| Eskişehir | 15.5 | Hatay | 11.1 |
| Içel | 15.3 | Tekirdağ | 10.7 |
| Bursa | 15.1 | Sakarya | 10.7 |
| Kocaeli | 15.1 | Denizli | 10.5 |
| Adana | 15.0 | Konya | 10.2 |
| Gaziantep | 14.6 | Bolu | 9.7 |

(3) The Highest Population Portion Employed In Manufactured Goods Production Sector.

| CITIES | PERCENTS | CITIES | PERCENTS |
|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Istanbul | 32.9 | Adana | 14.1 |
| Bursa | 24.6 | Kırıkkale | 13.8 |
| Kocaeli | 23.3 | Denizli | 13.6 |
| Izmir | 19.7 | Ankara | 13.0 |
| Kayseri | 17.5 | Isparta | 11.3 |
| Tekirdağ | 16.1 | Rize | 10.5 |
| Uşak | 16.0 | Hatay | 10.1 |
| Gaziantep | 15.8 | Manisa | 10.0 |
| Eskişehir | 15.7 | Konya | 9.4 |
| Bilecik | 15.2 | Sakarya | 9.3 |

(4) The Highest Urbanization Rates

| CITIES | PERCENTS | CITIES | PERCENTS |
|-----------|----------|------------|----------|
| Istanbul | 92.4 | Içel | 62.1 |
| Ankara | 87.6 | Tekirdağ | 55.2 |
| Izmir | 79.2 | Konya | 55.0 |
| Eskişehir | 74.4 | Ş.Urfa | 55.0 |
| Bursa | 72.2 | Diyarbakır | 54.9 |
| Gaziantep | 72.0 | Elazığ | 54.8 |
| Adana | 69.8 | Malatya | 54.0 |
| Kırıkkale | 69.6 | Antalya | 53.2 |
| Kayseri | 64.0 | Isparta | 52.6 |
| Kocaeli | 62.2 | Manisa | 51.1 |

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

5.1. Demographic and Social Characteristics

Demographic and social characteristics are very crucial to define urban poor and to analyze the reason of poverty. According to the findings, 61.0 percent of the heads of the households in both cities, along with 65.0 percent of spouses in Gaziantep and 57.0 percent of spouses in Istanbul are between the ages of 21-35. With respect to religious sect and ethnic origin, 67.0 percent of the households are Kurds in Istanbul and this number increases to 81.0 percent in Gaziantep. On the other hand, the number of variation in religious sects of the households does not show important differences. The majority of the households are Sunni, with 69.5 percent in Istanbul and 72.0 percent in Gaziantep.

Birth Places of the Head of the Households Urban Poor (%)

| Birth Places | Percent |
|--------------------|---------|
| Center of The City | 9 |
| Province | 3 |
| Village | 87.5 |
| Other Country | 0.5 |

Birth Places of the Head of the Households's Spouses (%)

| Birth Places | Percents |
|--------------------|----------|
| Center of The City | 6.5 |
| Province | 7 |
| Village | 86.5 |

Another important indicator for the urban poor is the educational level. While 17.0 percent of the heads of the households are illiterate and 52.0 percent are primary school graduates, 48.0 percent of the spouses are illiterate and 36.0 percent are primary school graduates in Istanbul. On the other hand, according to the rates, Gaziantep is seen in a more disadvantaged position in educational level. While 28.0 percent of the heads of the households are illiterate and 45.0 percent are primary school graduates, 64.0 percent of the spouses are illiterate and 25.0 percent are primary school graduates. Although educational level is quite low for both genders, it is clearly shown that women have a disadvantageous status. Moreover, the disadvantageous position of the women are reinforced by the status of Gaziantep. While giving the educational level of the family, the educational level of the previous generation is also very important to elaborate their social stratification opportunities. In the light of the data, 98.0 percent of men's fathers and also spouses' fathers are rural-origin, 67.5 percent of men's fathers are illiterate and 58.5 of them are farmers. On the other hand, 78.5 percent of spouses' fathers are illiterate and 65.5 percent of them are farmers. The occupation having the second biggest rate is being a worker in the informal sector with 13.0 percent for men's fathers and 12.5 percent for spouses fathers. In Güngör's study informal sector is defined as; having no legal records on social security, employment, and do not pay any tax or do not fit into existing legal arrangements. Such as, construction sector, peddling on the street, workers in the subcontracted firms, i.e. a group of people who are mostly uneducated, unskilled, who are employed with very low wages, who have no social security and who have irregular working hours and unsettled working conditions (Güngör, 1995).

Educational Level of the Urban Poor

| Educational Level (%) | H.H.' Father | S.' Father | H.H'M | S.'M. | H.H. | Spo use | I.Child | II.Child | III.Child |
|----------------------------|--------------|------------|-------|-------|------|---------|---------|----------|-----------|
| Illiterate | 67.5 | 78.5 | 95.5 | 96.5 | 22.9 | 56.0 | 21 | 22 | 23.6 |
| Literate | 11.0 | 10.5 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 8.0 | 5.5 | 1.5 | | |
| Leaving primary school | 0.5 | | | | 6.0 | 5.5 | 12 | 9 | 13.8 |
| Primary school graduated | 18.0 | 9.0 | 1.0 | | 48.3 | 30.5 | 18 | 17 | 15.2 |
| Leaving secondary school | 1.0 | | | | 3.0 | 1.5 | 6 | 1 | 1.3 |
| Secondary school graduated | | | | | 3.0 | | 0.5 | 3 | |
| Leaving high school | | | | | 1.5 | 0.5 | 2 | 1 | 1.3 |
| High school graduated | | | | | 2.0 | 0.5 | | 2 | 1.3 |
| Primary school students | | | | | | | 27.2 | 27 | 30.5 |
| Secondary school students | | | | | | | 4.5 | 10 | 5.5 |
| High school student | | | | | | | 3.2 | 3 | 5.5 |
| Student in a university | | | | | | | 1.0 | 2 | |
| Leaving university | | | | | | | 1.5 | | |
| University graduated | | | | | | | | | |

5.2. Migration Patterns of the Urban Poor

Most of the heads of the households went to the city with their fathers, brothers or co-villagers to work in the construction sector when they were very young, for example, 29.0 percent of the men had worked in another city before settling in Istanbul and this number increases to 42.0 percent in Gaziantep. Differences of the numbers show the more disadvantaged position of Gaziantep regarding finding a job when compared to Istanbul. Moreover, beside the data, when the urban poor's statements are considered, until they found the current jobs they had to try to work in different cities. Related to this issue, the first work age for the men is another important criteria for poverty. Rates of the first work ages are not important differences for two cities, these rates are 53.0 percent between 7-12 ages and 47.0 percent between 13-18 ages in Istanbul and 59.0 percent between 7-12 ages and 41.0 percent between 13-18 ages in Gaziantep. In addition to the first work age for the men, origins of the men are also not quite different for two cities. For example, 94.0 percent of the men are rural-origin in Istanbul, this number decreases to 81.0 percent in Gaziantep. Another important characteristics of the urban poor is that almost all of them are new migrants. 28.0 percent of them migrated between 1991-2000 to Istanbul. This number does not show a big difference in Gaziantep. 19.0 percent of them migrated to the city between 1981-1990 and 41.0 percent of them between 1991-2000. The majority of them, with 74.0 percent migrated due to economic reasons in Istanbul and with 79.0 percent in Gaziantep. On the other hand, the second important reason to migrate is terror with 19.0 percent in Istanbul, which decreases to 7.0 percent in Gaziantep. On the other hand, both cities data are not different in terms of urban poor's property in their village. While 87.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul state that they do not own any property in the villages, in Gaziantep 91.0 percent of them responded 'yes' to this question. Moreover, when 50.0 percent of them state that they used to work as wagedworker in the village and 36.0 percent of them used to work in their parents' land in Istanbul, the number of the urban poor working as wagedworker increases to 70.0 percent in Gaziantep. They are not happy both in their villages and the cities they have migrated. Furthermore, they do not think of leaving the cities they live in and migrating to another

city, as they believe that they will not have any opportunities wherever they go. Another important reason to give up migration to another city is the economic cost of migration. Besides, they cannot go back to their villages even if they want because they want to avoid any gossip about their economic difficulties, which they go through in the cities they live.

On the other hand, economic difficulties in cities have continuously been increasing instead of decreasing. In other words, urban poor are in dilemma considering the decision on whether to migrate or not. They are not able to escape from the trap of poverty neither in the village nor in the city. While 87.0 percent of the urban poor point out “there is poverty not only in the village but also in the city” in Istanbul, this number is not quite different in Gaziantep with the rate of 93.0 percent.

To put it differently, migration patterns are quite complex among the urban poor, and the dilemma is persistent. Before they settled in the city they live in now, they had migrated to other cities with the hope of finding a job. 35.5% of them explain that they had migrated to other cities before they migrated to the city where they live now. The case that will be mentioned below is quite remarkable to present the complex migration patterns;

A 34-year-old, Kurd, literate man who lives in Gaziantep states that:

“When I came to Antep I was 15, and I began to work in a workshop to wash lentil; after I had worked 3 months, I went back to my village; when I was 16, I came back to Antep and I had worked in a lentil workshop until 1990, and then I did my military service; when I came back to village I got married and we went to work in cotton land in Adana for two years; Two years later, we came back to Antep and I began to work in buildings as a worker. I worked in this sector for two years and then my father called me back to the village but the land was infertile, so, we had to go back to Antep, I worked again in buildings for a year; one of my relatives called me back to the village and he gave me capital to engage in cattle dealing. I carried out it for 1.5 years but I could not get any money to live on; we migrated to Istanbul, my brother and uncle were working there and they found a job for me in a faucet workshop, I had worked there for 7 months,

but I got ill due to heavy chrome and acidic atmosphere, so, we had to go back the village and we stayed there 8 months; and then I went back to Istanbul alone and I worked in the same workshop for 4 months, but, my wage was not enough to rent a house, so, I came back the village, and then we again migrated to Antep, I was unemployed for 2 months, my aunt' husband was a porter in a workshop, he found a job there foe me, I am working as a porter in this workshop now.”

Furthermore, living conditions and occupational patterns are not remarkably different between ‘voluntary’ migrants and forced-migrants. The most significant advantage of the voluntary migrants is to benefit from chain migration. The member of the families or kins who had migrated earlier supports them economically, socially and psychologically. On the other hand, forced-migrants have to live in relatively more isolated areas and their opportunities in the urban labor market is relatively more strenuous.

As a forced migrant, 26-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says:

“Textile workshops need ironer, but I have never seen an iron before while I was living in the village.”

In other words, although most of the jobs do not require any qualifications, early migrants’ adaptation seems relatively easier. In addition to the lack of qualification for the urban labor market, language problem is also another obstacle to adapt to the labor market for the forced-migrants. They had used their mother language until they migrated, so, learning Turkish takes a long time. Moreover, prejudice of the society and employers make it hard to find a job and also to rent a house.

A forced-migrant from Şırnak, 27 years old, Kurd, Sunni, primary school graduated, , asserts that:

“When we say we come from Şırnak, employers do not employ us, and they do not trust us, we are labeled as ‘terrorist’. If we are not a citizen of Turkey, we have to look for other ways to live, nobody becomes a terrorist easily.”

Therefore, child labor increases among the forced-migrants due to the fact that the head of the family cannot find a job. In addition forced-migrants lost all of the properties as their houses, lands and animals are destroyed, thus, they are in more detriment conditions. Besides, absence of their relations with the villages destroys the urban poor psychologically. They always feel themselves as a victim of the terror and state policies. On the other hand, they always have an expectation of going back to their villages. Therefore, they demand from the government the improvement of living conditions in their villages, and then they want to go back to their villages. However, this does not mean that ‘voluntary’ migrants feel themselves belonging to the city.

As a taxi driver, Alevi, Turk, primary school graduated, living in Istanbul for 17 years says:

“We are guests in Istanbul. It’s as if we will go back.”

They also want to live in their villages, but they know that it is impossible. In this context, when they compare the city with the village, 83.0 percent of the urban poor living in Istanbul point out

“having more hope of finding a job in the city.”

Likewise, this number does not show a big differences in Gaziantep. 89.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep point in the same direction. They assert that

“There are not differences between the village and the city in terms of opportunities of finding a job, but we can find a daily job to full up.”

Therefore, the expectations from the city are mainly economic based. For example, when they mention the city’s advantages, 63.0% of the urban poor living in Istanbul point out the opportunity of finding a job for their children. Parent’s point of view does not change in this respect, and 60.0 percent of the urban poor living in Gaziantep mention the opportunity of gaining

occupational qualifications for their children. Moreover, while the urban poor living in Istanbul mention the opportunity of gaining occupational qualifications for their children at the rate of 32.0 percent, this number decreases to 16.0 percent in Gaziantep. On the other hand, only 26.0 percent of the urban poor living in Istanbul mention the opportunity of education for their children, this number decreases to 16.0 percent in Gaziantep. On the basis of their expectations from the city, only 1.0% of them mention the lack of social activities in both of the cities.

Undoubtedly, the economic deprivation is the main factor which determines their expectations, because they are hungry, they cannot mention social or cultural opportunities. Their reference groups also identify their expectations. They mostly have close relationships on the basis of ethnic origin, religious sect, kin ties or at least all of them have almost the same socio-economic level. Therefore, the possibility of a rise in their expectations seems quite inconceivable. Although they know their economic deprivation, only 3.0% of them claim that they realize their poverty in the city, because, they do not witness the opportunities of the city. They partially know something about the city life, however this is limited only what they see on television, but this is quite different from being the direct witness of the city life. Two important indicators to verify this low expectation argument are their ideas about women's freedom and the degree of feelings about loneliness. Although not showing important differences, while 5.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul claim that women do not have freedom in the city, the number decreases to 1.0 percent in Gaziantep. On the other hand, the urban poor's opinions about personal relationships in city life show significant differences between the two cities. While 38.0 percent of the urban poor living in Istanbul mention the lack of security and alienation in personal relationships, only 3.0 percent of the urban poor living in Gaziantep mention this disadvantage of the city life. Therefore, this data shows that although close relations have still been persistent among the urban poor, and the feelings of alienation in the city is too low, economic and social solidarity is higher in Gaziantep than in Istanbul. One of the main important reasons for this is that, even though chain migration mechanisms are dominant among the two cities' urban poor, the urban poor

living in Istanbul meet people who come from all the regions of Turkey. On the other hand, as it was mentioned before, Gaziantep receives the migrants who come from only South-east and East Anatolia. Thus, the urban poor living in Istanbul feel alienation, dominantly. For this reason, their relations with people of other different socio-economic levels or ethnic or religious sects, is quite limited among the urban poor.

The percentage of the families who have 1 to 3 children is 44.0 percent, 4 to 6 children is 27.5 percent and lastly 7 and more children is 14.5 percent. It is considered that there is a linear relationship between poverty and the number of children people has. Therefore, in this study, poor families are predicted to have more children. This data can be evaluated as followed: Heads of the household and their spouses are young and most probably they will have new children. I supported this argument with their attitudes towards contraceptive methods, for instance, 60.0 percent of women don't use any contraceptive method, and only 26.5 of them use a method. Moreover, they mention the importance of male offspring and want to have more children if they have good economic conditions. 70.5 percent of the people perceive the boys as an economic guarantee for their future and source of pride, whereas the girls are considered as foreigners. Girls belong to another family through marriage, so their education, their right to have a job and sharing the inheritance are totally ignored.

5.3. Occupational Status and Working Conditions of the Head of the Households

Occupational structure and working conditions among the poor people can be analyzed from very different perspectives. Moreover, this issue brings about the causes of poverty and debate about the concept of culture of poverty.

In all of the households casual jobs are seen. They only have daily jobs or they often change their jobs. Thus, last three jobs for men, spouses and first three children and working conditions of each are recorded to analyze working life of the urban poor in detail as one of the important dynamics of the poverty.

According to the data, all of the head of the households are employed in informal sector. The most widespread working areas are working as construction workers, small workshop workers, street peddlers, porters, seasonal agricultural workers and piece workers at home. Not only have most of them daily jobs but also the urban poor who have relatively regular jobs do not have any security in their jobs. Therefore, to draw a line between employment and unemployment is too hard. When the questionnaire was applied 18.0% was unemployed. However, this figure does not include the urban poor having daily jobs, but in fact having a casual job means that they might be unemployed the next day. Physical conditions and rules at work are decided only by the employer. Although both of the cities' urban poor state that their working conditions are hard, the data shows the disadvantaged positions of the urban poor living in Gaziantep. For instance, while 61.0 percent of the people in Istanbul mention the humidity, smell and smoke at work and complained also about not having any protective masks or proper clothes, this number increases to 79.0 percent in Gaziantep. 57.0 percent mention arbitrary working hours. There are some people who work 2-3 days without any break in Istanbul, but this number grows to 67.0 percent in Gaziantep. That's why accidents at work, such as finger cuts, burnings in some parts of the body, lost eyes, leg or hand cuts, diseases like typhoid, typhus, tuberculosis, psychological disorders are widely seen. However I applied the questionnaire only to the people who are able to work, so a new research must be carried out about the people who lost their job because of the accidents at work. Another important indicator about the working life is whether men want to change their job or not. According to the data, 36.0 percent of the people in Istanbul state that they do not having any expectations or hopes changing their job. On the other hand, this number rises to 50.0 percent in Gaziantep. Moreover, 29.0 percent of them want to change their jobs in both of the cities. If we evaluate the last two rates together, we can say that approximately 2/3 of the urban poor are not happy with their jobs.

Furthermore, 87.5 percent of the respondents in Istanbul and 83.0 percent of the respondents in Gaziantep are sure that they do not have any security, but it is not clear whether the remaining respondents have social security or not.

They mostly do not know whether their employers pay their insurance or not and above all, even if the employers pay insurance, they do it irregularly. Therefore, the workers cannot benefit from their rights of health services, because they are not seen as working persistently more than 3 months in the same job. In addition, employers can easily escape from paying the workers' compensation when they fire the workers. In short, employers arbitrarily apply their 'own' rules and majority of the workers have to work without job insurance.

When the head of the family's last three jobs are considered, it is seen that they work in similar kinds of jobs in the informal sector. One of the two most important reasons to change the jobs is to be fired by the employers. This was the response of 24.0 percent of the respondents in Istanbul and 38.0 percent of the respondents in Gaziantep. Moreover, 28.0 percent of the respondents in Istanbul and 34.0 percent of respondents in Gaziantep said that closing of the workshops is the other reason to change the jobs. In this respect, it has to be emphasized that, the main reasons to fire the workers are to avoid paying their wages or worker's demand to get their wages, to have insurance or to improve the physical working conditions.

"Dust is a lot in the textile sector; all my body is wounded, even my ears due to dust. We cannot buy medicine. My throat becomes inflamed because of dust. Everybody who works in textile sector has been sick. Employers sometimes do not give our wages for 2 or 3 months. Sometimes we never get our wages. They make us work until mornings. We get back home at 10 o'clock in the mornings. There is not and wages for overtime work. If we quarrel with the employers, we will be unemployed. They behave us like slave. We cannot stop even a minute during the working hours. They did not give me any money for four months. I cannot take my food with me while going to work, rats eat our food. At mealtimes we go back home running; we eat rapidly and turn back to work again. Employers either escape or they say "I lost my money, so I cannot give your wages." You will either shoot them and be put in prison for years or bear all these saying "Damn him!"

In other words, according to the urban poor, physical conditions and rules at work are decided only by the employers. For instance, 61.0 percent of the people in Istanbul and 79.0 percent of the people in Gaziantep mention the humidity, smell and smoke at work and complain about not having any protective masks or clothes for their current jobs. The rate increases to 83.0 percent in Istanbul and 94.0 percent in Gaziantep for their last two jobs. The second crucial strenuous situation for the urban poor is irregular employment. 57.0 percent of the respondents in Istanbul and 67.0 percent of the respondents mention arbitrary working hours; even there some people who work 2-3 days without any break.

As a porter, 32-year-old, Kurd, Alevi, literate, in Istanbul, states:

“I have been working as a porter for 5 years but my boss gave me only 15 days vacation during this time, I am working 7 days in a week without permission...”

In addition, a worker working as a dishwasher explains the arbitrary working hours;

“...most of the time, I have to work 18 hours a day and 7 days a week I have only one day vacation in a month. I have to walk three hours to come back home at night...”

In addition, the workers working especially in textile sector are exploited;

“...We have to work until twelve at night or till the next morning; sometimes we have to continuously work for 2 or 3 days, but they do not give us any more wages...”

When the last two jobs of the workers are examined, these arbitrary working hours do not change at all. Workers mention the arbitrary working hours for last two jobs, this was the response of 68.0 percent of respondents in Istanbul and 85.0 percent of the respondents in Gaziantep.. The arbitrary working

conditions also diminish workers social life. The urban poor almost never spend time with their families or friends. They mostly have to work in the night shifts or more than 18 hours in a day, so, they have to spend their time sleeping when they come back home.

As a textile worker's wife, 31-year-old, literate, Kurd, Alevi, in Gaziantep, say;

“...I want to joke with my husband, but he comes back too tired and he has to sleep, I even can not see his face...”

On the other hand, very few urban poor mention this “social life” problem. The main problem for them is the struggle to survive.

Another crucial problem for the urban poor is irregular wages. Either they cannot get their wages at all or they can get it in bits and pieces. This situation is one of the major aspects which -makes their survival more difficult and also one of the main reasons which leads them to change their job. On the other hand, workers do not have any power to change these conditions, so, employers easily abuse workers' helplessness. In this context, 56.0 percent of the workers in Istanbul and 49.0 percent of the workers in Gaziantep state that either they cannot get their wages or they only get it in bits and pieces.

A 31 year-old woman, primary school graduated,Turk, Alevi, in Istanbul, says;

“When I was working in a workshop as a cook, I could not get my wages, so, I had to leave my job. And I went several times to demand my money, when I went there, I saw different people each time. At the end, I realized that, the employer does not give any money to their staff and he continuously changes them, and all the ex-workers come there to demand their wages, but nobody is able to get their wages.”

This is one of the main reasons why the urban poor cannot work in the same job for a long time. When workers cannot get their wages for three or four

months, they not only loose their hopes, but also they cannot survive and these cycle endlessly runs.

As a young textile worker,19-year-old, Turk, Alevi, primary school educated, In Istanbul, says;

“Thanks God for small amount of money but employers do not give us any money; they often change the workers to avoid paying their money; employers claim that they go bankrupt or they close the workshop and escape. I cannot get my money for four months either workshops are closed or employers argue that they cannot get profit, as a result, they do not give us our wages.”

Another worker, 23 year-old, Kurd, Alevi, Primary school educated, in Istanbul, working in a textile workshop mentions the working conditions and the difficulties of getting their wages;

“...We can not get our wages in one time, bosses pay our wages in pieces as two or five millions; my house owner puts pressure on me, we can not find any money to get on the buses, so, we have to walk for hours to go to work and to come back home; we cannot get a hundred million together...”

Furthermore, according to the urban poor, they have to accept any work in any conditions, just not to be fired.

A textile worker, 24-year-old, Kurd, Alevi, primary school educated, in Istanbul, says;

“I believe that one day the employer will pay our wages. The only thing we want is not to be fired.”

And again a textile worker, 24-year-old, Kurd, Alevi, primary school educated, in Istanbul, explains the working conditions;

“...If we do not demand our wages for 5 or 6 months our boss does not pay them, he only says ‘The door is open, anyone who is not happy with this can go; If there is any job which give you more money, you can go there...’”

In addition to the harsh working conditions, some sort of jobs oppress the urban poor psychologically. As a forced migrant from Şırnak, 28- year-old, literate, Kurd, Sunni, in Istanbul, who has never had any job except for the animal husbandry states;

Furthermore, although the urban poor are ready to work in very harsh working conditions, they cannot find any jobs. Therefore, these conditions lead people to illegal ways to survive or this potential always persists. Statements of a young urban poor shows this dangerous probability;

“...If I encounter a good suggestion, I would not hesitate to kill somebody or work in drug business...”

One of the main problems for the urban poor is to lose their jobs, because they are aware that they cannot find a job in better conditions than their current job, and that they have to survive for some time and that they cannot survive without any money if they leave their jobs. As it is mentioned in the theoretical chapter, unemployed population has been increasing more than ‘reserve army’ in the labor market, thus they are abused by the employers.

In other words, the main problem is not the urban poor lack of qualification for the urban labor market, or their lack of contribution to the economic output, but the main point is, in this respect, their helplessness against the capital ownership and continuously growing population. In the underdeveloped countries majority of the middle- and small-workshops work with low technology and high labor-intensive sectors. This does not mean that urban poor does not contribute to economy. They are working in the construction sector, textile sector, industrial sector or they are working as a cleaner, as a craftsman, or as a night watchman. Not only these are jobs necessary for any society, but also these jobs are the heaviest jobs in the society. Moreover, their

working conditions have become worse due to Structural Adjustment Policies. Under these circumstances, the Turkish governments have followed policies for the benefit of the capital and against the labor force, because, the governments either have ignored the defective working conditions, or they have cut the rights of the workers particularly since the 1980s. To put it more simply, employers exploit the existing unskilled, semiskilled and uneducated masses. State policy's ignorance about the unregistered workers and their working conditions is the more important side of this problem. This situation is getting worse since applying the structural adjustment program introduced by IMF and the World Bank. However, this transformation has effects mostly on uneducated and unskilled people in Turkey. Furthermore, wages, working conditions are getting worse because of the international competition. As F. Şenses points out in

“Turkey’s Labor Market Policies in the 1980’s Against the Background of Its Stabilization Program”, “wage restraint are important for attaining international competitiveness under an export-oriented strategy, as wages were regarded as a significant cost element in the manufacturing sector...”(Şenses, 2001, p.99).

Decreasing wages and difficulties of finding a full-time job create new survival strategies among the households. One of the interesting argument is stated by Z. Aydın in his study

“The World Bank and The Transformation of Turkish Agriculture”, “commodity-producing household production units may have recourse to self-exploitation by decreasing their consumption level and minimizing their expenditures on certain item and events...These “adjustment mechanisms” include ...decreases in the amount of consumption, changes in the composition of consumption, postponed of marriages and/or reduction of the content of goods purchased for marriages.” (Aydın, 1993, p.125)

The hard working conditions bring about losing some parts of the body or catching some serious illnesses. Informal sector jobs also have high risks of death on the part of the workers. 64.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 77.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep state the absence of life security in

their jobs. Unfortunately, informal sector is the unregistered economy, so, the statistics about death or accidents during the working hours are not available. The workers are on their own with these conditions. If they would have an accident, or if they die, their families find themselves in difficult situation.

A construction worker's wife, 45-year-old, illiterate, Turk, Sunni, from Gaziantep, mentions;

“...When my husband was working in the construction, he fell down from the 6th floor, his feet were broken; his boss did not care about us; my husband couldn't work for one year; we were all destitute.”

In addition to these, a construction sector worker, 36-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, primary school educated, in Istanbul states the working conditions:

“...One of my friends fell down a building and he died, we do not have job insurance, another friend of mine went into coma; working in the buildings are extremely dangerous, either death or working...We have carry huge burden, if we fall down we will sink into the irons, if a block falls down we will die. My foot smashed under an engine, I could not for one year...”

Moreover, as a worker working in a textile workshop, 30-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, primary school educated, in Istanbul, indicates, although a worker would not have an accident, s/he collapses at a very early age;

“...800 workers are left out of two thousand in a month; people slide into physical and psychological decrepitude before the age of 30, and they cannot find a job. Dust causes nosebleed; my waist hurts, my elbow was dislocated, but I had to work, otherwise they fire us. I got typhoid, and couldn't work, we survived by the help of others. Kidneys decay while we are covered with sweat; the leg vein cracks due to hard work, you get a hernia; if the load falls down on you, your hands and legs are broken. Employers leave us to our own devices; they do not take us to the hospital fearing that they may be asked for insurance, and they throw us away. It is really a war not a job; if you still survive at work, then you are a ghazi...”

Additionally, having a casual job increases the deprivation of the urban poor. Although all of the sample population is working without any insurance to keep their jobs, 46.0 percent of them are working as daily workers, for example, as street peddlers, construction workers, piece worker etc.

A construction worker, 43-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, literate, in Istanbul, says;

“...I have worked for only two months in a year, if I find a job, I work, but if I cannot find a job, we are hungry...”

Furthermore, street peddling has also some serious difficulties, as a street peddler, 37-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, primary school educated, in Istanbul, tells;

“...The police does not give permission or they take our goods or they spill all our goods down...I sell on credit, everybody buys, otherwise nobody buys anything. When we cannot sell the goods they decay, and we cannot buy new goods by the same price. My arms swell because of walking with trolley all day. It is too difficult to control the trolley in the downward slope and to push out in the upward slope.”

And another street peddler, 23-year-old, primary school graduate, Kurd, Sunni, from Şırnak, mentions the difficult working conditions;

“I sell cassettes with a trolley. I walk eight hours every day, I cannot breath. Municipal police put pressure on us. Sometimes, we cannot work because of them. Sometimes, wholesalers fear to sell cassettes to us (pirated cassette).”

In fact even to find a daily job is very difficult. A an unemployed urban poor, 23-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, primary school educated, mentions;

“...We are fed up with all these, everyday we go to worker’s café and we come back without getting anything...”

Due to the lack of sufficient job opportunities in the urban labor market, seasonal agricultural working is widely seen among the urban poor. Although

seasonal agricultural working is considered to be different from the urban labor market, most of the urban poor, in addition to working in the urban labor market, have to work in the seasonal agricultural jobs, which are used as a survival strategy, due to incapability of the urban labor market to cover all the urban poor. Similar to the urban labor market, working as an agriculture worker has also several serious impacts. One of the important impacts is the exploitation of children as labor force at very early ages.

As a construction worker, 45, literate, Kurd, Sunni, says;

“...There is not any limitation to start working in our way of life. A child who is even 3-years-old is expected to whatever s/he can do. We began to work in the vegetable and cotton lands as waged workers with our family...”

Seasonal agricultural working is also an important hinderance to attend the school for children. Seasonal agricultural workers go back their home after the opening of schools. Therefore, children either are not sent to school or they have to attend to school at least two months later. In this respect, not only do children's school achievements reduce, but also they completely stay away from school life.

A woman, 45-year-old, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, in Gaziantep, declares these difficulties as;

“We go to field in May and come back in November. My children cannot attend school. I have six children, none of them goes to school...”

Furthermore, they have to live in the tents and they have to live in extremely harmful physical conditions. They have to cook in the tents, to take baths and to sleep in the same place. There are not any temporary buildings to go to the toilet. They are also deprived of drinking water and sanitation. Thus, another crucial impact of working in the seasonal agricultural job is the high risk of catching up contagious diseases, such as, typhoid fever, typhus, tuberculosis and feverish diseases.

A 32-year-old woman, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, in Gaziantep, explains the difficulties of physical conditions as;

“...There is not a toilet, men can go wherever they want, women suffer a lot, women are poor, we wait until late hours, we are in pain until night as we cannot urinate; If the moon enlightens the surroundings, we have to wait until the men sleep as well...”

Additionally, they also have to survive under the high risk of stinging or biting of insects and bugs. Therefore, while women want to prevent their children from these risks they accidentally suffocate their children.

5.4. Occupational Status and Working Conditions of the Women

According to data, 70.0 percent women in Istanbul and 47.0 percent of the women in Gaziantep were not working in a job during the application of questionnaires. Also piece-working at home is ranked first with the 22.0 percent in Istanbul and 33.0 percent in Gaziantep. The second job which is mostly preferred by women, is seasonal agricultural working and is seen only in Gaziantep with the rate of 15.0 percent. Moreover, where the women's last two jobs are concerned, seasonal agricultural working is seen again only in Gaziantep ranking first with 42.0 percent, while piece-working at home follows this job with 16.0 percent in Istanbul and 19.0 percent in Gaziantep. In addition, seasonal agricultural working is seen only in Gaziantep ranking first at the rate of 20.5 percent among previous jobs, and piece-working at home at the rate of 16.0 percent in Istanbul, and 19.0 percent in Gaziantep, follows this rate.

As the data shows, women's participation in the urban labor market among the urban poor is quite limited, and women mostly have to work at home as piece-workers or as seasonal agricultural workers. Therefore, characteristics of the urban labor market for the urban poor and this market's effects on the poverty can be entirely examined to study the dynamics of the men's labor force. One of the main reasons of the domination of the men labor force among the urban

poor is that the jobs which are open to the urban poor are mostly suitable for the men rather than women. For example, being a construction worker, a porter or a street peddler requires physical strength. On the other hand, educational level or qualifications for the urban labor market do not show much difference between men and women. Therefore, the main reason that obstructs women to work in the labor market is not the lack of qualification or education.

Another main reason of the domination of the men labor force or the weakness of the women labor force among the urban poor is the traditional values, which do not allow the women to work alone outside home. Therefore, piece-working at home does not necessitate to go outside and seasonal agricultural working is carried out by the whole family members, so women are not alone outside home. Most of the women maintain that “My father did not allow me to work before I got married. Now, my husband does not allow me. Even if we are hungry, women do not work, it is prohibited by our traditions.”

Similar to this statement, another woman, 38 years old, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, in Istanbul, also declares the women’s inferior status and their lack of changes to get educational or working opportunities;

“They do not set us free, we get married at the age of 15 in our village, without learning something and without awareness of ourselves...”

Moreover, sometimes traditional values oppress the women so much that, they often feel helpless; women are not allowed to work, as a young woman, 26-year*old, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, in Istanbul says;

“...When my husband became paralysis, I wanted to work, but my husband told me: ‘If we die, all of us shall die of hunger.’”

And another common response to the question why the women cannot work outside is that:

“What do you say? It is a shame to work outside for the women.”

Although majority of the women want to work, common idea of the men can be summarized with the statement of a young man, 23-year-old, literate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul;

“Women who are working outside talk to men, so, they become immoral.”

In addition, some of the men avoid the criticism of the relatives and neighbors. For example, a young street peddler, 29 year-old, literate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep says;

“Our values and traditions do not allow the women to work outside. If we lived in Istanbul, I would allow my wife to go to work; there is not any gossip in Istanbul, people living in Istanbul are more open-minded.”

Correspondingly, another man, 35-year-old, literate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep explains the strict social control of their relatives;

“If I left my wife work, my relatives exclude us. If we lived in the West, I would let her to work. I cannot tolerate being excluded by our relatives. In this case, I have to leave the country.”

Furthermore, a man, 26-year-old, primary school educated, Turk, Sunni, living in Gaziantep says that “I do not allow my wife to work, but if we lived in rich neighbourhood, I would give permission to my wife to work. Another explanation emphasizes the importance of neighbourhood and education of women. As a man, 34-year-old, Kurd, Alevi, primary school educated, living in Gaziantep mentions “If anybody’s wife goes to work in a poor neighbourhood, everybody condemns; on the other hand, in the rich neighbourhoods, women are educated and they can work in a job.” In addition to this, men also escape gossip about their ability to support their family.

The statement below explains this situation:

“Everybody says that he cannot support his family so his wife works...”
(30-year-old, illiterate, Turk, Sunni, living in Gaziantep).

As it is mentioned before, education and occupational qualification are not quite different between men and women. On the other hand, men are always encouraged to work outside and data also shows that the average age of the beginning of men to work is 12. Women, on the other hand, cannot even go to the shops, even to the ones which are besides their houses, without getting permission.

As a woman 27-year-old, illiterate, Turk, Sunni, living in Istanbul for ten years says;

“I have not gone anywhere for ten years, I cannot go outside alone. I do not know my address, and it is not necessary to learn it for me, because I have never gone out of the house.”

In addition to these reasons which obstruct women from working in the labor market, other two important reasons are their responsibilities at home and responsibilities for childcare. As it is mentioned before, 57.0 percent of the women in Istanbul and 65.0 percent of the women in Gaziantep are between 21-35 years old. Therefore, their children are mostly too young and they need to be looked after. Moreover, majority of the women have the tendency to have more children, so, this is also another factor which prevents the plans to find a job. Therefore, the most widespread jobs among the women are piece working and seasonal agricultural working. The main advantage of the piece working at home is that women can work without neglecting house works and childcare. And seasonal agricultural work also helps women to work together with the other family members. Thus, on the one hand, women do not have to leave their children, and on the other hand, their husband give permission to them to work because the women do not work alone in these jobs and they can earn money.

The difficulties of the seasonal agricultural work have been mentioned before. Additionally, major strenuousness of the piece-working at home is that similar to other jobs, employers make arbitrary decisions to determine the wages per piece, and employers also avoid paying worker's wages on time or they never

pay their money. One of the most important examples of this situation is the work of nut breaking. In Gaziantep nut breaking is one of the most common sources of income for women. They get 1.250.000 T.L. for 24 kilogram sack of nuts. They have to take the sack from the store and go back but they cannot get cash after finishing their work, but employers give them 'nut card' and they have to use it in the shops in their neighbourhoods. They cannot spend their money on whatever and wherever they want. Moreover, these shops generally sell the goods over the average price, but women have to buy their needs from these shops.

As a woman, 28, illiterate, Turk, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, says;

"I break nuts from 8 a.m. to 12 p.m.; my children help me when they come back from the school, so, they cannot study; nuts ate hard, we break it with our teeth; I am 28 years old, I lost many of my teeth; when I break them with hammer, it takes too much time..."

Besides these difficulties, women complain that they do not know what to do deal with piecework and they cannot find regular works. The disadvantage of piecework for 95 percent of women is that they work when they can find a job. These features of the piecework are the main disadvantageous characteristics of the form of subcontracting. Another important feature of the piece working at home is that employers do not regularly pay the workers' wages. 72.5 percent of the women declare that either they can never get their wages or they can irregularly get it. Most of the women work as a piecework at home or as a seasonal agricultural worker, so the characteristics of their last three works' working conditions do not show big differences. None of the women declare that they have insurance in their current jobs. In a similar way, the rates of having insurance of the women in the last two jobs are .05 percent and 2.0 percent in turn in order.

5.5. Occupational Status and Working Conditions of Other Household Members

Almost all of the households are nuclear families. Therefore, following the head of the households and their spouses, the first three family members whose working conditions are examined include children. This examination can not only provide information about working conditions of the young poor but also some clues about the socio-economic and cultural profile of the young poor and their social mobility opportunities.

“Who are tomorrow’s poors?” is not only a very crucial issue for sociology but also for the economy. Therefore, a part was added to the questionnaire form about the young generations. Their demographic and social profiles are recorded while getting household’s data. In this section, the young generation is interviewed face-to-face and their own viewpoints about some issues were recorded. I conducted this research only with 31 children because of the shortage of time and their not being present in the houses during the data collecting. For this reason the part of data about the children which is collected by the help of their own viewpoints must be analyzed more carefully due to this small number.

The majority of the first children at home are quite young, between the ages of 7 and 14 with 32.0 percent and 15 and more with 34.0 in Istanbul. The rate between the ages 7 to 14 is 36.0 percent, while 15 and more is 31.0 percent in Gaziantep. Moreover, with the nearly same number, 16.0 of them work as workers in small workshops. The illiteracy rate among them is 11.0 percent in Istanbul and 16.0 percent in Gaziantep. Furthermore, 16.0 percent of the children in Istanbul are primary school graduates. On the other hand this number decreases to 8.0 percent in Gaziantep. They usually had begun to work at very young ages. While collecting data from the households, most of the families told that in spite of employers’ not accepting too young children (that 9 to 13 ages) to work, their families wanted their children to work on quite low wages. Almost all of the children are working in small workshops which are too near to their neighbourhoods and which have no social security. Employers

find children working cheaper than the adults. That's why it is highly possible to see children working everywhere. Moreover, these children don't gain any qualifications that they can use in the future. They are working in bad physical conditions as well. Thus, respiratory infections or accidents, which cause injuries, are widely seen. These bad physical conditions at work or their not being given the wages by the employers force them to seek a new job. Unfortunately, this situation repeats itself all the time. If their low education level is considered as well, to expect a good future for them becomes almost impossible. Therefore, "the culture of dependency" thesis loses its validity in Turkey's conditions. As Murray asserts in "Losing Ground", "preference to live on welfare benefits" argument might be discussed for developed countries. (Murray, 1994) However my data supports the System Theory, which is more adequate to understand Turkey's conditions. According to this theory, as Woorsley claims, there is

"a worse serious approach to as a part of the 'reserve army' standing outside the factory gates, ready to take any kind of job for low wages if necessary and thereby undermining trade union power and working class solidarity." (Woorsley, 1986, p.187)

Thus, causes of poverty have to be discussed considering unskilled masses and their exploitation by employers. Moreover, ignorance of state policies in Turkey should also be taken into consideration. Accordingly, studies about poverty have to be carried out attentively to understand reasons of the poverty. As E.O. Wright has explored the poverty in his study "Interrogating Inequality", poverty is the result of the inherent properties of the social system. In other words, "Capitalists and other exploiting classes benefit from poverty" rather than the thesis of "low self-esteem, fatalism, low motivation for work, and traits which reproduce poverty" (Wright, 1994, p.35, 38) in the light of the data.

In this respect, level of education and features of occupation of the young poor do not present quite differences from their parents. The young poor are ready to work whatever the working conditions are. Thus, the main difficulty in their

work-life is that the employers do not give their wages. This is the main reason to change to job. The closure of the workshops without paying workers' wages is another difficulty for these people. This situation increases casuality and forces the young poor to look for a new job. Helplessness of the young poor is easily exploited by the employers, in other words, the young poor cannot bear unemployment, and the employers know that there is huge amount of people outside who are ready to work whatever the working conditions are.

As a young textile worker, 19-year-old, Alevi, Kurd, living in Istanbul, explains;

“...If people have good education, nothing affects them. We are uneducated; we cannot bear unemployment. Here people are exploited by employers, as we are poor. State does not know anything about us, we do not know about the state as well, we are working without insurance; there is nothing to do...”

When the working conditions are considered from the aspect of ‘unprotected’ workers, the explanation of ‘there is nothing to do’ is the summary of the workers’ helplessness. Furthermore, these arbitrarily determined working conditions are also strengthening under the name of privatization, flexibilization of the working hours and place by the state policies. Undoubtedly, these ‘adjustment policies’ show themselves with all their cruel aspects. As it is mentioned before, all of the young poor have to work without insurance. Additionally, 85.0 percent of the young poor mention the hard physical conditions at the workshops, arbitrary working hours determined according to employers’ own will and irregular or piece-by-piece wages which are also given according to employers’ own will. One of the major effects of these hard work conditions is the work accidents which may cause to lose some parts of the body, some middle-age diseases, such as typhoid, typhus, tuberculosis or some psychological disorders. To put it more simply, the young poor’s educational level or occupational patterns are not significantly different from their parent’s. These data show that, chances of upward mobility for the urban poor’s children almost do not exist. In parallel to these occupational

patterns, naturally, when cultural and social dimensions are considered, young urban poor bear traditional values in their limited social life. This issue will also be examined in the context of the social life of the urban poor in the city.

When working life is examined, all of the household members have the same working conditions. Therefore, their reaction to these conditions or their survival strategies will be mentioned for all of the household members rather than one by one.

The patterns of the working life of the urban poor also reflect their close relationships with each other and the impossibility of the opportunities of social mobility for the urban poor. Similar to their migration movements, building or renting a house, their struggle to find a job also happens way of informal ties. Majority of them begin working either with their fathers or relatives since their childhood or they find job by communicating with their relatives or neighbors. The rate of getting help of relatives or friends to find a job is 27.0 percent in Istanbul and and this number increases to 46.0 in Gaziantep. In addition, the rate of working in the same sector since the childhood is also the nearly same number in both of the cities. Moreover, the rate of urban poor waiting for a job in the worker coffee house is nearly same rate with the 38.4 percent in both of the cities. However, it also has to be stressed that these rates cannot be separately analyzed; they intersect in most of the cases. In other words, these three rates refer almost the same networks. In another viewpoint, the figure of belonging to a certain class or of having opportunities for social mobility do not show quite differences among the relatives and this factor triggers the reproduction of the same values and attitudes among the urban poor.

The expressions below easily summarize these characteristics;

“This job comes from our ancestors; almost all of our relatives are working in the same job, we are, 30 relatives, are working the same workshop...” (26-year-old, primary school educated, Kurd, Alevi, living in Istanbul)

Or another example puts it;

“All of our villagers are welder” (33-year-old, literate, Turk, Sunni, living in Gaziantep)

“...All of our villagers sell simit...” (18-year-old, literate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul)

Furthermore, another urban poor, 42-year-old, literate, Sunni, Turk living in Istanbul, express their reason why he choose his current job;

“...You have to go to another city, all of our villagers go to work in the construction sector, and we do not know enough about the another jobs...”

When the women’s job patterns and their social status are considered, nearly all of their networks consist of their relatives or neighbors As it was mentioned before, most of the women are working at home or seasonal agricultural works within their families. Therefore, informal networks are also used among the women at the rate of 88.0 percent in Istanbul and at the rate of the 85.0 percent in Gaziantep. The strict structure of these sectors which are mostly labor-intensive and which are preferred by the urban poor shows that the urban poor’s chances to gain any qualification or education to extend their chances while looking for a job is too limited or almost do not exist.

Networks of the children to find a job are also not different from their parents. First three children in the households find their job with the help of kins or neighbor within the rate of 56.0 percent in Istanbul and 34.0 percent in Gaziantep. This rate, at the same time, means that second generation also has to work at casual jobs without having and qualifications. The rate of the children who have been working at the same type of job since the apprenticeship is changing from 13.0 percent to 18.0 percent and not these numbers show significant differences between two cities among the first three children in the households. These rates also mean that only a few children get opportunities to gain qualification in their jobs. One of the main reasons for this is that households need urgent income to survive, thus spending time to

gain qualification in any job means less money. In other words, households cannot tolerate this time, they send their children to the streets to sell tissue, simit or to black shoes etc. For example, 42.0 percent of the households in Istanbul and 53.0 percent of the households in Gaziantep say that their children are working.

Moreover, the reason of children's working is to support household budget, all of the working children give their money to their families, on the other hand, only 1.0 percent of the households respond that they send their children to work gain occupational qualifications in both of the cities. In addition to the rate of 56.0 percent parents in Istanbul and 62.0 percent parents in Gaziantep make plans to work their children, 47.0 percent of the households in Istanbul and 45.0 percent of the households in Gaziantep express that they are waiting for children's growing up to work, and 53.0 percent of the households in Istanbul and 55.0 percent of the households in Gaziantep state,

'We do not want to our children to work, in fact, we want them to study at school.'

Similar to their fathers, children's age of starting a job is also quite early. Most of the children's working life starts in the streets as a street peddler or in a small workshop as an apprentice. The major reason of the child labor is that the head of the household does not have a regular job or cannot work as a result of either a job accident or old age. Therefore, most of the families are waiting for their children to grow up and to work at any job.

This expression explains most of the families' intention about the future of their children;

"When they a little bit more grow up, we will send our daughter to a textile workshop and our son to a repair shop..."; (A construction worker, 37-year-old, literate, Kurd, Alevi, living in Istanbul).

Or in a similar way;

“I took my son to a textile workshop, but he was not employed due to his young age...” (A construction worker, 42-year-old, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul).

Furthermore, another considerable factor of prevalence of child labor is that families’ expectations from education are too low. Most of the families realize that they are not able to afford to send their children to school until the children gain qualification for a better job, thus, most of the families’ expectations for their children are restricted to only becoming literate.

As a parent, 27-year-old, housewife, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, expresses;

“They will learn something, they will become literate, and then they will get a job; we are illiterate, we cannot read anything; people make fun of us, so; we want our children to be literate, when they reach 10 years old, they will work in a textile workshop....”

Additionally, children also meet household’s urgent necessities, as a housewife, 48-year-old, illiterate, pieceworking at home, Turk, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, tells;

“My son is 11 years old and he has been blacking shoes for 3 years; he buys our bread, if my son does not work, we die...” as a woman from Gaziantep says.

Life story of a young poor, 22-years-old, primary school educated, Turk, Sunni, textile workers, living in Gaziantep, is a typical example of the lives of young poor, which explains the causes of poverty and the cycle of poverty;

“I worked in a carpenter shop for six months when I was seven years old, and then I started primary school, I used to go to school in the mornings and go to shop in the afternoons. After this job, I had to work in a shoe workshop until I was 13. After finishing primary school, I began to work

at a textile workshop until I went to do my military service. I have just finished my service and came back. I have never had insurance. When we demand insurance, employers say 'Workers are rebelling against the employers' and therefore, throw us away. We are working, 50 people, in the workshop which in fact needs 150 workers. I work in the night shift for 3 weeks and day shift for one week in a month. Employers do not give our wages regularly, our fingernails are injured, and our hands are cut. The workshop is too cold, they do not warm it up due to the inflammable equipment in the workshop, so the workshop is too humid. Stomach upset, bronchitis, asthma, typhoid, and headache are the most widespread diseases. They cook the meals with water from well, which is too dirty. When inspectors come, only the insured workers show up. The machines are closed and they take us to another hall. Even if the inspectors see the uninsured workers, employers give bribe to them. If we tell that we are working without insurance, employers will throw us away after inspectors go...we want to get married but the families do not approve, as we are poor. They make fun of us..."

The most important effect of beginning to work at early ages is to become older physically and psychologically rather early. Main reason of the early collapse of the poor is hard working conditions. The young poor also have to leave school at early ages and have to work in any jobs in which they cannot gain any qualifications for their future occupations. The rate of the illiteracy of the oldest children in the households is 17.0 percent in Istanbul and this number increases to 23.5 in Gazinatep, and also the rates of leaving primary school is 12.0 percent in both of the cities, in addition to these, primary school graduate rate is 23.5 percent in Istanbul, this number shows a significant differences in Gaziantep with 12.0 percent. . Furthermore, their occupational characteristics are also not different from their parents'. 40.0 percent of the children among the oldest ones are working in Istanbul, and this number also increase to 60.0 percent in Gaziantep. On the other hand, 18.0 percent of the students attend primary school, in both of the cities. When the educational level of the children and their conditions and possibilities of attending to school are considered, it can easily be stated that the opportunities of attending the higher levels of school among the primary school students almost do not exist. Thus, they cannot gain any qualifications or education to

find a job in the formal urban labor market. Therefore, the young poor have to work in the informal sector as unskilled and uneducated workers like their parents. As a clear pattern of the informal sector, none of the young poor has insurance in their jobs. Moreover, their working conditions are as hard as their parents’.

The matter of whether the heads of the households have participated in any courses to gain qualifications is very related to the above mentioned issue as well. 99.0 percent of the heads of the households respond in negative sense to the question of whether they participated in any course, in both of the cities. Moreover, the unique reason of this is the struggle to make a living or to survive.

One of the heads of the households’ statement is enough to summarize the poor’s dilemma;

“I have never found an opportunity, just I have to work to survive, and I have always been working to be able- to buy something to eat.”(A 36-year-old construction worker, literate, Turk, Sunni, living in Gaziantep).

And another expression emphasizes poor’s helplessness; (A construction worker, 26-year-old, literate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep).

“What do you mean? Since I have become aware of myself, since my childhood, I have been working at the same job...”

On the other hand, other dimension of this issue is connected to the disempowerment of the urban poor. They are not only excluded from the formal urban labor market or from the opportunities of educational institutions and professional courses but also they are deprived of the rights of receiving information to improve their harsh living conditions. 29.5 percent of them express that they do not know the meaning of the training courses in both of the cities.

As a construction worker, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says;

“We have never heard of it ...” Furthermore, to work as an apprentice in a workshop and attend to a apprenticeship school requires at least to graduate from primary school, however, the second generation’s opportunities are also too limited to finish primary school, thus, one of the main obstacles not to attend to apprenticeship school is that some of the young poor even cannot finish primary school.

The urban poor’s working conditions and the impacts of these conditions, in fact, are the extensions of the same issue. Informality in the job brings about, at the same time, unorganized working conditions and unprotected workers. While they are asked, “when you have any problems with your employers, what do you do to cope with it?”, almost all of the heads of the households, 99.5 percent, respond that, “we cannot do anything” and 0.5 percent of them respond that “in the past we went to police but they told us that they are not interested in this issue”, in the both of the cities. As it was mentioned above, the major difficulties of the urban poor are that employers arbitrarily do not give the wages of the workers.

In the informal sector, workers are in an unprotected situation. These conditions are also known by the governments but inspectors’ controls or other control mechanisms do not work. This circumstance is, if I may put in this way, prearranged between the employers and the governments. On the account of these reasons, workers are left with their own destinies.

A textile worker, 34-year-old, primary school educated, Alevi, Kurd, living in Istanbul says;

“We cannot insist on our rights. Poor people have nothing. Are the rich and the poor equal? How can we fight for our rights? Nobody supports us...”

Moreover, a woman, literate, housewife, Turk, Alevi, living in Istanbul, explains the restlessness in her house because of her husband’s helplessness in his job;

“...We only quarrel with each other at home. When my husband has a problem with his job, he is extremely nervous; he cries; we cannot do anything. There are lots of unemployed people, employers fire the workers, because of the unemployed masses...”

As the rate also shows, the urban poor have to endure the injustice resignedly; according to them, they have no other choice, as a young urban poor, 23-year-old, textile worker, primary school graduated, Kurd, Alevi, living in Gaziantep, says;

“If you have power you will beat; if you feel yourself capable of doing, you will kill.”

Approximately in the same rate, in the both of the cities, 85.0 percent of the heads of the households state that they cannot get their wages regularly and their working hours are not regular with the rate of 67.0 percent in Istanbul and 57.0 percent in Gaziantep, in their current jobs. When they are asked,

“What are you doing to overcome these problems?” all of them say without any exceptions “not to lose your job, you have to be silent...”

5.6 Consumption Patterns of the Households

As it was mentioned above, almost all of the households’ main problem is “to buy bread”. This difficult condition affects the urban poor’s patterns of the durable and non- durable consumption goods.

Firstly, when durable goods are considered, the rate of households having television is 88.0 percent in Istanbul and 79.0 percent in Gaziantep , having refrigerator is 83.0 percent in Istanbul and 71.0 percent in Gaziantep and having vacuum cleaner is 48.0 percent in Istanbul and 19.0 percent in Gaziantep, however, most of these three goods are second-hand or they are not working properly. On the other hand, the rate of having telephone is only 7.0 percent in Istanbul and 1.0 percent in Gaziantep. Except for these goods, there are not any goods in the households.

In addition to this, the question of “How much income would you like to have to live without difficulty?” reflects the urban poor’s working conditions as well, because almost none of them mentioned the quantity of the income. This shows, at the same time, that employers do not regularly and at once give workers’ wages, as a 33-year-old, illiterate, housewife, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, states;

“We do not know how money is spent, we have never seen our wages at once”, or “I have never seen 100 million together.” Under these circumstances, to talk about saving money among the urban poor is impossible.

5.6.1. Consumption Patterns of the Non-durable Goods

In this context, the urban poor’s consumption patterns explain their difficult living conditions. Majority of their income is shared for nourishment expenses. However, it cannot be said that the urban poor are nourished sufficiently and in a balanced way. The three major foodstuffs are potatoes, bulgur and pasta to survive. As a woman in Gaziantep says “All of the people in this city only consume bulgur and tomato paste.” 37.5 percent of the households state that they have never consumed meat, fish and chicken in Istanbul and this number increases to 58.0 percent in Gaziantep. Moreover, if the response of “almost never” with the rate of 9.0 percent in Istanbul and 20 percent in Gaziantep, and the response of “at once in a few months” with the rate of 17.0 percent in Istanbul and 23.0 percent in Gaziantep are considered together, almost 70.0 percent of the urban poor are not able to consume meat and meat products in both of the cities. Additionally only 5.0 percent of the households, approximately with the same rate, respond that they consume meat, fish or chicken once in a week. The pattern of milk or dairy product consumption does not show differences as well, . The rate of response “we have never bought milk or dairy products” is 52.0 percent in Istanbul and 47.0 percent in Gaziantep. This rate may be elaborated with the responses of “we almost do not consume” with the rate of 14.5 in both of the cities and “we can consume

once in a month”, thus, the households’ rate which are able to buy milk or dairy products regularly are only 6 percent again in both of the cities. The rate of consumption of cheese is also not different, the households which consume cheese rarely or almost never are nearly 50.0 percent. Even if they are able to consume, it is too difficult to regard it as “consumption”, as a woman says “If we have money, I buy cheese for 250.000 T.L., if I leave the cheese to my children, it takes only a few seconds for them to finish it, but I serve it for 2 days.” Most of the households are not able to buy food for breakfast. Two most consumed foods for breakfast are egg and boiled chickpeas especially in Gaziantep. Most of the households buy boiled chickpeas from street peddlers and they only consume it in the mornings. Additionally, most of the households express that they collect the waste vegetables in the late evening in the bazaar, or they prefer to buy the cheapest ones. Thus, the highest consumption rate among the consumption goods is vegetable. The range of consumption changes from once a week to three times a week, with the rate of 57.0 percent in Istanbul and 35.0 percent in Gaziantep.

On the other hand, another low consumed foodstuff is dried leguminous. The rate of consumption once a week and two or three times a week shows not important differences, approximately 17.0 percent in both of the cities. Rest of the households either is not able to consume, with the 56.0 percent in Istanbul and 25.0 percent in Gaziantep or they consume very rarely, with the rate of 20.0 percent in Istanbul and 35.0 percent in Gaziantep. Under these circumstances, to mention the fruit consumption patterns among the urban poor becomes too luxury. The rate of households which are able to buy fruit once a week is 35.0 percent in Istanbul and only 7.0 percent in Gaziantep, on the other hand, the rest have never bought any fruit.

5.6.2. Being Tenant

The major obstacle which limits their consumption of foodstuffs is the house rent. The main part of the urban poor’s income is spent on the rent of the houses. 86.0 percent of the households respond that the first prior expense is house rent in Istanbul and 93.0 percent in Gaziantep. Almost all of the urban

poor have to live in very unhealthy living conditions. They mostly complain about the houses' humidity, not having proper windows and doors, not being able to protect their houses from rain and snow in the winter season. In this respect, the physical living conditions are not too different from the physical working conditions, thus, some diseases, such as typhoid, typhus, rheumatism, asthma, bronchitis are reinforced in such houses. Despite the unhealthy conditions, almost all of the households cannot pay their rents regularly. Therefore, either they often have to change their houses or they are in serious disagreement with their house owners.

A young poor woman 27-year-old, literate, Turk, Alevi, living in Istanbul, says;

“Every morning we go to my mother-in law’s house with my children, and we come back late in the evening, so we escape from our house owner.”

And another urban poor tells the living conditions:

“There is a room and a hall, we cover the roof with nylon in winters; neither there is a toilet nor kitchen; we meet all our necessities in that one room; we even have to take bath there; we neither have a washing machine nor vacuum cleaner, we cannot see them even in our dreams, we have only are refrigerator, if the weather is rainy or snowy, we become sopping wet until we come back from the toilet which also does not have a proper door; If the house is ours we even do accept all of these conditions; we have neither firewood nor coal; we cannot set up the stove until February, electricity is cut we warm up with the picnic tube...”

Some of the urban poor had to sell their houses when they urgently needed money; the main reason to sell the houses is the health problems; thus, this point reinforces the importance of working with insurance and having a house to survive more easily.

As a porter, 36-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, says from Gaziantep;

“At least 10 years ago, population was not so intense as today, workers’ payment was more valuable; I was working in a weaving workshop and we were working on cotton lands with my wife; we saved money and bought a land, we slowly built a house. However, I became ill a few years later, thus, we had to sell our house. Then we rent a house, we cannot even feed ourselves now.”

Therefore, the response to the question of “What would you like to buy, if you have money” is that “we would like to buy a house.”

As young poor woman’s expression summarizes most of the urban poor’s desire(32-year-old, illiterate, Kurd, Alevi, living in Istanbul):

“No matter how it is, I merely want to my own house; it is enough, if I built a squatter settlement...in this case, the money that we spend on rent will be spent on our kitchen expenses...We do not want much. I f only I did not pay the rent of the house...”

Because of the main difficulty to pay the rent of a house, the rate of the people wishing to have their own house is 81.0 percent among the households in Istanbul and 71.0 percent in Gaziantep.

Furthermore, another reason which limits their desire is the importance of social network and the urban poor’s poverty perception.

A 23-year-old woman, literate, Turk, Sunni, living in Istanbul states;

“I am not able to get on well with the rich people. They do not want to communicate with the poor people. Can ever the rich and poor people become equal... Therefore, I want a house in the poor neighbourhood...”

5.6.3. Expenses of Water and Electricity

Other expenses too difficult for the urban poor to meet are coal and firewood. Therefore, most of the households either have to live without using any fuel or they use illegal electricity to warm up.

A 34 years old weaving worker, primary school educated, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep says;

“Our state do not fulfill its duty towards its citizens, according to the constitution, the state has to deal with its citizens’ health and educational problems. However, the state encourages us to steal things. I work 70-80 hours in a week, I work to produce, I contribute to the economy, but I cannot comfortably live in spite of my 84 hours production. I cannot buy my children’s books, I cannot take my children to doctor...I steal, I illegally use electricity and water...”

Almost all of the households use illegal electricity and water, thus, electricity is generally cut in the poor neighbourhoods to prevent illegal use. Moreover, the common fear among the urban poor is the control of illegal electricity and water use by the authorities.

A poor woman, 34-year-old, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, tells her fear when an electricity officer come to the neighbourhood;

“When I was washing the clothes, the door knocked, I raised my head and I saw the electricity officer, suddenly I bent down, warned children to be silent, all of us bent, we were too afraid...trust me! I gave out two breads to the neighbors, God saved me from a serious trouble... If the door is open, I always say to the children ‘close the door, for goodness sake an officer may come’. If somebody knocks on the window, I quietly look whether s/he is an acquaintance or not... If I need something as I am not able to open the door I use the roofs, I go from roof to roof and I come back to my home...our suffering is never over...”

In fact, as it was mentioned in the working conditions part, almost none of the urban poor are regularly paid, thus, most of the time, they are not able to find

money to survive. Therefore, one of the main means of subsistence to survive is that they are shopping on credit in grocers; however, they are mostly not able to pay the debts on time as well. For this reason grocers do not trust all of the customers to sell on credit, moreover, grocers inform each other about their indebted customers, in case indebted customers demand to buy goods on credit in another grocers. Therefore, most of the time, the urban poor are not able to find even a bread to survive. Actually, almost all of the urban poor make their own bread.

An urban poor, a 37-year-old woman, illiterate, Turk, Sunni, living in Istanbul, tells the expenses of bread

“If we buy ready bread, we spent 50-60 million T.L. in a month, but, we spent 20-25 million T.L. to buy flour in a month, if we find this money together of course.”

Therefore, when they are asked, “if you have more money, what would you like to buy”, ‘ready bread’ or in their own terms ‘market bread’ stand in the prior sequences.

As 34 years old woman, illiterate, Turk, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says,

“My son wants market bread, he also wants butter...”

In a similar way, according to urban poor, foodstuff which they are deprived of is the first priority with the rate of 83 percent. Almost all of the foodstuff is basic needs, for example, fruit, milk, chicken or cheese-olive are mostly demanded by the children. If the children are too young, parents are unable to manage them. On the other hand, since the age of 6 or 7 children gradually begin to understand the meanings of poverty. In this respect, television is the major agent to influence children.

A woman, 37-year-old, illiterate, Kurd, Alevi, living in Istanbul tells that;

“ My children want cake, chicken, meatball which they see from the television... but when I hit them they stop speaking...”

Furthermore, when the children become older their desires changes as well.

“The greatest dream of my son is to have a bicycle...I tell him the state we are in, he is very understanding, he says to me ‘I will work and buy it...’”

On the contrary, poverty also brings about restlessness in the households. As a woman,

28-year-old, literate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul says, “My daughter wants fruit and ice cream, I try to explain the conditions, and she controls her father’s pockets and cries. She says to us ‘why I am your daughter.’ ”

Although the adult urban poor can more easily restrain themselves, their feelings of deprivation are mostly not quite different.

A 56 years old man, literate, Turk, Sunni, living in Istanbul tells why he avoids going to marketplace;

“Human beings desire everything. I go to Küçükköy, fried chickens are displayed in the shop windows, I am not able to buy it, and it turns my head and goes away. Sometimes, animals are sacrificed you should hide here and see how even the bone in the meal is eaten...”

On the other hand, some of the urban poor are not able to express even their desire.

A young woman, 25-year-old, literate, Kurd, Alevi, living in Istanbul, says:

“I am not accustomed to such life. I do not know what I can desire.”

Besides the foodstuff necessities, children are also aware of the differences between their physical environment and the environment they see from television.

A little girl, 6-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, expresses the differences;

“Why is our house not like theirs? Why is our door not like theirs? We do not have a lamp in the toilet, why do not we have lots of stairs in front of our houses? Our neighbourhood is not real Antep...”

5.6.4. Other Expenses

Clothing necessities are another serious deficiency for the urban poor with the rate of 62.0 percent in Istanbul and 73.0 percent in Gaziantep. Most of them meet their necessities either from peddlers and second-hand markets with the rate of 94.0 percent in Istanbul and this number decreases to 66.0 percent in Gaziantep, or from acquaintance's second-hand clothes with the rate of 44.0 percent in Istanbul, and 22.0 percent in Gaziantep. As a 24 years old woman, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says; “I have never bought a new cloth in a shop, it deeply affects me...we have been wearing another person's clothes since our childhood...” On the other hand, almost all of the households express the priority of their children's necessities particularly for the wintertime. Although summer season is relatively more easily overcome, when wintertime manifests itself, necessities come to the surface. Undoubtedly, the two major necessities are coats and boots.

An female urban poor, 32-year-old, Turk, Alevi, living in Gaziantep, expresses his desire for his son

“I would like to buy boots which is water-proof for my son...” and a 12 year-old child who earns his own money tells his desire “If I did not have to give my money to my family to the necessities, I would at most buy shoes, better clothes...”

Education expenses which cannot be met take the third rank with the rate of 24.5 percent among the urban poor. As it was mentioned before, one of the most negative impacts of poverty is that children are never sent to school, they are withdrawn without finishing even the primary school or parents put off sending their children to school until they find a job.

As a porter, 29-year-old, illiterate, Sunni, Kurd, living Gaziantep, says;

“My 7-year-old son wants to go to school, he says to me you do not send me to school...”

Furthermore an 11-year-old girl victim of forced-migration tells why she is not sent to school;

“I attended school one year, I can neither write nor read. I began to work when I was 10...”

On the other hand, the most crucial effect of children’s exclusion from school is that children develop dangerous perceptions about education. Most of the children want to earn money since their early ages, in other words, time which is spent in school is ‘waste of time’ and it prevent earning money for them.

Furthermore, children’s world viewpoints are also shaped by the unjust working conditions as 12-year-old boy says in Istanbul;

“Nobody becomes rich through working, you will either win the lottery or you will steal...”

Following the education expenses, washing machine is the most desired item by the households, undoubtedly, especially by the women with the rate of 36.0 percent in Istanbul and this number shows a significant differences with the rate of 7.0 percent in Gaziantep. As it was mentioned before, almost all of the households do not have durable goods properly; even if they have, most of the goods are either second-hand or do not work properly. Furthermore, even they bought the goods in the past, they mostly had to sell their goods to meet the urgent necessities.

A street peddler, 35-year-old leaving primary school , Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, says;

“I sold my carpet, television to pay our debts to the grocery...”

When the urban poor have to be unemployed for a long time, living conditions are more difficult if they do not have anything to sell.

Under these circumstances, health expenses and even urgent surgical operations are continually postponed. The desire they want to fulfill if they have money is to solve the health problems. This is in the fifth rank with the rate of 20.0 percent in Istanbul and this number decreases to 9.0 percent in Gaziantep. One of the main reasons to postpone solving the health problems is that they are mostly not included in insurance system and they are not able to demand private health services because of the being too expensive for them. In case they do not have a house or another valuable item to sell, they have to accept this situation. Their responses to the question of “Which necessities would you sacrifice if you lost your job” more clarifies the living conditions of the urban poor. 54.0 percent of the households in Istanbul and 47.0 percent of the households in Gaziantep, respond to the question as “We have nothing to sacrifice” and 41.5 of them respond in both of the cities, “The most important thing is bread, we cut out the others”, and the rest, percent, respond, “We will sell our goods” or “We sold our goods.”

A 34 year-old woman, Illiterate, Turk, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says that they do not have anything to survive even in their current conditions;

“If we have money, we will buy six breads in a day, now we buy only 3 breads, my son likes market bread very much, he does not like to eat home-made bread...”

The foods which are eaten frequently with bread are fried tomato paste or sugar especially for children in the breakfast.

Therefore, this response summarizes almost all of the urban poor’s living conditions;

“I do not know how it will be, we will die...”

Or

a 56 year-old woman, illiterate, Turk, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, whose husband is disabled due to falling down the building while he was working;

“If somebody has a bad dream, s/he gives me some food as charity...”

On the other hand, the importance of social network has to be emphasized in case of the urgent conditions of the urban poor to survive.

While one of the urban poor, 33-year-old, literate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says;

“If I lose my job, we will die, we do not have any acquaintance in this city, nobody lends us money.”

Another poor, 37-year-old, primary school educated, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, says;

“20-30 households are our relatives in the neighbourhood, we help each other... we collect money to help our relatives who need urgent money...”

These two different cases show the importance of social network among the urban poor to survive in the city life.

Accordingly, 36-year-old woman, illiterate, Turk, Alevi, living in Istanbul, classifies the urban poor whether they have social network or not.

“... There are three types of poor people. First one sleeps in bed; second one sleeps leaning on the wall and the third one sleeps on foot. The poor people who sleep in bed have a house and regular income. The poor people who sleep leaning on the wall are supported by family, kins or co-villagers, and lastly the poor people who sleep on foot do not have any support; they suddenly fall down while they are sleeping.”

5.7. Family Relations of The Urban Poor

As it was mentioned before, similar to most of the other cities, poor neighbourhoods in which the field study was carried out are located in the outskirts of the Istanbul and Gaziantep. Besides the socio-economic difficulties, this physical pattern of the neighbourhoods also reinforces the urban poor's isolation from the 'city' life. One of the crucial impacts of this is that the urban poor keep on their traditional values and attitudes.

Family relations are one of the important fields, which keep on the traditional values and attitudes. As it was expected, traditional gender roles and inferior status of women are commonly seen in the households. 69.0 percent of the households in Istanbul and 86.0 percent of the households in Gaziantep express that the decision maker is 'men' at home, and only 17.0 percent of them express that husband and wife have equal rights to make decision about the matters at home. In Istanbul and this number decreases to 9.0 percent in Gaziantep. On the other hand, the rate of households in which women are decision makers are approximately 6.0 percent in both of the cities and include only widow women. Undoubtedly, women's inferior status reflects itself in all areas of life. For example, even if they want to work, almost none of the husbands give permission with the rate of 85.0 percent in Istanbul and 76.0 percent in Gaziantep. As it was mentioned before, women mostly prefer to work in houses as piece-worker or to work at seasonal agricultural works with their family. In other words, according to almost all of the men if women work alone outside the house, they are 'under risk' due to other men; Most of the husband state that they do not trust other men. On the other hand, it has to be considered that, most of the women are either illiterate or do not even know their address. Moreover, they do not know where they can develop their talents or where they can learn how to read and write, thus, they lack the opportunity of reaching these kinds of courses. Therefore, in this respect, governments and local administrations have to adopt this duty instead of waiting to change the urban poor's traditional values or blaming the urban poor because of these values. First of all, they have to inform about the courses in which they can train themselves and these kind of courses have to be brought to them free of

charge, because, on the contrary of the ideas of their husbands, most of the women with the rate of 73.0 percent want to earn their own money in Istanbul and this number decreases to 63.0 percent in Gaziantep. Although, majority of the people think that women should work if they need money with the rate of 55.0 percent in Istanbul and this number decreases to 37.0 percent in Gaziantep, the ideas of the rest are that working women become more free and influential at home. Undoubtedly, economic reasons are the main elements which form their ideas, but if they are given to chance to develop themselves, their ideas about the traditional gender roles will gradually change.

As 34-year-old, illiterate woman, Kurd, Sunni, in Istanbul expresses;

“...Similar to a meal saucepan, we are closed in this neighbourhood. There is nowhere to train ourselves, there is not any Kuran courses or sewing courses... We become stupid; if my daughter goes to grocery, she is blamed...”

Similar to this idea, some of the women are open-minded and they want to develop themselves, although they live in a quite strict environment.

“We have right to work, we should have our own future; we want to make our own decisions about our lives; none of women should demand money from their husbands, especially women should work in this country, women are just slave; Women should be literate and intelligent to develop this country; The government should serve villages to educate people...”

As an illiterate, 26-year-old woman, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, explains all the common problems of the women in her country.

On the other hand, it has to be emphasized that, the women who do not want to work are mostly fed up with the work in cotton lands when they were married. Thus, having no other chance than working in heavy labor-intensive works reinforces this idea among the women as well. Undoubtedly, if they are educated and if they are given the chance to find jobs in more comfortable conditions, more women want to work outside.

Women's economically depended situation affects all the stages of their lives. 71.0 percent of the women in Istanbul and 95.0 percent of women in Gaziantep say that they were not asked whether they wanted to marry their husbands. While the 36.0 percent of them in Istanbul and 42.0 percent of them in Gaziantep respond that they married their relatives or co-villagers, and 40.5 percent of them respond that they married through matchmaking, 2.0 percent of them in Istanbul and 23.0 percent of them in Gaziantep respond that they and their husband first met after the wedding ceremony. The urban poor also prefer their children to marry through 'berdel'. Additionally, young couples prefer to go away and marry without their parents' permission with the rate of only 9.0 percent in Istanbul and 2.0 percent in Gaziantep. Their wedding ceremonies usually occur in streets by only playing drums and 'zurnas' without spending on more things. As it was mentioned before, similar to pre-marriage period, women do not have right to comment on family matters during the marriage as well. Furthermore, they have to deal with unjust treatment in the family. In other words, they face verbal and physical violence from their husbands. 74.0 percent of the households express that they quarrel with spouses in Istanbul and this number increases to 85.0 percent in Gaziantep. The struggle to survive is the main aspect which causes restlessness in the households with the rate of 79.0 percent in both of the cities and husband's depression which is caused by heavy working conditions is the second main reason which causes problems with the rate of 84.0 percent in both of the cities. Additionally, another two important reasons are children's problems with the rate of 54.0 percent in Istanbul and 40.0 percent in Gaziantep and husband's using alcohol or cigarette with the rate of 12.0 percent in Istanbul and this number decreases to 4.0 percent in Gaziantep. In the households of 63.0 percent in Istanbul and 80.0 percent in Gaziantep, women are face verbal violence and in 45.0 percent of them in Istanbul and 67.0 percent of them in Gaziantep they have to deal with physical violence. In spite of the high rates of the violence in the households, only 1.5 percent of the women respond that they defend themselves in case of facing violence in the same number in the both of the cities. On the other hand, almost all of the women feel themselves helpless in these situations. They either do not have economic freedom to divorce or they are not able to object to the traditional

values. Moreover, almost none of their parents have economic wealth to support their divorced daughters and their grand children. These reasons may be major reasons which shape women's attitude towards marriage and towards their husbands. In other words, almost all of the women think that "A husband has right to beat his wife if he is depressed or if the wife is 'guilty'".

This expression is quite a common idea among the women, as a 28 year-old, literate woman, Kurd, Sunni, in Gaziantep says;

"When my husband is unemployed, he is depressed; when a man is not able to find a job, his wife has to manage him, a wife should learn to shut up, if a wife objects to her husband, she can be hit."

Besides beating, swearing, and degrading are quite 'ordinary' attitudes among the husbands towards their wives.

A women, illiterate, Turk, Alevi, in Istanbul says;

"My husband swears at me so rudely sometimes, it is better if he hits me those times; sometimes he spits on me...I do not have another choice."

And another woman also emphasizes the importance of economic difficulties in city life;

"We have never quarreled with each other in the village, but we quarrel in İstanbul."

Moreover, 43 year-old man, Turk, Sunni, in Istanbul explains the influence of traditional values on him while he tells why he beats his wife;

"My wife wants to go to the land without informing me, so I beat her. She has never gone anywhere afterwards...If a husband tolerates everything, the women are spoiled; a husband should beat his wife a few times in a week, man and a woman are not equal yet... we do not permit woman to work because women are weak, in fact we give more rights to women; according to our traditions, a woman does not have the right to work..."

Another source of the quarrel between the spouses is husband's personal expenses for his cigarette, alcohol or café house. Although the rate of these kinds of expenses are quite low, 15.0 percent in Istanbul and 4.0 percent in Gaziantep, it affects the household budget. Moreover, these expenses show the unequal sharing of the income among the household members.

On the other hand, 34 year-old worker who works in a weaving workshop, Kurd, Sunni, primary school educated, in Gaziantep explains why smoking is common among the weaving workers;

“Habit of smoking is widespread in this job, because we are very sleepy especially in the night shifts; smoking drives away our sleepy state...”

And another urban poor who works as a construction worker, 28-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, primary school leaving, in Istanbul says;

“When I am working, I do not need to smoke, but, when I am unemployed, I smoke due to stress...”

Additionally, another urban poor, 28-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, tells;

“I have to wait for a job in the workers' café house and while I am waiting I spend money on tea...”

Shortly, it can be said that, economic deprivation destroys the urban poor's not only family relations but also their psychology.

As it was stated while analyzing the demographic data, the average age of the urban poor is quite young. Therefore, the attitude of having more children is expected from them. One of the main reasons for this attitude is that most of the spouses use traditional contraceptive methods instead of benefiting from medical ways. Another important reason is wanting to have more sons especially as economic insurance for their future. On the other hand, 23.0 percent of the women in Istanbul and 30.0 percent of the women in Gaziantep

say that they do not use any medical contraceptive methods, on the other hand, 60.0 prefer traditional methods in both of the cities. Furthermore, again in the same number, 80.0 percent of them mention that they had a child soon after they got married. In other words, they do not any plans about whether they have a child or not. This aspect may be one of the main dilemmas, which keeps on poverty. Their attitudes about having a child are more emotional rather than logical. Another important aspect of their attitudes towards having more children may be their living conditions; even tough at the beginning seems to be dilemma. Losing children while women are pregnant or during the birth is too high. One of the main reasons of these is that most of the women are not able to benefit from health services. For example, the rate of giving birth in the houses is 66.0 percent for the first children in Istanbul and 73.0 percent of the first children in Gaziantep, and the rates for the following two children are not quite different. When the negative living conditions are considered as well, baby death is mostly seen due to not being able to reach health services. Therefore, most of the family takes into consideration the high risks of losing their children, as a result their tendencies are most of the time to have more children. On the other hand, another and may be the most important reason of the tendency of having more children is that the households want to have 'son' rather than girl. This proverb summarizes the common ideas of the urban poor about their gender preferences "A woman who gives birth a boy should be proud, but one who gives birth to a girl should beat herself out of shame." 60.0 percent of the households in Istanbul and 81.0 percent of the households in Gaziantep respond that they prefer to have son. One of the main reasons of preferring son is, undoubtedly, that sons are seen as an economic insurance and the other important reason is that having son is a source of 'proud' for parents. However, girls who are married at early ages are called 'stranger' and they 'belong to' another family. Therefore, they are not able to benefit from educational opportunities, getting a job or inheritance. Sons are more privileged in this respect, and girls are almost totally ignored.

As a 41-year-old primary school graduated man, Kurd, Sunni, in Gaziantep says;

“Girls are like a melon, they rapidly smell, they should immediately get married; but boys work with me, they deserve the inheritance.”

Furthermore, the explanations of a 24-year-old girl, Kurd, Sunni, primary school educated, living in Gaziantep clarify not only girls’ exclusion from educational opportunities, but also their disempowerment through the strict traditional values;

“Girls are not sent to school after they learn to read and write, I am luck, I finished primary school; economic difficulties also do not permit to go to school. Girls do not mean anything; they are considered as ‘goods’, if girls go to grocery or bazaar alone they are dishonored. Girls’ duties are only to serve and they are not allowed to speak. We do not know anywhere except for the hospital. I am 24 year old, however I feel myself 100 years old; as if I had experienced lots of bad things, I do not feel like anything to do; girls are not able to get inheritance, it is shameful... I would like to be educated, I would like to have a house with balcony, to have a car, I would like to work as a nurse, I would like to wear trousers...if we demand all of these, they say ‘you go of your head’; they suppress us, thus, we know our conditions and behave as to them, I am more than 20, so, I will marry as a fellow wife or I will marry a man whose wife died; the families want little girls as brides because they think that they can suppress them more easily...”

Furthermore, if women always give birth to a girl, their husband can marry another woman; most of the women also fear having a fellow wife and they feel that they have to give birth until they have at least two boys.

A woman 38 year-old, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, in Gaziantep says;

“According to our customs, if a woman cannot give birth to a boy, her husband can marry again...”

And another woman’s expression, 54-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep points out that although the main reason to have son is economic, customs are also influential;

“I gave birth to nine girls to have sons. If I have a house in the future, I will try to have a son again, even if a man is billionaire, he also wants to have sons... A woman can give birth to ten sons everyday if she can do. People fell sad thinking ‘why do the others have sons, but I do not have?’ ”

On the other hand, even if the number is a few, some women do not want to have girls who will suffer like them and who will have to live at an inferior status not only in the family life but also all of the areas of life.

A young woman, 26-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep in Istanbul says;

“Women suffer greatly throughout their lives; I never want to have a girl; she will not be disgraced as me...”

In fact, the hierarchy between husband and wife also exists between especially father and children. More than 80.0 percent of parents, in both of the cities give negative response to the question of “Do you have any differences of opinion between you and your children?” even almost all of the parents react to it as a ‘strange’ question. This man’s expression tells the reaction, 44-year-old, literate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul;

”Is it possible to have disagreement between me and my children? if we would have different opinions, why were they born? It is impossible!”

Moreover, in a similar way, this expression also clarifies the general opinion of the parents “Our children cannot speak” as a father says. On the other hand, it has to be emphasized that, the meaning of ‘disagreement’ between the children and parents are almost totally different from what we mean.

In fact, although parents ignore, there are differences in opinions. As it was stated before, the young generation also has to work since the early ages, thus, they also have to leave school even without finishing primary school. Besides these aspects, they mostly work in small workshops near their neighbourhoods. Therefore, there is almost no communication with the ‘city’

life and with their ‘other’ peer groups, thus their reference groups, role models and attitudes are shaped in these restricted surroundings. When under these circumstances, their being under strict control by their families is added, it is almost impossible for the children to develop independent and individualized personality.

A man, 56-year-old, literate, Turk, Alevi, tells their attitudes towards his children;

“I do not indulge my feelings for the children, if I do so, they get out of hand...”

Or ‘hidden’ suppress towards children is expressed by a man who is a porter, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep;

“There is not any dispute in the house; the children never go outside; even if I give permission they do not go anywhere, we always have same ideas, we understand each other...”

Furthermore, they have to deal with the economic problems, father’s bad attitudes towards their mother etc. Some of the parents who answer this question as ‘yes’ explain the serious social and economic problems as a ‘disagreement’ between their children and themselves. For example, these expressions which are perceived as ‘disagreements’ by the parents show what kind of economic, social and psychological burdensome the children take on instead of having ordinary ‘disagreement’.

A construction worker, 44 year-old man, Turk, Alevi, primary school educated, living in Istanbul, says;

“Children want to be educated, they do not want to live in this house, they ask us ‘why we do not have our own house, why do we have to live in rent; why were we born as poor; if you cannot take care of us, why did you give birth to us...”

And a woman, 37-year-old, literate, Turk, Alevi, living in Istanbul, explains their children's complaints about their fathers;

“When my husband takes alcohol, and smokes cigarette, my children are so sorry but they cannot say anything... They want to get money from their wages, but I have to manage the house, when I cannot give them pocket money and my husband beats me, they get angry...”

Moreover, girls want to change their ways of life but they cannot get permission from their parents, a woman tells their daughters' demands as a disagreement;

“Our daughters want to work, they also want to go school, but we do not give permission...”

School achievements of the children are also quite related issue to the socio-economic level of the families. Most of the parents define their children as ‘normal’, ‘incompetent’, ‘retarded’, and ‘unenthusiastic’ while they explain the school achievements of their children. Approximately half of the households respond that they are satisfied with their children's school achievements. On the other hand, the households who are not satisfied with their children's school achievements base their children's ‘failure’ on children's incapability with the rate of 60.0 percent, in both of the cities. . However, when this data are elaborated, the parent's educational level and their expectations from education have to be considered. Most of the parents' communication with the school is too weak or none, thus, their opinion about their children's school achievements are mostly shaped by the children's explanations. They cannot help their children with their home works. Also they perceive school achievement as being able to read and write. Although the parents mention the economic difficulties, with the rate of 19.0 percent, as a reason of reducing children's school achievements, they mostly emphasize their children's ‘incapability’ or they define their children as ‘retarded’.

On the other hand, a woman, 29-year-old, illiterate, Kurd, Alevi, living in Istanbul, explains the reasons of children's school failure as;

"My son is not able to easily understand, but the teacher also does not like us, because we are not able to give money to the teacher."

On the other hand, some of the parents are also aware of the difficulties causing school failure.

A man, 34-year-old, illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says;

"Our children are neither enthusiastic nor we have proper conditions at home: we have just come back from cotton land and they have only attended to school for one week, one of the my sons attended first grade for two years."

Moreover a woman tells how she encourages her child to go to school.

"...I have only one son, thus, we showed extra care for him than the girls; he was unable to bear up difficulties, therefore, he did not want to go to school. The teacher said to my daughter that she is fat, she did not want to go to school for this reason, I have been beating her for a week to go to school but she does not want."

It is undoubted that, economic difficulties are the main handicap which prevents the children from going to school, but parents also have to be conscious that children who are not successful at school should not be labeled as 'retarded' or 'incompetent' and also they should not be classified as 'normal' or 'abnormal'. These factors are crucial to shape the children's self-perception and self-esteem, thus, the children not also lose the desire for going to school but also they are discouraged to do anything. These kinds of experiences reinforce the children's feelings of worthlessness and it also reinforces the cycle of poverty. Therefore, in case the urban poor are not able to reach some opportunities, state's institutions have to reach them to prevent the young generations from reproducing poverty. For example, if the parents

cannot communicate with school, school administrations can try to contact with the parents for not only to inform about the children's school achievements but also to make the parents conscious. Otherwise, the urban poor continue to live in their 'isolated' areas. In this context, another crucial point is that poor students should be supported by the school administrations. However, most of the households complain that they cannot benefit from school aids. According to the urban poor's argument, while the school administrations distribute the government's aids, they consider their own relatives or acquaintances; in other words, clientalism is also playing a main factor even in these circumstances.

27- year-old woman, literate, Turk, Sunni, in Istanbul argues that;

"My daughter is given a coat, boots and writing materials in the school, but after the men who helped the school left, the director collected all of the materials from the students, my daughter came home crying. The school director has also a stationary shop, he sells the materials which are donated to the school..."

Such arguments have to be checked and if they are right, the ways of aids which are organized by the government or other private organizations should be changed, because the similar complains are also expressed about the distribution of aids by the muhtars of the neighbourhoods. The main problem, in this respect, is that these clientalistic or preferential factors effecting the distribution of resources can prevent the 'real' poor from benefiting from these aids.

5.8. Social Life of the Urban Poor

When the urban poor's lives are considered thinking the working conditions, social status of women and the young poor's school life and so on, they develop some attitudes and have some opinions towards all of the areas of life. Similar to creating different survival strategies due to the economic difficulties, they also create some defense mechanisms to commit crimes. On

the other hand, it has to be pointed out that, being poor cannot be compared with having tendency to commit crimes at least in the framework of this study. In this context, they are asked, “Why do people show tendencies to commit crimes?” The responses of this question are reactions of their problems which change from personal to their reactions to the political issues. 95.0 percent of the urban poor respond this question, in both of the cities, that people can have a tendency to commit crimes due to lack of money, being unemployed and being hungry.

An urban poor 30-year-old man, Kurd, Alevi, primary school educated, is Istanbul says;

“Donor leave a person hungry or you will turn him into a thief”.

The rate of people accepting this opinion as ‘right’ is 73.0 percent, in both of the cities. On the other hand, 19.5 percent of the urban poor say that, even if people are hungry, they do not have right to steal. Moreover, the risky opinion is with same rate that if people are left hungry, s/he is right not only to steal but also to kill somebody else. In this respect, it has to be emphasized that, most of the urban poor imply unjust treatment especially in the working life.

A 42 year-old man, Kurd, Alevi, living in Istanbul, says;

“There is oppression, the state disgraces the citizens, my daughter had worked for two months, but her employer did not give the wages; if I see him, I will either kill him or kill myself...”

According to most of the urban poor, the state is the main responsible organ for poverty and they say, “If a person has to stay hungry, the political system is guilty.

As a man, 27 year-old, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says;

“Nobody commits crime for no reason at all, either s/he is hungry, ill or homeless; people who are helpless, poor or depressed commit crimes, all

the time, poor commit crimes; if a person is distressed, s/he is overwhelmed by her troubles.”

The urban poor think that one of the main reasons for their poor living conditions is injustice in all the areas of life.

A 60 year-old urban poor, Turk, Sunni, literate, living in Istanbul, says;

“The source of the difficulties is the state. The poor people either commit suicide or steal, poverty infuriate people...”

Another urban poor, 29 year-old, Kurd, Sunni, living in İstanbul, also tells their helplessness;

“We are losers in Istanbul, we cannot find a job; we are constricted between city and village, we do not have anything to go back to our villages. I either will kill somebody or will be a thief...Ignorant people give birth to lots of children, abandoned children fill up the streets and they use thinner, the state should save them...”

Furthermore, a woman, 35 year-old illiterate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, mentions some political problems while explaining the reasons of crimes in the society;

“...Somebody asked me ‘why do you have ten children?’ We are unaware of the happenings around ourselves, we have become ignorant; we are like birds in a cage. Turkey is going to be in trouble with these reasons; afterwards, we kill each other in mountains; Discrimination and divisiveness are carried out by the state; there is not even one person who is a high school graduate in Eleşkirt, there is not a secondary school in our village; all of the poor and helpless people come from South-eastern Anatolia; I wish I was educated, I am also a citizen in this country, I do not come from Russia... Of course, there are depressed people and they can kill each other; the state does not give importance to us as it gives to a dog...”

In this context, 15.0 percent of the households in Istanbul and 24.0 percent of the households in Gaziantep indicate that political discrimination, unequal treatments and differences of opinion encourage people to commit crimes.

Similarly a 24 year-old man, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says;

“Only a few people voluntary participate in PKK; they join because they want to live in more comfortable conditions, nobody kills somebody else or becomes a thief to enjoy himself; all the badness and wrong actions result from poverty; The best people in the world are the poor people and the worst ones also again the poor people...”

On the contrary, one of the crucial reasons which prevents urban poor from commit crimes is the feeling of ‘Thank God’. The feeling of Thank God also prevents the appearance of some social problems.

A 35 year-old man, Kurd, Sunni, in Istanbul says;

“God gives everyone a certain wealth, perhaps I deserve this much, we should thank God, I have never thought ‘this man is too rich and I am not rich...”

In this context, religious beliefs play important role and although they have to live in too harsh conditions, some of the urban poor deal with the issue of committing crimes from an ethical point of view. Moreover, another important reason of the feeling of Thank God is perception of themselves and their conditions among the urban poor. They are too far from the city life not only physically but also socio-culturally. This factor also affects the feelings of deprivation and the urban poor who live without benefiting from the city opportunities. The relative deprivation is low. They are not aware of the opportunities that they cannot make use of.

On the other hand, 17.0 percent of the households in Istanbul and 25.0 percent of the households in Gaziantep respond that people can commit crimes due to being uneducated, being ignorant; educated people are more conscious, and

they do not commit crimes, educated people are intellectual; on the other hand, uneducated people are oppressed; s/he cannot eat what s/he wants to that is to say, s/he is encouraged to commit crime; perhaps s/he wants to satisfy her/his deficiencies in this way. Furthermore, although only with the rate of 8.0 percent in Istanbul and 4.0 percent in Gaziantep, some of the urban poor also show the personal defects as a reason of committing crimes.

The impacts of the poverty also reveal itself in the social life of the urban poor. One of the significant impacts of poverty on the social life demonstrates itself in the selection of the neighbourhood that they live now, which is the neighbourhood their relatives settled down before, with the rate of 88.0 percent in Istanbul and 88.0 percent in Gaziantep. 92.5 percent of the families, with the nearly same number in both of the cities, most often communicate with their relatives or co-villagers. Thus, the population not only close themselves in the city but they also live as a sub-group in their neighbourhoods. After the kinship criteria, religious sect is the second tie. 34.0 percent of people in Istanbul and 16.0 percent of the people in Gaziantep firstly prefer to communicate with the people from their own religious sect. This data shows parallel structures with Runciman's thesis about relative deprivation and reference group. As Runciman points out "The related notions of 'relative deprivation' and reference group both derive from a familiar truism that people's attitudes, aspirations and grievance largely depend on the frame of reference with which they are conceived..." (Runciman, 1979, p.299). One of the considerable indicators to prove urban poor's relative deprivation is the data which evaluates the socio-cultural expectations of the urban poor from the city life. According to this data, only 3.0 percent of the urban poor mention that they cannot participate in social activities in city life, in both of the cities. . Moreover, when they are asked whether they send their children to a course or not, Alevi people mention only the saz (musical instrument) courses or Sunni people mention only the Kuran course as they have no idea about other courses. 1.5 percent of the households send their children to a social activity, such as saz course or folk dances.

Due to economic difficulties, urban poor create different survival strategies. One of the main survival strategies is based on having strong ties among the household members, relatives, co-villagers and belonging to same ethnic origin or religious sect. For example, while the rate of benefit, such as food or coal, from any state institutions are 16.0 percent in Istanbul and 9.0 percent in Gaziantep, family and relative reciprocal aids are 73.0 percent, in both of the cities. Therefore, the urban poor prefer to dwell in the same neighbourhoods with their relatives and fellows. In a similar way, another reason for the selection of the neighbourhood that they live now is the cheapness of the neighbourhood with the rate of 76.0 percent, in both of the cities. The data which evaluates the urban poor's social life and opportunities of the city life also show the urban poor's 'isolated' life from the city's opportunities. Majority of the urban poor respond to the question of 'what are you doing in your spare time?' that they spend their time with their relatives with the rate of 94.0 percent and with their neighbors with the rate of 53.5 percent. In other words, while most of the men spend their spare time in the cafe houses, the women spend their spare time with the neighbors. Moreover, most of the urban poor tell that they have never seen anywhere in the city where they live and 39.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 28.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep, tell that they have never gone anywhere in the city except for the hospital. On the other hand, 16.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 40.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep say that they have seen different parts of the city, but, the last rate mostly concerns the men, and for the men, the reason for seeing the city is working in the construction sector or peddling in the streets. In other words, the reason to see the different part of the city is to have to work. As the data shows, the urban poor do not have any connections to city life, except for the men working in the informal sector. Furthermore, small workshops are becoming to be prevalent in the poor neighbourhoods, thus, most of the time the urban poor, live in their neighbourhoods without leaving their neighbourhoods. Undoubtedly, 'city life' is fairly different from 'seeing' any city physically. All of the urban poor are unaware of or cannot reach the city's social and cultural opportunities to develop themselves. The newspaper reader rate is also related to their 'isolated' life from the city; 89.5 percent of the urban poor, in both of the cities, state that they do not buy daily newspaper

and again with the same rate they point out the economic difficulties as a reason for this. On the other hand, among the urban poor, 32.0 percent of them, with the the nearly same number both of the cities, express that they do not have any idea “what a newspaper is.”

A woman who lives in Istanbul, 38 years old, illiterate, Kurd, Alevi, says;

“No! Absolutely not; we do not like newspaper, God forbid! We are afraid of buying it; we would be imprisoned; neither our children nor our youth like newspaper...”

Furthermore, the reasons for visiting the other city are not different from the reasons for visiting the other parts of the city, which they live now. 19.0 percent of the households in Istanbul and 48.0 percent of the households in Gaziantep, declare that, they visit another city and within this group, 87.0 percent of them, in both of the cities, visited another city because of looking for a job or working in a seasonal job; and another reason for leaving their neighbourhoods which they live in now is to visit their hometown. Additionally, 86.7 percent of the urban poor who go to another city to work shelter in tents, and the urban poor who work in the construction sector shelter in constructions. These data show that, although the urban poor migrate to find a job, the city, which they live in now, cannot provide sufficient working opportunities, thus they have to go another city as a seasonal workers. This issue is also significant as to be the topic of another research.

Another important data gained is the crime rate. 31.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 60.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep, respond as ‘yes’ when they are asked whether they have any person to commit crime in their households. Although kinds of crimes show diversity, majority of the reasons of crimes either directly arise from poverty or political reasons. 28.8 percent of the urban poor, with the nearly same number in both of the cities, committed a crime for political reasons. Most of the Kurdish people think that they are not able to speak freely their mother language; they are not able to state their own

opinions and they are not able to benefit from state services. A 31-year-old, secondary school graduate manKurd, Sunni, says;

“Don’t you dare! Do not say ‘I am Kurdish’, or you will be ignored. Our children are discriminated in schools; when we say ‘we come from Ağrı’ we cannot rent houses...we can not defend our own rights, everything is restricted and prohibited, I want to protest increasing prices, I want to cry out that ‘I am unemployed; I do not participate in any demonstrations...”

Moreover, a 24-year-old manKurd, Sunni, Primary school leaving, in Istanbul, also explains why he was punished as a ‘terrorist’;

“Lost of factories have been settled in Istanbul, but nobody can see even one factory in Diyarbakır, if a factory had been settled there, we would not have migrated Istanbul; or if we had been left free by the state, we would have been engaged with agriculture in our villages; the state says that ‘terror emerges’, what can we do? if you put a cat in a room, it certainly attacks somebody, terror also emerges due to the same reason, our villages were evacuated by the state; if people have difficulties they can do everything, they will be tired of life, we will either die or will do something to survive...”

Similar to this case, a 27-year-old manKurd, Sunni, Primary school educated, living in Istanbul, also tells why he is punished by the state;

“I was arrested to aid PKK; I do not perceive the people who are called terrorist as terrorist, they are either my brothers or my cousins, when we gave them bread or foodstuff, military police arrested and tortured us, and because of this reason our villages were evacuated.”

Another crucial reason to commit crime is the disagreements between employers and workers. As it was mentioned before, almost all of the urban poor have to work in the unregistered sectors; thus, they are ‘unprotected’ towards the arbitrary working conditions. Therefore, they are not able to claim their rights through legal ways.

A young textile worker 37-year-old Turk, Sunni, Primary school educated, living in Istanbul, says;

“We could not get our wages, so, we beat our employers, we took the textile machines, and we were kept in a police station one night.”

Similarly, expressions of a construction worker, 43-year-old, literate, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, clarify not only types of crime but also the working conditions of the unregistered sectors and the ways of overcoming unjust working conditions;

“We gave up the construction due to not taking our wages, so, our employer made a complaint to the police. We were beaten in the police station and we had been imprisoned for three days. After the beating, none of the workers dared to insist on their rights...”

Furthermore, street peddling is considered illegal, thus, there is a tag between policeman and street peddlers. So, street peddlers’ goods which are their only capital to survive are destroyed or taken away. Parallel to this issue, activities of establishing associations or trade unions are also prevented by the employers and workers come across police’ interventions.

A worker, 39-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, who works in the transportation sector tells the difficulties they meet, which they go through during the establishment of a trade union in their working place;

“we had struggle to became organized for eight months, we met pressure of the employer and police in this period; we were put in jail...”

Except for these three main reasons, other reasons mostly include ordinary crimes. For example, drug smuggling, thieving, counterfeit cheque, weapon smuggling, and manslaughter can be counted as ordinary crimes.

When the types of crimes are considered, although ordinary ones are very few, this data shows that, social unrest displays itself in different ways. Although

the family solidarity, limited awareness of the educational, economic and social opportunities of the cities, the feelings of “Thanks God” and believing in hymn justice after death direct the urban poor’s attitudes, almost half of the sample population committed crime in the past. In other words, the urban poor are not happy. Additionally, while violence in the families especially towards the women is considered, this is also a display of social unrest and a kind of inside explosion, but not social explosion. As it was mentioned before, most of the head of the households are depressed or have psychological problems and they mostly show these depressive situations towards the household members. Undoubtedly, one of the main reasons of the restlessness in the households is an economic problem and it shows itself as violence among the household members.

Besides the urban poor’s unawareness of the city life and its opportunities, they also cannot participate in any associations or trade unions and can not take part in any decision mechanisms. In other words, they cannot use their citizenship rights. Rate of the membership in an association or in a trade union is 4.0 percent in Istanbul and 6.0 percent in Gaziantep. This rate includes membership of village associations or trade unions. One of the main functions of village associations is economic solidarity and social and psychological support. Therefore, membership of any village association represents the closure of community rather than participating in city life or any non-governmental organizations. Moreover this kind of associations reinforce clientalism, nepotism and kinship based relationships among the urban poor. On the other hand, when the urban poor’s working conditions are taken into account, almost all of the urban poor have to work in the unregistered sector and without any insurance. Therefore, the rate of the membership of trade unions can hardly be seen among the urban poor. Although the workers are aware of the advantages of belonging to a trade union, these kinds of efforts are obstructed by the employers. Additionally, casualization and permanent status of the workers also prevent unification of the workers.

A 37-year-old worker, who is working in the textile sector, Turk, Sunni, Primary school educated, in Gaziantep expresses their struggle to obtain their rights and to come together under a trade union.

“... Workers are sometimes employed for two hours, half a day or two weeks free of charges; employers say “if a worker leaves the job, I will employ you”, workers are compelled to work...; state is also aware of illegal working and child labor; if you go to Ünalı, a neighbourhood in Gaziantep, you will see the working children who are 10-12 years old; workers even do not know the wage of working overtime, even if they know, they are not able to get it; we are working per piece, when the machines stop, we are not able to get any money. We have been petitioning the Ministry Of Labor And Social Security Republic Of Turkey to solve the problem that we are illegally employed but the inspectors come after six or seven months and they send us a letter saying that they can not find us there; anyway we worked there for three or four months without insurance, when we demanded insurance, the employers threw us away, within this time we began to work at another job...Under these circumstances, we came ten or fifteen weaving workers, together in 1993, we came to understand something about labor law; we read the documents about this issue and we develop ourselves; we were working hard but we could not get any money; we invited the workers to cafe houses, we held meetings; there were 300 workers at our last meeting, the police put pressure on us; we stopped working for two days; we were imprisoned, we were called ‘terrorist; there was no institution or trade union to support us; our aim; was to work eight hours a day and to have insurance; we bought and read newspapers in our association we organized seminars, we supported each other. We did an investigation among the weaving workers in 1995...there were about 3100 weaving workbenches and over fifteen hundred workers and 1040 of them had insurance, but employers did not exactly pay these insurance; we examined the history of weaving, there were no workers who could retire in this sector...in 1996, we attempted to establish trade union, we negotiated with the textile-work trade union connected to TURK-İŞ; 200 workers became member of this trade union as a result of our struggle, but the employer gave bribe to the directors of the trade unionists and, they destroyed our association, police put pressure on our association as well; our association was locked and it has never been opened again. Administrators of the association were fired and no employer employed us again. I had to move to Batman to find a job with

my family, and two years later we came back to Gaziantep. Head of the association became a refugee in Germany; another friend of us left this job and opened a grocery... Now, we cannot find a job in Ünalı, these jobs are our last jobs, if we thrown out, nobody will employ us; we either have to move to Istanbul or leave this job...we were thrown out in 1998, we have been labeled in this sector.”

In this context, it is obviously stated that, almost all of the urban poor have to work in the unregistered sector and all their attempts to obtain their rights are obstructed by the employers and these conditions are strengthened by the law. Without considering these conditions, to explain why the urban poor prefer the traditional relations to survive is completely misleading.

As it was mentioned before, traditional values play a critical role from selection of residential areas to the working areas. Furthermore, same traditional values play also an important role in urban poor’s attitudes towards the institutional aids. Only 16.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 9.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep, state that they have got aid from an institution. On the other hand, one of the main reasons with the rate of 47.5 percent, in both of the cities, which prevent them from demanding aid is their opinion about injustice distribution of these aids. In this respect, they explain that “muhtar, municipality or head official of a neighbourhood gives priority to their own acquaintanceships or kinship relations while distributing the aids. In other words, the urban poor do not believe in the existence of justice in these institutions. This statement exposes not only lack of confidence of the urban poor’s to the state institution, but also exposes the impact of forced-migration, a 53-year-old literate urban poor who migrated from Şırnak, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says;

“...the state does not help us, it means there are no rights, so we had to leave our villages...”

Another main reason for preventing the urban poor from reaching the aids is that they cannot obtain information about the place that they can get help, with the rate of 40.0 percent in Istanbul and 25.0 percent in Gaziantep. This

statement also explains not only difficulties of attaining information about from where to get aid but also kinship or fellowship-based protection.

A 28-year-old woman, Turk, Sunni, illiterate, living in Istanbul, says;

“...we do not know from where to get the aid. Everybody helps their own community...”

Moreover, the lack of confidence to the state institutions among the urban poor also prevent searching the aid mechanisms to demand aid. Avoiding gossip is another reason of demand no aid among the urban poor as well, with the rate of 11.8 percent in the same number in both of the cities.

An urban poor, 47-year-old, Turk, Alevi, in Istanbul says;

“If you go to the village association in the city, this news spreads and even my villagers in my hometown heard it. There may be over gossip. People may say, ‘There came to the city and were left hungry. Everybody has pride.’”

Besides these statements, a small number of urban poor do not want to get any aid as 32-year-old; construction worker, Kurd, Sunni, literate, living in Gaziantep, tells;

“I do not want to be included in the poor people category. There are people who belong to lower categories. There are people who cannot work or who are disabled. I am well and strong, if I can not find a job with daily wage, I carry briquette, gravel and also I can work as a porter...”

Furthermore, another group of people either register the identity cards of their children to their relatives, who have a job involving insurance or they wait to demand aid until they get officially married and take children’s identity cards. On the other hand, during the distribution of aids, type of distribution plays a significant role.

A 28-year-old woman, Turk, Alevi, literate, living in Istanbul, says;

“While Gazi Osman Paşa municipality was distributing aids, cameras were recording; as if I was stealing, it hurts my feelings...”

Undoubtedly, the urban poor who have to work in the unregistered sector are desperately in need of social security system to benefit from health services. Although almost all of the urban poor live in residential areas which threaten their health and work in unhealthy workshops which include high risk of work accidents. They have no hope of benefiting from health services. 22.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 27.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep, state that they are not able to benefit from any health services when they get sick; 18.0 percent of them benefit from the health centers. Furthermore, only 19.0 percent of them in Istanbul and 15.0 percent of them in Gaziantep have green card; they state that, although they are examined free of charge, they are not able to get their drugs free of charge by the green card. Therefore, the urban poor have to turn towards traditional ways to treat themselves. Main traditional treatment ways are using their neighbor's medicine, having an injection by anyone or having their teeth pulled by anyone in the neighbourhood free of charge or for a small amount of money. Moreover, being excluded from social security system reinforces the urban poor's vulnerability as well. The urban poor who have had house or another valuable items such as furniture, carpet or jewelry states that they had to sell them due to the expenses of important illness' treatments or medical operations. Even this case also demonstrates the significance of social security system.

As it was mentioned before, the urban poor have to live in quite close environments. Therefore, one of the most important channels of the urban poor to connect with the 'outside' from their isolated areas is television. 83.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 74.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep, express that they are watching television. The most popular programmes among the urban poor are magazines, Turkish films and soap operas. According to their statement, one of the main reasons of watching these kinds of programs is that these programs present the real aspects of life.

Additionally, they also prefer watching the films whose subjects are sadness and suffering. As a young woman says, “my life is full of pain, thus, I like sad films, and I watch orphan children and homeless.” Correspondingly, another favorite program among the urban poor is programs helping poor people. Furthermore, news and discussion programs are also mostly watched by the urban poor with the rate of 62.0 percent with the nearly same number in both of the cities. In other words, they do not lack the interest in the events happening in their surroundings and the world. On the other hand, most of the urban poor are disturbed by the advertisements on television. According to them, children are affected from advertisements and they demand what they see in these programs, thus, parents find themselves in a difficult situation. Therefore, almost all of the parents state that advertisements on television should be banned in the poor neighbourhoods.”

5.9. Values and Attitudes of the Urban Poor

When the urban poor’ values, customs, life styles, attitudes towards the people who belong to different ethnic origin or religious sect, their viewpoints about gender issue are investigated, their isolated life from the city’s opportunities appears as an important factor again. In other words, they keep on their traditional values, customs and attitudes. As it was stated before, belonging to same ethnic or religious sect origin or being co-villager become more important in the city life to survive.

Under these circumstances, their main reference group is their neighbors, relatives and co-villagers. Therefore, when they are asked whether they have any differences from the people living in their surrounding or not, all of the urban poor explain the differences indicating their neighbors and near surroundings, however almost none of the urban poor compare their life styles, customs, consumption habits, dressing or worship styles to other people who benefit from city’s opportunities.

According to the urban poor, the main difference is based on ethnic or religious sect origin decompositions. The urban poor state that the most

important diversity shows itself in their clothes with the rate of 75.0 percent in Istanbul and 65.0 percent in Gaziantep. In fact, this opinion is based on perception of themselves and the mission of their ethic or religious sects. For example, while the urban poor who belong to Alevi religious sect define themselves as “intellectual” as a distinct characteristics from the Sunni religious sect, and define the urban poor who belong to Sunni religious sect as ignorant and fundamentalist, the urban poor who belong to Sunni religious sect define themselves as religious, protecting their moral values, they define the urban poor who belong to Alevi religious sect as irreligious, immoral and dirty, These religious sects-based tensions rise especially in Ramadan among these two groups, thus, each group criticizes the other worship ceremonies and styles.

An Alevi woman, 24-year-old, Kurd, primary school educated, living in Gaziantep, says;

“...we do not lack harmony with our Sunni neighbors, but, when the Ramadan comes our greetings finish, they sat to us “why do not you fast”, when a person is hungry, s/he can not fulfill their responsibilities towards God. They perform ritual prayers (namaz), they claim that we do not take a bath. I do not discriminate between them and us, but they make discrimination. They perform the ritual prayers, but, they are evil-minded, they gamble, they steal the shoes from mosque. We give each other the cold shoulder; our religion is different from theirs. There are 5-6 Alevi families in my surrounding, we only see each other. If a Sunni neighbor visits us, other Alevi neighbors get angry, we are not interested in each other; when we meet, I also say their faults...”

Additionally, Alevi population describe the Sunnis as ‘fanatic’, a young Alevi woman, 33-year-old, Kurd, primary school educated, living in Istanbul, says;

“... Sunni people argue that Alevi people smell bad, so I said, ‘Smell me! Do I smell?’ They were amazed and said, “You do not look like an Alevi.” They also argue about extinguishing candles in Cemevi. They believe that when a candle is extinguished, Alevi people have sexual intercourse with each other. I said, “These kind of events do not occur in Cemevi.” were amazed, when our Sunni neighbor decided to buy a house in Düztepe,

everyone got frightened and said, “How will you live among Alevi people?” however, they settled down, everybody say ‘welcome’ to them, she was amazed and said ‘Alevi people are also like us.’ Sunni people suppose that Alevi people have tails, a Sunni woman said to me “Turn your back, I will see whether you have a tail or not... there are lots of fanatic people among the Sunni population...”

Another Alevi woman, Kurd, literate, also tells the tension with the Sunni neighbors;

“My neighbor is veiled, they fast, perform the namaz, but we don’t, we kill animals as a sacrifice; they control how we kill the animals, whether we pray. They say: “Alevi’s sacrifice cannot be eaten; they don’t take a bath”. They say: “To beat a drum is devilish, drum is devil, dancers are demon.” They don’t eat the meal that we present them saying, “Eating Alevi’s meal is sin.” But Sunnis think when we (Alevi) eat their meal, it is meritorious. My aunt had given the meat of a sacrificed animal, but her neighbor threw it away. Discrimination is very high in Düztepe. When we wear short-sleeved clothes, they look at us as if we are prostitute; their attitude towards us is too cold. We have different religious. They say. “Why don’t you perform namaz? is it ever possible to live without praying and fasting....”

On the other hand, another woman who belongs to Sunni sect, 17 year-old, secondary, school educated, Turk, Sunni, tells Alevi population’ perceptions about themselves:

“We are called ‘kara ninja’, ‘kara fatma’ by Alevi people. While we are talking, they stare at us. Nobody disturbs us in Sultançiftliği. They stare at us especially in Gazi Neighbourhood. I am more religious than the dwellers of this neighbourhood.”

Besides these differences in appearance, while Alevi population perceive themselves ‘open-minded’ and ‘intellectual’, they imply some negative attributes to the Sunni population such as, ‘fanatic’, ‘closed-minded’, ‘ignorant’ and ‘old-fashioned’. In this respect, Alevi population claim that while they esteem women and women can work outside, Sunnis do not allow

women to work outside and women have always had an inferior status, and they do not allow their daughter to attend school.

Undoubtedly, this tension reflects itself all their life. For example, a 22 year-old, primary school graduate, Alevi, Kurd, woman tells the difficulties in finding a house to rent;

“...The rate of discrimination is quite high in Düztepe, we do not discriminate the Sunnis but they make discrimination. If we wear short-sleeved clothes, they look at us as if we were prostitute. We drink alcohol in weddings, they call us ‘alcoholic’ and they say ‘you will burn in the hell’, we celebrate the New Year, and they say it is ‘sin’. House owners do not want to rent their houses to us; thinking that we are not veiled, thus, finding a house to rent becomes too difficult... I prefer that my daughter gets married to a man who belongs to our religion sect, we do not let our daughters marry people from other sect. I do not want neither a Sunni groom nor a Sunni bride.”

In this context, another life sphere in which discrimination is strongly felt is during the selection of spouses. Almost all of the spouses belong to same religious sect in the sample population. As it will be examined later, for the parents the first criteria to select their children’s spouses is that candidate spouse has to belong to the same religious sect.

In addition to the religious sect tension, a few urban poor mention eating habits, ceremonies, languages and music as differences. On the other hand, when the urban poor are asked the differences from their surroundings, they assert that ‘rich people dress well’ with the rate of 5.5 percent. This percent also once more shows that the urban poor’s contact with the ‘rich’ people is too weak. All of their references from religious sect to eating habits are again the poor people. Moreover, the urban poor compare themselves with the ‘relatively’ well-off neighbors. In other words, this data verify that the urban poor have to live in a strict closed-environment. Accordingly, when they are asked whether they have a conflict with their family members about life style, clothing or types of worship, 3.0 percent of the households respond as ‘yes’.

This percentage mostly includes the conflicts between the parents and children. As it was mentioned before, when the education level, working conditions, customs, values or life styles are considered, there are almost no differences between parents and their children. A woman's statement, 43 year-old, illiterate, Turki Sunni, living in Istanbul, summarizes the below explanation, "my son is flirting with an Alevi girl, I want him turn back to our sect." Furthermore, even if there is conflict between the parents and children, the source of conflict is mostly based on economic necessities.

A construction worker, 39 year-old, Turk, Sunni, literate, living in Istanbul says;

"children wants whatever they see on television, even though our surrounding has same economic level, television is another world, they want a better house..."

As stated before, young generation's education level is not different from their parents. One of the reflections of this feature of the young generations is that they have almost no opportunities to train themselves except for school education. When the urban poor are asked whether they want to send their children to any course or social activity, although 51.0 percent respond positively in Istanbul and 59.0 percent in Gazinatep, only 1.5 percent of the urban poor state that they are able to send their children to a course, in both of the cities. Furthermore, when they are asked: "Are you considering any differences between your daughter and son while sending them to any course? in other words, do you think that sons are the most privileged status? While 34.0 percent of the urban poor respond to this question 'yes', 23.5 percent of them respond 'no', in both of the cities.. Undoubtedly, these kinds of values deeply affect women's future life. Although, families' economic sources are too limited and poor household's sons are not able to benefit from education opportunities, acute inequality against daughters cannot be ignored. The same issue is valid in preferences of the parents about "appropriate" occupations for each gender. It is not wrong to claim that there is a strict point of view about occupational division of labor, which is based on gender among the parents. In

this context, according to the parents, the most appropriate jobs for their daughters are the jobs, which mostly serve to women rather than men. For example, 30.5 percent of the parents in Istanbul and 46.0 percent of the parents in Gaziantep, argue that midwifery, nursing or teaching are the most appropriate jobs for women with the rate of 12.5. On the other hand, a considerable number of parents state that women neither should attend to school nor work, with the rate of 29.5 percent, in both of the cities. In fact, one of the main reasons to obstruct education and working of women is to prevent their being together with ‘other’ men on the one hand. Another main reason is that to educate women means for the households is ‘waste of money’, because daughters get married at very early ages and they become ‘foreigner’ or other families’ asset on the other hand. Moreover, sons are always perceived as ‘economic guarantee’ for families’ future, thus, the investment which is made on son is not ‘waste of money.’ On the other hand, being a lawyer, doctor, engineer, police is the most appropriate occupations for the son, according to the parents with the rate of 36.5. Parents’ join preferences reflect the social value of women in our society once more. 18.5 of the parents state that, either women are weak to engage in some kind of jobs or people ignore women in some kind of jobs. Moreover, according to these parents, men are able to engage in some ‘hard’ jobs but women are not able due to their innate features. Only 7.0 percent of the parents believe that women can work as lawyer, doctor or engineer, in both of the cities. On the other hand, the main reason to wish their children to be a doctor or lawyer is urban poor’s most vulnerable matters. They are not able to benefit from health services and if they do, they are exposed to injustice treatments they are not able to defend themselves against employers. Therefore, to lead to a more comfortable life in the future, these are the most crucial expectations of the parents from their children. Furthermore, another main reason for favoring these occupations is to serve all of the poor or vulnerable, unjustly treated people.

For example, a weaving worker, 33 year-old, Kurd, Sunni, in Gaziantep says;

“I wish my son become a lawyer, because a lawyer defends human rights and defends the poor people’s rights as well.”

Or another man, a construction worker, 47 year-old, Kurd, Alevi, in Istanbul tells why he wishes his son to be a doctor;

“I wish my son becomes a doctor to examine the poor people free of charge, state does not help poor people, thus, our children may help them.”

I have to be emphasized in this context that, this rate implies only the “wishes” of the parents rather than their real plan for their sons’ future. In other words, these opinions explain the urban poor’s “social values” about gender issue, because most of the parents state that even if we wish, we know it is almost impossible. Accordingly, 42.5 percent of the families state that the most appropriate occupations are clean occupations having social security and being an officer. It is stated that in the section of the working conditions, almost all of the urban poor have very hard working conditions, thus their one of the crucial wishes is that their children can find a “clean” jobs; that is why the parents prefer these kinds of jobs with the rate of 65.0 percent.

These data expose, at the same time, how cycle of deprivation mechanism runs considering the parallel features between the parent’s and children’s life conditions or difficulty in having an access to opportunities to benefit from educational institutions or to train themselves in other mechanisms. In other words, today’s urban poor’s life stories shed light on our prevision about the future’s urban poor. Considering accessibility of educational opportunities, the same life stories reproduce themselves. Hopelessness of the parents in the past about their future, and its causes, again puts forward the dynamics of poverty.

When the urban poor are asked which occupation they would choose and what their expectations from future are, 33.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 29.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep stated that they did not have any idea about education or occupation when they were children or young. This data also reflects the urban poor’s working and living conditions, as it was stated before. They have to work at very early ages; thus, they could not catch any opportunity to plan their future life.

This statement, 34 year-old urban poor, construction worker, Kurd, Sunni, literate, in Gaziantep summarizes the living conditions of the urban poor;

“I did not have chance to have any occupation when I was a child, I began to work in the cotton land since the very early ages, then, when I was 9 years old, I have been working in the construction sector...”

On the other hand, even though they that they do not have any idea what having an occupation means, they know that they do not have any opportunity to get it. In other words, when they were children, they realized their opportunities. As a young textile worker, 23 year-old, Turk, Sunni, primary school educated, says;

“I had never thought about which occupation I cloud choose, I had known that I would never get this kind of opportunity, we were poor when I was not married as well...”

Additionally, 38.0 percent of the urban poor express that they would like to be teacher, policeman, nurse or midwife. As it was mentioned before, there are not significant differences about educational level between two genders, because poverty plays the most important role to get educational opportunities. On the other hand, certainly, women have more disadvantages situation to get these kinds of opportunities.

A young woman, 24-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, illiterate, living in Gaziantep, says;

“A school was opened near our village when I was a child, muhtar did not allow the girls to attend to the school, only boys were registered...”

On the other hand, the opportunities which the government provides to the citizens also affect the chances of the poors or get educational services.

A 32 year-old man, Kurd, Sunni, literate, in Gaziantep says;

“There was not a school in our village, the school in another village was too far from our village, furthermore, the teacher came one day and did not come one month...”

In other words, even the state’s basic services do not reach to some group of people. Undoubtedly, none of the urban poor express that they could realize what they wanted to be when they were children. Furthermore, when they are asked: Which jobs would you have if you have opportunity? about their future expectations, 59.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 63 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep respond to this question that they want jobs which are regular and having insurances. Additionally, 31.0 percent of them express that they want to establish their own business.

In addition to the urban poor’s job expectations, they are asked, in which part of the city they would like to settle if they had opportunities. Although most of them have never seen the rich neighbourhoods, they state that they want to settle in the rich neighbourhoods of the city with the rate of 48.0 percent in Istanbul and 61.0 percent in Gaziantep. One of the main reasons to prefer the rich neighbourhoods is the difficulty of living in squatter houses. Almost all of the houses have uncomfortable and unhealthy living conditions to live. In other words, most of the houses have not proper roofs; doors and windows to protect rain and snow, walls and floor are humid and have not sewerage system connections. Therefore, the urban poor prefer living in a flat to facilitate their life.

For example an urban poor, 32 year-old woman, Turk, Alevi, illiterate, living in Gaziantep, says;

“I do not know which neighbourhood is good, buildings were built, I have never seen them but I have heard about them, but I would like to live in a flat which has a kitchen and bathroom, if we could live in a good neighbourhood we would not be sick...”

Moreover, as it was stated before, almost all of the urban poor, especially for the women, the reason for seeing the other neighbourhoods is go to hospital as a young woman, 23-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, literate, living in Gaziantep, says;

“We went to the hospital, as if we went somewhere else and we were in another city...”

The rate of preferring physically comfortable living conditions of rich neighbourhoods is 32.0 among the urban poor in Istanbul and this number increases to 44.0 percent in Gaziantep. Education and cultural aspects are other important reasons to prefer the rich neighbourhoods to live in among the urban poor with the rate of 18.5 percent.

A 43 year-old man, textile worker, Turki Alevi, primary school educated, in Gaziantep says;

“The people who live in the rich neighbourhoods are more intellectual and well-mannered. Our neighbourhood is full of vagrants who suck in thinner. The children who are living in the rich neighbourhoods, are able to buy their books, their teachers regularly attend to the courses, but our children are not able to buy the books necessary for the courses, thus teachers do not want to work in our neighbourhood... The people who are educated do not give harm, the people who comes from village do not properly know how to communicate with other people, I want to learn something from the people who are more educated than me...”

Furthermore, another reason to prefer rich neighbourhoods is the strict social control among the neighbors. As it was mentioned before, they mostly criticize the neighbor's clothes styles and worship styles taking the religious sects as basis.

After preferring the rich neighbourhoods to live in, second neighbourhood which is preferred to live in is the neighbourhood which the urban poor still live in now with the rate of 32.0 percent in Istanbul and 21.0 percent in Gaziantep. Undoubtedly, one of the main reasons for preferring the

neighbourhood which they are living in now is to benefit from relative solidarity. Although cheapness of house rents is another reason to prefer the neighbourhood, these two reasons can not easily separated from each other, because, almost all of the relatives have same socio-economic level, thus, they would live in the neighbourhoods almost having the same socio-economic level. Moreover, living with the relatives in the same neighbourhoods also means to share same cultural habits and feeling of belonging to a group.

As a 27 year-old woman, Kurd, Alevi, illiterate, in Istanbul says;

“All of our relatives are living in this neighbourhood, I would not live alone in a neighbourhood. I am illiterate, if somebody is illiterate, s/he is disabled; if somebody does not come with me, I am not able to go alone to the hospital; I fear to ask the way to somebody outside; everybody had know each other in the village, thus, to live in this neighbourhood, where our relatives are, is also very important for us, I want to live in Gazi neighbourhood; only if I would have a good house and good furniture...”

Additionally, another reason to prefer living in the same neighbourhood with their relatives among the urban poor is to reproduce their culture.

As a 39-year-old construction worker, Kurd, Sunni, literate, in Gaziantep says;

“I want to educate my children, line with our culture and traditions...”

On the other hand, they are also aware of the cultural differences between the rich and poor neighbourhoods and they are also aware that they would feel alienated if they would live in a rich neighbourhood.

A 37-year-old porter, Sunni, Kurd, literate, in Gaziantep says;

“If we lived in a rich neighbourhood, we would feel like a fish out of water. We are neither able to adapt ourselves to rich neighbourhoods’ life style nor we are able to communicate with them.”

Furthermore, a small group of the urban poor, with the rate of 10.5 percent, states that it would not matter to live in a poor or rich neighbourhood, in both of the cities.. The most important point for them is to own a house.

While evaluating the urban poor's viewpoints about traditions, customs and values, they are asked their expectations for their children. In this respect, one of the questions is the urban poor's ideas about features of the woman or man to marry their children. According to the parents, the main criterion to select their children's spouses is that they will belong to the same religious sect with the rate of 84.0 percent, in both of the cities. This criterion is unchangeable. It has no flexibility among the other criterion. Each religious sect, Alevi or Sunni, perceives the people who belong to the other religious sect as atheist or non-Muslim. As it was stated before, while Alevies perceive the Sunnis as ignorant and fundamentalist, Sunnies perceive the Alevies as atheist / non Muslim.

A 43-year-old, Alevi, Turk man, living in Istanbul, says;

“Neither my daughters nor my sons can get married to Sunni people; they can not get on with each other, they suppress the women; they do not allow women to be educated.”

On the other hand, Sunni parents explain why they do not want their children to marry Alevi people in a similar way.

A 35 year-old woman, Kurd, Sunni, illiterate, living in Gaziantep, says;

“... first of all, the word “Alevi” is not good and their life styles are not good; they do not take a bath; you can not eat their meal; they do not know what is sin or good deed; they do not follow the way of God; we are Muslims, their religion is inferior, our religion is truth...”

Another important criterion while selecting their children's spouses is ethnic origin for the parents with the rate of 53.0 percent in Istanbul and 36.0 percent in Gaziantep.

As a 38-year-old woman, Turk, Sunni, illiterate, living in Istanbul, says;

“I can not get on with Kurds, it would be too difficult; neither my daughter would marry them nor their daughter would marry my son, it is not appropriate...”

In addition to belonging to the same ethnic origin, the third main criterion is the ties of relatives. 36.0 percent of the parent in Istanbul and 31.0 percent of the parent in Gaziantep, states that being relatives is the important criterion to select their children's spouses. In fact, kinship criterion cannot easily be separated from belonging to the same religious sect and ethnic origin.

A 42 year-old, Kurd, Sunni, literate, living in Istanbul, man's statement clarifies this argument;

“My children's spouses should be our relative, their language and religion should be the same, I do not want an outsider...”

Moreover, another Kurd, Sunni man, literate, 49 year-old, in Gaziantep says;

“Blood-line is so important, Turks ignore me, my parents and my relatives and my relatives; their personal characteristics are different from us...”

Another reason to prefer kinship ties to select their children's spouses is economic difficulties.

A 30 year-old man, Turk, Alevi, primary school educated, living in Istanbul, tells;

“We can understand each other, but a foreigner can not reserves him/herself; s/he is better than a foreigner. Even though your children would be mad or blind, your relatives do not leave them...”

After the kinship or ethnic origin criterion, other two criteria do not include these kinds of traditional values. On of the criteria to decide their children

spouses is spouses' education level and occupational status. 32.0 percent of the parents in Istanbul and 24.0 percent of the parents in Gaziantep state that having a good job and being educated are important to select their children's spouses. Moreover, following this criterion, 28.0 percent of the parents in Istanbul and 21.0 percent of the parents in Gaziantep, ignoring all the criterion above; state that the most important criterion is children's happiness, their getting on well each other.

Another question about the urban poor's expectations for their children is children's educational life. When the urban poor are asked; "Would you send your children to another school having more facilities if you have the opportunity?" 29.0 percent of the urban poor respond this question positively and they complain about the crowded classes, irregular attendance of teachers and teacher's not showing interest in their children. Moreover, 14.0 of the urban poor emphasize the importance of social environment in the training of their children.

A 40 year-old man, Turk, Sunni, primary school educated, living in Istanbul tells;

"Center of the city is different from this neighbourhood; our children can easily be pulled into bad habits by their peer groups; social environment is very important; if you have a smart friend you became smart; if you have a fool friend, you became a fool."

On the other hand, the rate of having complaints about the neighbourhood's school is 27.0 percent in Istanbul and 32.0 percent in Gaziantep, among the urban poor. In this respect, it has to be stated that, most of the parents do not have any idea about their children's school performances or they have never went to their children's school to talk to teachers. Moreover, none of the children has a private room to study and most of the children have to attend school without books or other school materials. However, parents cannot be aware of these deficiencies to evaluate the school achievements of their children. Furthermore, in these poor conditions, sons have no more privileged

situation to benefit from these restricted resources. When the urban poor are asked, “Would you prefer a daughter or son to benefit from economic opportunities?” 23.5 of the urban poor in Istanbul and 15.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep, respond this question as “son”.

Furthermore, the urban poor asked; “What would you like your children to be? For you is it possible? And how can it be possible?” 44.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 27.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep expect an occupation which only provides survival for their children, because, they are aware of the opportunities available for their children. On the other hand, with the rate of 42.0 percent in Istanbul and 55.0 percent in Gaziantep, the urban poor expect occupations such as being a doctor, teacher or lawyer for their children. Moreover, getting a job in which their children can survive or having a job in which their children can have status are seen possible by their parents with the rate of 58.5 percent. On the other hand, while 42.0 percent of the parents emphasize the economic opportunities, 53.0 percent of them emphasize the effort of the children to realize these possibilities.

For this study, another important part of the data is to evaluate the urban poor’s opinions about their own living conditions. When they are asked, “What are the reasons for the economical problems that you go through now?” they respond in wide range of perspectives. They mention Turkey’s economic problems, lack of investments in certain regions of Turkey, unjust policies to get educational opportunities, their educational level and qualifications, clientalism, unlawful action and bribery of the state authorities, exploitation of the workers and lack of political rights for explaining the reasons for their living conditions for their poverty. The main importance of this data is clarify the causes of poverty in Turkey and more significantly to clarify the urban poor’s attitudes and perceptions about their own living conditions. In this respect, it might be possible to get some hints about the concept of culture of poverty.

According to the urban poor, with the rate of 86.0 percent, the most important reason for being poor is too restricted working areas in Turkey in both of the cities. In this context, they mainly complain about regional inequalities and

conjuncture affairs. As it was stated before, one of the main reasons for migration from undeveloped regions of turkey to the developed ones is economic development difference between the regions. Moreover, this field study was applied after the 2000 crisis, thus, most of the small and middle-scale workshops either were closed or limited their production capacities. Thus, the effects of the restricted working areas showed their outcomes more strongly.

36 year-old urban poor, Kurd, Sunni, primary school educated, living in Istanbul, who earns his living through border trade says:

“...after the gulf crisis, everything became too bad; Turk-Iraq border was closed, thus exporting and importing stopped. Before the crisis, 3-4 trucks carried goods to Iraq per day. The main problem of south-east and east Anatolia is that Turk-Iraq border was closed; for example, while the price of gasoline was 350 Turkish liras, Iraq, the price of it in Turkey was 1200 Turkish liras; most of us were able to live on by means of illegal taxi driving. When the Turkish-Iraq border was opened, we brought gasoline, sugar, milk powder, soap, shoes...etc. even we used to take the gas for our houses from Iraq... Now, I am able to work only 10 days in two months in constructions...Nowadays, a truck makes only a journey in 45 days...In the past, Turkey was exporting meat and wool to Saudi Arabia, now our state ignores us...State does not show any concern for Southeastern people. Demonstration is prohibited, we cannot express our opinions. Moreover we cannot vote freely. If one vote goes to HADEP from a village, that village is not served by the state. The state puts pressure on us due to the votes, which go to HADEP. In these circumstances, not being a terrorist is crime; we want to say, ‘I do not want to be a Turkish citizen.’ Not sending a teacher to villages means state’s depriving us of our freedom. There is no laws, no rules in Turkey... ” Moreover, another urban poor, 23 year-old illiterate woman, Kurd, Sunni, explains the difficulties of living in underdeveloped regions; “...the state should go and see how its citizen live in the underdeveloped regions; The state can open factories; people can only find a job in big cities; the state should open schools, village clinics, people should also read newspaper; even though there are schools, teachers do not come; even though Bingöl is a big city, people still have to make their bread at home...”

Second major aspect indicating the reasons for poverty is exploitation of workers with the rate of 63.5 percent. This issue was entirely examined in the section of urban poor's working conditions. On the other hand, another important point is, in this respect, that majority of the urban poor conceive that one of the major causes of their poverty is exploitation of labor by the employers.

Only a few word summarize this point as explained by an 37 year-old textile worker, Turk, Alevi, primary school educated, living in Istanbul;

“... poor people are threatened by poverty...”

In other words, people are forced to work for minimum wages which are arbitrary determined by the employers. Moreover, another urban poor working in construction sector, literate, Turk, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, says;

“If the employer gave the worker's rights, we would not be disgraced; we have to work only for our board. When we demand insurance, they do not employ us...”

Related to this issue, another aspect which the urban poor perceive as the source of their poverty is state administrator's misuse of authority, corruption and nepotism with the rate of 57.5 percent. According to the urban poor, corruption displays itself in all of the stages of life.

For example, 27 year-old construction worker, Kurd, Alevi, primary school educated, living in Istanbul, complains about nepotism while he is searching for a job;

“...Even though I honestly work, nepotism is too wide spread; they sack us and employ their relatives; they into consideration political and religious aspects while employing a worker; an employer who has right political opinion never employs an Alevi worker...”

Another urban poor, 38-year-old, Kurd, Sunni, literate, living in Istanbul, also complains about the tribal relations as a source of their poverty;

“...Sedat Bucak has authority all over Siverek, Osman Ağa also has authority in Şırnak; he has 10 villages, if somebody gives vote to a different political party, s/he is thrown away from village; he has three thousand rural guards; nobody insists on their rights; the ağa uses the state’s lands...” Each city has their own ağa; we work but they get the money and they only give us pocket money; they send their children to university, but we are not able to send our children even to primary school... Everybody who can rescue himself escapes to Europe, if ship does not sink, you will survive; I either drown or arrive in Europe; if the conditions go on, like this, thieving, manslaughter, even terror continue.”

For the urban poor, another stage of corruption displays itself in state’s administration. In other words, according to the urban poor, another way of their labor’s exploitation is the state’s administrator’s misuse of the country resources.

A construction worker, 43 year-old, Kurd, Sunni, illiterate, summarizes most of the urban poor’s opinion about the state administrators as follows;

“There are five hundred and fifty thieves; but the real thieves are the thieves. They send their children to foreign countries for education, but we cannot buy our children’s books. The head of the corruption is the state, if the corruption and abuse do not come to end, survival of the people becomes a miracle...poor people keep on working and when they cannot work any more, they are thrown out like a dog; poor people do not have state or government, poor people are continually oppressed; either they oppose to the laws or yield to them...”

Another aspect which the urban poor perceive as the cause of their poverty is based on their own qualifications. 29.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 24.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep, indicate their lack of education and qualification to get a better job as causes of their poverty. Furthermore, this aspect cannot easily separated from other aspects, because,

while they explain the reasons for their being uneducated or qualified, they mention unequal sharing of resources and state's negligence.

28 year-old, illiterate construction worker, Kurd, Sunni, says;

“...there is no job in the labor market, I am illiterate, I can only work in the construction sector, but there is also no job in this sector, they demand literate people to employ in a factory.”

Moreover, another 23 year-old construction worker, Kurd, Sunni, illiterate, living in Istanbul, attracts attention to the difficult conditions to educate themselves;

“... our ancestors were farmers, we cannot get an insured job, thus we have to carry on ancestors' job; my brother attempts to secondary school and he works in a detergent factory in the afternoon, so, he cannot study, he passes his classes compulsorily, my brother cannot write even his name...”

As it was mentioned in the working conditions part, almost all of the head of the households have to work at very early ages, thus, they cannot get any opportunities to attend to school or they have to work while they attend to school, therefore, even if they get a primary school diploma, they mostly cannot properly read and write. Concerning this issue, 27.0 percent of the urban poor, in Istanbul and 19.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep, indicate their fathers' poverty as the cause of their poverty. While they draw attention to this issue, they emphasize their quite low chances of upward mobility at the same time.

A 32 year-old porter, Kurd, Sunni, illiterate, living in Gaziantep, says;

“We inherited poverty from our father; we inherited nothing from our ancestors; we cannot improve our economic conditions through labor power...”

Although few, some urban poor point out an important issue, lack of using democratic, and human rights, as the cause of their poverty with the rate of 16.5 percent in Istanbul and 10.0 percent in Gaziantep. Democratic and human rights in fact includes worker rights and even political rights.

For example a woman, 38 year-old, Kurd Sunni, illiterate, living in Istanbul says;

“ I would see reducing unemployment as the remedy of poverty, but we are always shut up, we are suppressed people; if we attempt to say something about getting our rights, our heads are hit; even though I say something, it will not be a solution, I do not have any hopes...”

Moreover, another example is about political issue. A forced-migrant urban poor, 53 year-old, Kurd, Sunni, literate says;

“...demonstration is prohibited in Turkey. I wish we freely expressed our point of views; we only catch our will in the election periods, but tribe relations are dominant; all of the village dwellers have to use their votes for the same political party; we cannot use secret vote to prevent any restlessness, if we vote for a different party, the village is put under quarantine. In other words, this village cannot benefit from any state services...”

On the other hand, while they are forced to evacuate their villages, their life conditions are not too easy in the cities as a 23 year-old, Kurd, Sunni, literate, living in Istanbul, construction worker says;

“... employers do not employ the people who come from Şanlıurfa; they firstly control our identity cards. Does each Kurd have to be terrorist? When we say our ethnic origin, they immediately label us as “Apocu”; they call Vatan neighbourhood as Şırnak... They throw away from hospitals women who cannot speak Turkish”.

The next question about the urban poor’s point of views about probable solutions to improve their living conditions. As parallel to their opinion about the causes of their poverty the first suggestion about solution is the necessity and importance of increasing working places with the rate of 83.5 percent in

Istanbul and 88.0 percent in Gaziantep. Secondly, they demand that the state should control the working places and that the state should not leave working conditions to the employers' arbitrary rules, with the rate of 65.0 percent. These two aspects are the main difficulties for the urban poor. On the other hand, their expectations, from the state to improve their living conditions in quite low.

An urban poor, 33 year-old, Kurd, Alevi, primary school educated, textile worker, living in Istanbul, says;

“Neither state knows something about us, nor we know something about the state; nobody can improve the conditions of this country...”

In this respect, the urban poor demand bringing the unlawful actions in the state authority to light with the rate of 54.0 percent. According to the urban poor, one of the main causes of unequal distribution of income is the misuse of authority and using the resources in vain.

An urban poor, 37 year-old, Kurd, Alevi, primary school educated, living in Istanbul, says;

“our state collapsed as our families...”

After these hopeless explanations, the urban poor also demand more widespread opportunities of education and training to get better jobs with the rate of 23.5 percent.

A 45 year-old woman urban poor, Kurd, Alevi, literate, living in Gaziantep, says;

“State should make it easier for the urban poor people to benefit from educational opportunities. The state forces us to have compulsory education for eight years, but we cannot economically endure sending our children for eight years.”

Furthermore, the urban poor, especially forced-migrants, demand going back their villages as the solution of improving their living conditions with the rate of 17.0 percent. Most of the forced-migrants state that they were economically and psychologically pleased in their villages; in other words, they are not only economically mistreated in the city life, but also, they are socially and psychologically caught unprepared in city life; they cannot benefit from the blessing of chain migration, thus, the feeling of alienation is higher than other migrants. Moreover, their houses, lands and animals are destroyed; therefore, economically fall into more difficult situation.

Forced migrant, 23 year-old, urban poor, Kurd, Sunni, literate, living in Istanbul, says;

“state does not give us our rights; we wish we lived in our village, speak our mother language; we demand our own “identity”... we could live in our lands...”

According to the urban poor, another way of solution is bringing the workers together to demand their own rights with the rate of 4.5 percent in Istanbul and 12.0 percent in Gaziantep. As it was stated in the section of the working conditions of the urban poor, the main dilemma, which obstructs urban poor’s demanding their rights, is that they are threatened through unemployment; thus, they easily yield to any wages and working conditions by the employers. Therefore, expectations about the high level of consciousness of demanding their rights are not realistic. Even though every worker attempts to be a member in a trade union, his/her chances to find a new job is quite lower impossible in the same sector in the same city.

An urban poor, 36 year-old man, Kurd, Sunni, living in Gaziantep, textile worker says;

“... workers, laborers should demand the administration of the country; they should act together; education is underestimated; the trade unions enlighten us; we began to read newspaper; beforehand, we did not know what the IMF is: all of us had to work without insurance, we did not have social insurance; the state should be engaged in these issues; the laws have

to run; if the state ignores, the employers never give us our rights, workers' labor is exploited..."

In the following section, the urban poor are asked about their own abilities and capacities to improve their own living conditions. Undoubtedly, they state that they are ready to work if they find a job with the rate of 95.5 percent in both of the cities. This issue was entirely examined before. On the other hand, one point has to be examined in this respect. Lack of opportunities to get a regular / irregular job directs the urban poor to the illegal jobs which are not necessarily criminal actions. The most common job to live on is street peddling for the urban poor. On the other hand, this job is prohibited and when the peddlers are caught by police, their goods and trolleys are destroyed, thus their living conditions become more difficult to survive. Therefore most of the urban poor who are hopeless regarding the state to create new working areas demand permission for their street peddling.

As a street peddler, 27 year-old urban poor, Kurd, Sunni, literate, living in Istanbul, says;

"...we work to survive, but the police do not give permission to us; 40 percent of the workshops are closed; beforehand street peddling was less than now; when the people became unemployment, they began street peddling; nobody can find a job any more, even the people who have qualifications..."

According to the urban poor, second important aspect to improve their living conditions is to elect honest administrators with the rate of 42.0 percent. They complain about misuse of authority in all stages of administrations. As it was mentioned before, the urban poor put forward the collaboration of the employers and inspectors and misuse of authority of the inspectors ignoring their working conditions. For the urban poor, this corruption is seen everywhere. Most of the urban poor do not trust the parliamentarians and they either do not want to vote during the election period or they vote unwillingly. In this context, most of the urban poor are hopeless about their future and they feel they have no capacity to improve their living conditions with the rate of

42.0 in Istanbul and 56.0 percent in Gaziantep. On the other hand, as it was explained before this attitude cannot be evaluated as passive fatalistic behaviour. They are mostly aware of the economic and social conditions of the country and also they can analyze the absence of democratic rights, corruption, wide spread bribe tradition, clientalism, nepotism etc. which obstruct escaping from their poor living conditions. In addition to the urban poor's analyzing country's socio-economic conditions, another aspect is self-critics of the urban poor to escape from poverty. In this context, 15.0 percent of the urban poor in Istanbul and 12.0 percent of the urban poor in Gaziantep emphasize the importance and necessity of forcing their opportunities. For example, most of the women want to work at a job to get income, but they do not know either what they can do or how they can sell their handworks.

A 28 year-old woman, Turk, Sunni, illiterate, living in Gaziantep says;

“...I make pinking, but I do not know where I can sell it; we cannot gain anything by doing nothing, if I get a job, I can activities should be opened in these neighbourhoods instead of in the center of the city.”

For, the urban poor neither informed about these courses nor they can go to the center of the city because of the economic and traditional obstacles. According to the urban poor, another main handicap is the number of children they have.

A 40 year-old woman, Kurd, Sunni, illiterate, living in Istanbul, says;

“ if one of the main reasons of our poverty is the misuse of the administration, another main reason is poor people' thoughtlessness. We could have had less children, we can neither feed them nor educate them.”

Moreover, quite few urban poor emphasize the importance of being organized to obtain their rights and improve their living conditions with the rate of 10.5 percent. On the other hand, another small group of the urban poor stresses the importance of workers' possessing the administration with the rate of 4.5 percent. As it was stated before, the urban poor are always threatened through

unemployment, thus, their opinion about struggling to get their rights remains at too low rate.

An 30 year-old man urban poor, Kurd, Alevi, living in Istanbul, says;

“... the conditions are getting better neither through protesting nor through committing suicide; if somebody says something, they shut him / her up...”

5.10 Poverty and Young Generations

The profile of the future's urban poor is not only matter of sociology, but also at least of economy and psychology. Therefore, a sub-section aiming to get some clues about young generation is added at the end of the questionnaire form. In this context, 31 youngs are interviewed face-to-face. Although, this small group of young people limits detailed interpretation, this data is evaluated with household's information; thus, this detailed information about the young generations' families supports the evaluation of young generation profile. 51.5 percent of the interviewee in Istanbul and 30.0 percent of the interviewee in Gaziantep are between 13-17, and 48.5 percent of them in Istanbul and 70.0 percent of them in Gaziantep are 18 or more; moreover while 64.5 of them in Istanbul and 80.0 of them in Gaziantep are girls, 35.5 of them in Istanbul and 20.0 percent of them in Gaziantep are boys. Almost none of the young people have a job, in which they can get qualification. All of them have to work at irregular and uninsured jobs. Working conditions of the young generations are examined in detail above, therefore, in this section their values and expectations will be tried to examine through the limited data. On the other hand, before examining this issue, it has to be emphasized that, their educational opportunities and working conditions are almost the same with their parents, thus, cycle of poverty is a more important issue than explaining the causes of poverty through the concept of culture of poverty.

A 22 year-old boy, Kurd, Sunni, primary school educated, living in Gaziantep working in a weaving workshop says;

“... From 6 am to 6 pm I am always on my feet. Carpets’ dust goes directly my throat. This work requires attention; my eyes were defected because of working in basements and in dark places; the places are full of humid, when it rain, water covers everywhere, there are lots of rats. Inspectors do not come here; they take 100 million as bribe and go without doing anything. People catch throat inflammation, respiration and rheumatic sickness. People never sit down; we work a week daytime, a week nights. If you close your eyes, your arms and hands can be caught by machines; I began to weave carpet at the age of eight, when I was a child, I used to hear my mother’s voice if I fell asleep while working: ‘ Do not sleep, your hands will be caught by machines, my son.’ I used to shake myself and woke. Lots of children died, my brother’s finger has gone; every worker lost almost a finger...”

As it was stated before, child labor is always cheaper than adult labor; thus, it is mostly preferred by the employers; this is one of the main reasons why child labor is widespreadly used. On the other hand, similar to adult’s working conditions, child’s working conditions also include serious diseases and accident risks. In addition to this, children often have to change their jobs due to getting their wages arbitrarily from the employers. Moreover, when their quite low educational level is taken into consideration, better living conditions than their parents’ is not so available for the young generations.

In this context, when they are asked “what would you like to be in the future?” they respond as; “it was impossible to have occupation”. This was the response of 32.5 of the respondents in Istanbul and 60.0 percent of the respondents in Gaziantep respond to the same question as “I will work whatever the job is.” In fact, these two responses do not imply different opinions. In other words, more than 60.0 percent of the young people are hopeless about their future life. Moreover, they are aware that they cannot be rich by working.

They also think that rich people live at their expenses, A 13 year-old boy, Kurd, Alevi, living in Istanbul, who works in a small workshop, says;

“... rich people amuse themselves by means of our money; they break dishes as if they spend their own money... My father is ill and his illness requires an operation but we do not have money; he has to suffer until he dies, nobody can be rich by working, either you are a thief or you play lottery.”

Besides these hopeless explanations, 29.0 percent of the young poor in Istanbul and 40.0 percent of the young poor in Gazintep, expect to have a qualification. On the other hand, almost all of them have to work in drudgery work, in other words, the possibility of obtaining any qualification is too weak for their future life. It is evident that regarding benefiting from educational and occupational opportunities, gender issue does not show significant differences for the poor people. On the other hand, it is clear that girls have to live under more strict control.

A 21 year-old girl, Turk, Sunni, living in Istanbul, primary school graduate explains how she was prevented from attend school;

“...my family did not allow me to attend school, also the state that we were in was not suitable to attend school; I wish I would be a nurse... Gazi dwellers are conservative, they come from East Anatolia; on the other hand, the dwellers who come from West live in Taksim, Vezneciler or Rami but not in Gazi neighbourhood; they are different from Gazi dwellers. They are not conservative; for me, women should be educated and should work, but for my father and brother, women should stay at home, wait for their future husband, my brother said to me “... either you prefer me or working.” Why do brothers easily use their force against their sisters? This is because families show more esteem to their sons than their daughters... I was beaten by brother for days to stop attending school; my most important aim was studying...”

As these data clearly show neither they expect a safe future nor they are pleased with their current jobs. 91.0 percent of the young poor state that they are not pleased with their current jobs. As it was mentioned before in detail, they have to work under too heavy working conditions. Similar to their parents' lives the young poor also live in a very limited and isolated social environment. 16.1 percent of them in Istanbul and 20.0 percent of them in

Gazintep, say that they have never gone to other parts of the city which they live in. Furthermore, one of the main reasons to visit the other parts of the city is going to hospital or visiting close relatives who live in the other neighbourhoods, with the rate of 58.0 percent in Istanbul and 40. Percent in Gaziantep. Therefore, this rate does not imply that the young generation is aware if the city's social and cultural opportunities. This data also supports another data, which is about young generation's leisure activities. 64.5 percent of them in Istanbul and 80.0 percent of them in Gaziantep, say that they spend their leisure time either visiting their neighbors or at home doing housework. Moreover, another reason of visiting the other parts of the city is working, with the rate of 25.8 in Istanbul and 40.0 percent in Gazinatep, as their parents. In this respect, it is evident that, the young generation's cultural accumulation and social environment are not different from their parents'. Therefore, expecting a generation gap is meaningless between parents and young generations in terms of social and cultural divergences. 64.5 percent of the young poor in Istanbul and 70.0 percent of the young poor in Gaziantep, state that they do not have any conflicts with their parents. With 27.7 percent, the first three dispute issues can be enumerated as their clothes, family violence and pocket money. Some of the young poor states that they want to wear more fashionable clothes, but their parents do not allow them to do so. Moreover, they also complain about family violence and especially father's violence against their mothers. The young poor say that they have to be silent during the violent actions. In addition to these, they state that although they work and gain money, their parents do not give them even pocket money.

A 17 year-old boy, Kurd, Sunni, living in Istanbul, says;

“ I would but a bicycle, I would put my pocket money and take a walk, but house's necessities come first; I have to give my salary to my mother, only one or two million Turkish Liras is left for me; I wish I spent twenty-thirty million Turkish Liras in a month...”

In this case, the young generations' reference groups are inevitably shaped from the same environment. In other words, their opportunities to meet the

people who benefit from city's opportunities physically and socially is almost impossible. When they are asked "are there any differences between you and the people who live in your surrounding?" 54.8 percent of them in Istanbul and 70.0 percent of them in Gaziantep, respond as 'yes'. On the other hand, the reference point is mostly clothing and physical appearance rather than educational and cultural-social differences. In this context, while 51.6 percent of them in Istanbul and 60.0 percent of them in Gaziantep, state the differences with respect to clothing, 12.9 of them in Istanbul and 20.0 percent of them in Gaziantep emphasize the socio-cultural differences.

The statement of a 18 year-old boy, Turk, Alevi who works in a small repair workshop explains clearly these two rates;

"All of us come from Tokat in this neighbourhood; I want to visit my village every year, I know more things about our village than Istanbul; we are ignorant in the village. When I came to Istanbul, I was astonished by the way people speak; I cannot speak as they do; I speak rudely; we should read books to speak well, but when I get a book I am stammering, I cannot read; I finished primary school 4-5 years ago..."

Namely, there is almost no communication between young generations and the different socio-cultural groups.

A 18 year-old boy, Turk, Sunni, living in Istanbul, who works in a textile workshop says;

"...Television displays the beautiful parts of the Istanbul; people enjoy themselves in beaches which I have never seen; I have only been to Eminönü; that is I have never wandered around Istanbul..."

Furthermore, economic conditions and socio-cultural values lead the young poor generations to have same attitude patterns as their parents.

A 19 year-old boy, Kurd, Sunni, who works in a textile workshop says;

“I want to get married at early age; I will have sons; after they finish primary school, they will begin to work and help me...”

For this young poor, this plan is one of the ways of escaping from poverty. Same attitude patterns of the young generation inevitably show itself in their points of view about other issues. As their parent’s attitude patterns, for the young generations, the first important criterion to select their spouses also is belonging to the same religious sect with the rate of 48.4 percent in Istanbul and 40.0 percent in Gaziantep. The second priority is belonging to same ethnic origin with the rate of 41.9 percent in Istanbul and 30.0 percent in Gaziantep.

A 19 year-old young poor says;

“The girl who I will get married should fulfill her duties towards my parents; I will not get married to a girl who belongs to another religious sect...”

On the other hand, other important criterion, while selecting their spouses, for the young urban poor, is having a regular job and income with the rate of 38.7 percent in Istanbul and 50.0 percent in Gaziantep. Moreover, 58.0 percent of the young urban poor in Istanbul and 80.0 percent of the young poor in Gaziantep, state that they want to live in a luxury neighbourhood, and 35.5 percent of them in Istanbul and 20.0 percent of them in Gaziantep, state that they want to live in the neighbourhood which they live now. The main reason for preferring to live in a luxury neighbourhood is difficult physical conditions of their neighbourhoods and houses. On the other hand, they are also aware of socio-cultural differences in terms of development their neighbourhoods and the luxurious neighbourhoods.

A 17 year-old young boy, Turk, Alevi, primary school educated, living in Istanbul, says;

“...I would dwell in Levent; our neighbourhood is too dirty, but luxurious neighbourhoods are cleaned everyday; people are educated; you can easily communicate with them...”

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The issue of poverty is very complex and multidimensional. In addition, the causes of poverty are the most debatable subjects in theory. However, another important topic in this issue is the conditions of the country where the research is conducted. Most of the theories were constituted considering the circumstances of poverty in the developed countries. Therefore, these theories might have deficiencies to analyze the situation in developing countries like Turkey. This study, however, has been carried out to understand the concept of urban working poor and to examine the causes within Turkish dynamics.

There are parallel structures between Lloyd's study and the findings of this study in accordance with economic and social patterns about the urban working poor. However, the aim of the study was beyond giving the definition of urban poor, but to explore the causes of poverty, the concept of deserving and undeserving poor and social and psychological effects of poverty on poor people, their perception about themselves and the state policies, their future expectations, residential characteristics. The study also aims to find some clues about the profile of young generation of urban working poor. Therefore, in this study, new points have been added to Lloyd's definition of the urban poor and more importantly the causes of this phenomenon have been discussed.

The cities of Istanbul and Gaziantep were selected, as they were suitable for the aim of the study when their welfare indicators such as economic, social, demographic, educational, health, agriculture, construction sector and the others were examined. Then, the research was carried out in two neighborhoods, Gazi and Zübeyde Hanım, in İstanbul and four neighborhoods, Vatan, Ocaklar, Düztepe, Perilikaya, in Gaziantep while considering the

neighborhoods' economic, social, ethnic and religious characteristics. The majority of the houses in the neighborhoods have been constructed illegally, so almost none of the neighborhoods can benefit from infrastructural services. All the houses in which the research was carried out were squatter houses.

Urban poverty issue in this study was examined in three levels theoretically: macro, mezzo and micro levels. In the macro level, it is a well-known fact that a country's economic and political situation cannot be handled without considering the international dimensions in the world, that is, each country is a part of the international system. Therefore, in this study, Turkey's economic and political relations with some developed countries will be examined theoretically. In this context, especially after the 1980 period, Turkey was influenced by the new urban poor concept which came into existence all over the world. Moreover, after this period, Turkey was also influenced by the changing political and economic conjecture in the world through the Structural Adjustment Program.

In relation to the above mentioned macro level effects, in mezzo level, on the other hand, the appearance of new urban poor concept in Turkey was considered theoretically focusing on national dynamics. As put forward before, as an underdeveloped country, after the 1980 period, Turkey has been influenced by the Structural Adjustment Program. The effects of this Program on Turkey on national level can be listed as follows: decreasing expenditure on the improvement of working conditions and social services, unstable employment, increasing subcontracted workers, growing informal economy, deregularization of wages, uncontrollable working conditions, diminished unionization of workers.

In the micro level, relationships among the household members, relationships with relatives and neighbours, traditions and values, survival strategies and the concept of culture of poverty were examined. This thesis is mainly focused on an analysis of micro level dynamics of poverty and urban poor rather than the macro and mezzo levels.

In this context, one of the important findings of this study is that the concept of poverty should be taken into consideration as realistic reactions of the poor to their own situation, which means that the concept of culture of poverty cannot be seen as stereotyping, stigmatizing and harassing the poor by questioning their values. Additionally, considering the survival strategies, the urban poor have to make use of informal mechanisms to survive such as family, relative and neighbour relationships and ethnic and religious ties instead of governmental or non-governmental organizations.

The concept of working urban poor however, which was examined in three levels on theoretical basis, was also examined in the micro level in this field study. However, the impacts of the developments in the macro and mezzo levels, that is, the changing urban labor market structure especially after the 1980 period on the living conditions of the urban poor were also taken into account in this study.

According to the data, four major conclusions can be mentioned:

6.1. Social Implications

According to my findings, urban working poor are mostly young, have relatively less children than their parents. The main characteristics of the neighborhoods are that they began to appear with migration, in other words, dwellers in these districts are mostly of rural-origin. One point to add here is that in terms of migration patterns, in Gaziantep the migrants had the tendency of visiting many cities before settling in Gaziantep. However in Istanbul most of the migrants came to Istanbul directly without going to other cities. Moreover, in Istanbul forced migrants are more common than Gaziantep.

Both in Gaziantep and in Istanbul, although they come to cities to work and to overcome economic problems, their low educational level and lack of qualifications make it hard for them to find a job in the regular urban labor market. Alternatively, they have to work in casual jobs in the informal sector.

As has been suggested in Lloyd's study as well, educational level of the household heads is quite low according to the data. But more than this, there is also low education among the members of the households. In addition, children mostly do not attend schools in spite of the fact that they are at the age of compulsory education. Families prefer their children to go to work to survive. When this situation is considered on the basis of two cities, in Gaziantep, education level is lower both for the head of the households and their spouses when compared with Istanbul. Expectation for child education in Gaziantep is quite low in Gaziantep, while this expectation is higher in Istanbul. Moreover in Gaziantep, among the children illiteracy and educational level is low compared to Istanbul. In Gaziantep, the families expect their children to start working as soon as possible, but in Istanbul the families give more importance both to having education and gaining qualification.

They are highly "closed" to the city life. As it is mentioned in Lloyd's study, they are mostly from rural origins and migrate to the city. Their isolation from the city life prevents their economic, social and psychological confidence. They have also strong ties with their kins, co-villagers, ethnic and religious sect. Istanbul is more cosmopolitan than Gaziantep, so feelings of alienation is higher in Istanbul. Gaziantep is ethnically more homogeneous. Benefitting from the network among the relatives and from the ethnic and religious sect in finding a job and a house is more common in Gaziantep than in Istanbul.

Furthermore, traditional values are more dominant in Gaziantep than in Istanbul. For instance, in Gaziantep decisionmakers at home are men. Lower number of women in Gaziantep could choose their husbands when compared to Istanbul. The number of women who encountered physical and verbal violence is higher in Gaziantep than in Istanbul. Lastly, more families prefer having son in Gaziantep than in Istanbul.

Additionally, as a result of low level of communication among the religious and ethnic sects, all the subgroups perceive themselves as unjustly treated people. Moreover, it can be argued in the light of the data that they have limited communication with the city life because their working places are quite

near to their districts. Their interest using some in means of communication, such as newspapers or telephones are quite low as well.

Although squatter settlements are known as house ownership areas, in my sample, squatter settlements did not have house ownership. This negatively affects the chances of survival for new generation. In other words, settling in squatter settlement areas doesn't mean as house ownership any more in contrast to past, so new generation has less chance to survive in city than the former one.

The neighborhoods chosen for the study are the settlements which are constituted by the families who had to migrate to the city due to economic problems in their villages, but who could not benefit from the infrastructure services owing to the difficulties in the city and who had survive in houses with unhealthy conditions

The consequences of the difficulties to reach to social benefit institutions or the low access to such benefits raise kinship and co-villagers solidarity among the urban poor. Another important solidarity can be seen among the people who belong to the same ethnic or religious sect. It is quite certain that the feeling of "Thanks God" helps them to survive psychologically and prevents open opposition; revolting against the situation they are living in. According to Parkin, "When people feel that they cannot do much about the main elements in their situation, feel it not necessarily with despair or disappointment or resentment but simply as a fact of life they adopt attitudes towards that situation..."(Parkin, 1973, p.88). Parkin's argument has been supported by the data, but it has to be emphasized that adaptation attitudes to the life situation must not necessarily be a passive acceptance. In other words, this does not mean that they reached a stage of fatalism. It has to be said that they tried to develop a multitude of survival strategies but still they remain trapped in conditions of poverty.

The urban poor who are most of time criticized due to their adherence to traditional values and networks have to work in the unregistered sector without

having social security. Therefore, they cannot benefit from free health services. On the one hand, they are criticized due to using traditional treatment methods when they are ill, but on the other hand, they are not provided with free health services by the state. The state mentions free contraceptive services but they are not informed about such an application. In this respect, instead of waiting for the urban poor coming to the health centers to benefit from these kinds of services, reaching to the poor districts through state officers is a better solution. Moreover, when we consider that women cannot go beyond their own neighborhoods, the services which aim to acquaint the urban poor with contraceptive methods or other issues should be conducted in the neighborhoods, not in the courses in the city centers, which none of the urban poor are aware of. These conditions are also valid for the training courses for women, and these kinds of courses should be opened not only for women but also for men.

6.2. Economic Implications

Low educational level and low qualification leads to quite difficult working conditions for the urban working poor. They are generally exploited by the employers due to their helplessness and having no other alternatives. Lack of labor contract and social security cause high vulnerability. They do mainly dangerous and unhealthy jobs like working in construction sector or textile workshop. Working conditions in Gaziantep are harder compared to Istanbul. Life security at work is quite low in Gaziantep than in Istanbul. Arbitrary working hours is seen more widely in Gaziantep when compared to Istanbul. Bad working conditions, low wages and having no job male households heads will also lead to child labor. In addition, women of those households also feel compelled to work. Their work however is mostly a seasonal agricultural jobs or piece work at home as one of the survival strategies like going for cotton picking or breaking pistachio nuts. Seasonal agricultural working is the main survival strategy in Gaziantep. In Istanbul, on the other hand, there is no seasonal agricultural working. In Gaziantep, piece-working at home among the housewives is higher than Istanbul.

As their income is very little, their expenses are limited concerning this income. One of the main expenses is their rent. Most of the time they have great difficulty in paying the rent. There are even families who escape from their houses not to pay their accumulated rent loans. In addition to this, the majority of the families use electricity and water illegally. Secondly, another crucial expense is food. Bread, potato and pounded wheat (bulgur) are the most consumed food. The rate of having durable and non-durable goods and expenditure on food is lower in Gaziantep than Istanbul.

Most of the household head's income is not enough to survive. Therefore, women and child work are seen as survival strategies. But, keeping on the traditional values and quite low educational level of the women lead them to work at home by piece work or seasonal agriculture with their family members. Women are not allowed to work "outside". In addition, another survival strategy is solidarity among the relatives.

Having no skill or low qualifications for urban labor market, having casual, irregular job, low status and low wages in the jobs, having very low chances of attaining a better job, having no social security and having bad working conditions are common findings in Lloyd's and this study. But, it has to be stated that these are only results. To be able to explain the reasons are more important which will be done based on the findings of this research. Contrary to the argument about the urban poor that their work is unproductive labor, I found that they are productive and but they can a significant contribution to production. However, they cannot form a powerful group against the capital because of the mass unemployment and employer's arbitrary applications. Therefore, exploitation has to be emphasized, they are cheap labor for the informal economy at macro level and although they work, the wages are usurped by the employer at micro level. In addition, they are in a weak position, they don't belong to any trade union or social organization compared to employers.

According to my findings again, their income is only used for basic non-food expenditure, like rent, and for food expenditures; therefore most of the

households survive just in the limit of the absolute poverty line, none of them can save any money. When weak welfare policies are considered in Turkey, the households can easily drop below the absolute poverty line. According to the data, some of the households had to sell their houses because of the illness of one of the family members or for another difficult situation. They are not included in any of the social security systems. Hence, they always feel vulnerable to fall below the absolute poverty line through an unexpected event, like ill health.

The urban poor who constitute the unrecorded labor power in various sectors generally contribute to the economy of the country and are productive labor force despite the claims to the contrary. These claims are based on the fact that these people have generally no education and no qualification. It is true that the majority of the urban poor have low educational level, but the jobs that are offered to them in the cities do not require a long process to learn and to contribute to economy. Most of these poor people work in the textile workshops, in small-scaled industry or in the construction sector. The reason for their easy exploited are not related to the job they have. The reasons are that the laws do not protect these people, or there are some misapplications regarding these laws. Also some missing points in the laws are easily applied by the employers against these people. Moreover, most of the people are waiting in the cities exceeding the “reserve army of labor power” and the employers exploit this situation. After 1980, with the Structural Adjustment Policies, temporary, part-time, seasonal jobs and sub-contracted have become prevalent, which made the exploit of this labor force easier. According to the research results, the most important consequence of this process is that there appeared a labor force who cannot gather under “one common roof” and who cannot act against the capital, who are unorganized and who lack social security. Furthermore such a process created the necessary conditions for the arbitrary applications of the employers. Hard working conditions and high risk of work accidents are highly dangerous for the employees and a worker who had to leave his job because of working conditions is totally left alone.

According to my findings again, their income is not only for basic non-food expenditure but also for food expenditures; therefore most of the households survive just in the limit of the absolute poverty line, none of them can save any money, when weak state policies is considered in Turkey, the households can easily drop below the absolute poverty line. According to the data, some of the households had to sell their houses because of the illness of the one of the family members or for another difficult situation. They are not included in any of the social security systems. That is why it is easier for them to be under the line of absolute poverty.

The argument which asserts that the main reasons for poverty is low education level and low qualification of the urban poor are not correct. The main issues are the state policies in Turkey, unequal distribution of national income and ignoring the working conditions of workers in informal sector due to the concern about complying with global market rules about production. Particularly, after the 1980's Structural Adjustment Policies, the covered employees and the workers having social security can easily be defined as "labor aristocracy". The main effects of the globalization on domestic market are more production with the fewer workers, reducing production costs and enhancing competitive power. The informal economy which is based on the arbitrary rules of the employers is one of the main reasons for the reinforcement of urban poverty.

Another important aspect is that the state does so-called regulations through prohibitive laws instead of making social policies to reduce poverty. These kind of regulations do not prevent urban poverty but only indicate the ignorance of the state towards the issue of making social policies to reduce urban poverty. One of the main indicators of the state's ignorance about reducing urban poverty is that workers' working conditions are neglected and this ignorance provides the employers with an invisible support to exploit the workers. In addition to this, particularly, the workers who work as peddlers in the streets to survive are attacked by the municipal police. This problem is especially confronted by the street peddlers, and their job is considered unlawful. The state which can not create new job fields for the citizens

chooses to find solutions through street tag between the state officers and peddlers. Such a situation makes the working conditions of the street peddlers even more difficult; they worry more about this street tag than their low income. Such prohibitive policies can finish neither poverty nor street peddling.

6.3 Political Implication

Another important point about the working conditions of the urban poor is that the urban poor are criticized due to making use of traditional networks which prevent the adoption of the “urban values”, the consciousness of “being an individual, being organized”. On the other hand, it is fact that workers’ struggles to gain their rights through establishing trade unions are always prohibited and particularly after privatization private sector has done everything to put an end to these struggles; and the state has ignored all these issues. In this respect, if with culture of poverty thesis it is argued that urban poor have fatalistic attitudes and reproduce same traditional and social values, urban poor’s living conditions should be considered. If urban poor’s struggles to gather under an organized institution and trade union are prohibited and if they are threatened to be fired when they demand their rights, the concept of culture of poverty loses its validity. Additionally, while urban poor are crammed in their neighborhoods due to economic and educational situation they are in and while they cannot move to another neighborhood, they cannot be blamed for not benefiting from city’s opportunities and for keeping their traditional values; such a claim cannot go beyond being political.

They have no fatalistic attitudes. Their feelings of ‘Thanks God’ can only be interpreted as a strategy that they use psychologically. They have developed multiple survival strategies and they recognized reasons of their poverty as multidimensional issues.

Another important result of this study shows itself in the self-perceptions of the poor. These people do not have a living area in the city except for their own districts; therefore their reference groups are their relatives, neighbors or

workmates. An important consequence of this is the effect on relative deprivation of the urban poor. The medium where they can sense the feeling of relative deprivation the least is the medium where they cannot communicate with the people having better opportunities or where they cannot perceive those opportunities at all or a little. Family institution and religion also affect the perception of the urban poor's feelings about and attitudes towards their own living conditions. While the urban poor consider the attitudes against their rights in society, the belief of "Thanks God", the belief of "the temporality of the world" and family support which help to overcome the difficult conditions not only materially but also spiritually in case of illness or disability putting an end to the working life of the family members are the main aspects which prevent radical actions in society. On the other hand, When this situation is considered on the basis of two cities, in Gaziantep people are more pessimistic and helpless about their future than the people in Istanbul. Moreover, when the ethnic origins of the urban poor are considered, Kurdish people emphasize democratic rights to improve their living conditions more and forced migrants perceive themselves more economically and politically vulnerable. As it was pointed out before, crime rate is higher in Gaziantep than in Istanbul and most of the crimes have political reasons.

However, another important point that should be mentioned here is that all these do not mean that the poor accept the situation they are in passively or they adopt a fatalistic approach. In other words, "the culture of poverty" which is thought by some people as one of the reasons for poverty does not overlap with the findings of this study. As the working conditions and other survival strategies of the urban poor show, this study also tries to state that urban poor try to produce realistic solutions in order to survive in the city; they have a realistic approach regarding the reasons for their poverty and the ways of coping with poverty.

6.4 Young generations

Considering young generation, in Gaziantep young people are more hopeless about their future and getting a good job in the future. Families' financial straits affect young generation's upward mobility chances. Young generations also have to work at early ages, but this situation is mostly against female children, as they relatively attend less to school than their male peers. These disadvantaged positions of the young generation are reinforced by their settling in disadvantaged residential areas.

The educational level of young generations is quite the same as the previous generation. Furthermore, their social and cultural integration to the city life is not more than the parents who perceive their children as a future economic security they have to send out their children as early as possible instead of considering their education. The young generation also has to work in bad conditions like their parents. It is quite certain that, they have no chances for upward mobility.

At this point the most important survival strategy is the appearance of the woman and child labor force; especially the children have to start working at very early ages before completing their education. This situation is the most important factor leading to the reproduction of poverty. From this perspective, the chances of the young generations to benefit from the opportunities of the city and to have education are not much compared to their parents' chances in the past. In other words, the upward mobility chances of the young generations are extremely limited.

Another prohibitive law shows itself in the use of child labor. In this respect, beginning to work at early ages is prohibited by the laws, but the reasons of this and solutions are ignored. The conditions of not having a regular income in the household are the main factors leading to child labor. Providing the parents with regular jobs and income is considered a more positive policy. Furthermore, the period of compulsory education became eight years, thus, it is thought that children will benefit from educational opportunities and in this

respect social state will fulfill its duties. However, extending the period of compulsory education does not solve the problem. If the parents do not have enough opportunities, children have to leave school at very early ages or their attendance to school becomes less day by day and the quality of education reduces, thus, most of the children have a primary school diploma even though they cannot read and write properly. Moreover, the expectations of parents from education regarding the future lives of their children are too low. Most of the time, eight-year compulsory education is seen waste of time and waste of money by the parents as they do not have any hopes or expectations about providing further education for their children. Instead of attending to school, children's economic support or gaining any qualification to find a job are considered more important and more realistic by the parents. In this respect, giving more value to sons than girls gains an economic meaning in addition to a social one. Sons can more easily work in the streets or in small workshops than girls at very early ages, thus they are seen more valuable in terms of economic value for their parents. Thus, if children are sent to school, sons' privileged status can partially be lifted.

In sum, time has shown that poverty cannot be reduced by the state's prohibitive policies. Instead of providing its citizens with educational opportunities, health services, work opportunities, the urban poor are almost blamed for struggling to survive and considered guilty.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Kent Yoksulluğu Araştırması Anket Formu

Demografik Özellikler

1) Medeni Durum: a)Evli b) Bekar c) Dul d) Dul ise; ne zamandan beri.....

Evliler için: a) Resmi nikahlı b) İmam nikahlı c) Her ikisi

2) Çocuk sayısı:

3) Evdeki kişi sayısı (evde oturmayan çocuklar hariç):

4) Hanehalkı Tablosu:

| KİŞİ | YAŞI | EĞİTİMİ | İŞİ | GELİRİ |
|------|------|---------|-----|--------|
| | | | | |
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| | | | | |

Görüşme yapılan kişinin;

5) Babasının: a) Doğum yeri b) Eğitim düzeyi c) Yaptığı iş

6) Annesinin: a) Doğum yeri b) Eğitim düzeyi c) Yaptığı iş

Görüşme yapılan kişinin eşinin;

7) Babasının: a) Doğum yeri b) Eğitim düzeyi c) Yaptığı iş

8) Annesinin: a) Doğum yeri b) Eğitim düzeyi c) Yaptığı iş

9) Oturduğunuz evin; a) Oda sayısı b) Mutfak c) Banyo d) Tuvalet e)

Elektrik f) Su

10) Oturduğunuz evin kirası:

Göç ile ilgili sorular

11) Doğum yeri: a) İl..... b) İlçe..... c) Köy.....

12) Eşinin doğum yeri: a) İl..... b) İlçe..... c) Köy.....

13) Bu kente ne zaman ve nereden geldiniz? a) İl..... b) İlçe..... c) Köy.....

14) Neden bu kente geldiniz? Kim karar verdi, kimlerle beraber geldiniz?

15) Buraya gelmenizde size yardımcı olanlar oldu mu, olduysa kimler, nasıl yardımcı oldu?

16) Siz gelmeyi istediniz mi? A) Evet b) Hayır c) Bilmiyorum

17) Bu şehre gelmeden önce başka bir şehirde yaşadınız mı? Nerede, ne kadar süre ile ve neden?

18) Memleketinize gider misiniz?

Evet ise; Neden ve ne sıklıkla?

19) Memleketinizden size gelirler mi?

Evet ise; Neden ve ne sıklıkla?

20) Memleketinizde ne iş yapıyordunuz? (Tarla işi, işçi olarak, kendi toprağında...)

21) Memleketinizde mal varlığınız var mı?

Evet ise; a) Arsa b) Tarla c) Ev d) Hayvan e) Diğer

22) Durumu nedir?

- a) Ortakçı b) Kendisi kullanıyor c) Akrabalar ekiyor d) Boş
e) Boşaltıldı f) Diğer

23) Buradan başka bir yere ya da memleketinize dönmeyi düşünüyor musunuz?

Evet ise; Neden?

Hayır ise; Neden ?

İş yaşamı ile ilgili Sorular

24) Bu şehre geldiğinizden beri sizin ve aile üyelerinin yaptığı son üç işiniz:

| | İlk işe başlama yaşı | Sırasıyla yaptığı işler | Çalışma süresi | İşten ayrılma nedeni | Sigortası olup olmadığı |
|------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Hane reisi | | | | | |
| eşi | | | | | |
| I. çocuk | | | | | |
| II. çocuk | | | | | |
| III. çocuk | | | | | |

25) İşinizi değiştirmek ister misiniz?

Evet ise; Neden?

Hayır ise; Neden?

26) İşinizin en güç tarafları nelerdir?

27) Çalıştığınız işi kimlerin yardımıyla buldunuz?

28) Meslek edinmeye yönelik herhangi bir kursa katıldınız mı?

Evet ise; Ne kadar süre ile?

İş bulmanıza faydası oldu mu?

Hayır ise; Olabileceğini düşünüyor musunuz?

29) İkinci bir işiniz var mı? Varsa nedir? Kazancınız ne kadar?

30) Komşulara ufak tamirat7tanıdıkların dükkanında geçici/düzensiz bir iş yapıyor musunuz?

31) Şu anda yaptığınız iş dışında kullanmasanız bile başka bilgi/beceriye sahip misiniz?

32) Ücretinizin dışında faiz, tarla geliri, ailen tardım gibi ek gelir olanaklarınız var mı? Varsa neler? Kazanç miktarınız ne kadar?

33) Yaptığınız işe yönelik bir eğitim aldınız mı?

Evet ise; ne kadar süre ile?

34) İşinizle ilgili bir probleminiz olduğunda nereye ya da kimlere başvurursunuz?

35)Çalışma saatleriniz düzenli mi?

36) Ücretinizi düzenli alabiliyor musunuz?

Hayır ise; Bu sorunla başa çıkabilmek için neler yapıyorsunuz?

37) Kadın çalışmıyor ise; Neden hiç çalışmayı düşünmedi?

Çalışmak ister mi?

Evet ise; Ne gibi bir işte çalışmak ister?

38) Gelir getirecek bir bilgi/becerisi yoksa; Bu konuda eğitim/kurs almak ister mi? Siz/eşiniz bu konuda bir şey yaptınız mı? Eşinizin çalışmasına siz/aileniz7komşular/çocuklar nasıl bakar?

39) Çalışan çocuğunuz var mı?

Evet ise; Kazandıkları parayı nasıl harcıyorlar?

40) Neden çalışıyorlar?

41) Hayır ise; Çalıştırmayı düşünüyor musunuz? Neden?

Tüketim Eğilimine Yönelik Sorular

42) Evinizde aşağıdaki eşyalardan hangileri var?

| Eşyalar | Var | Yok |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|
| Birden fazla TV | | |
| Buzdolabı | | |
| Derin dondurucu | | |
| Merdaneli çamaşır makinesi | | |
| Otomatik çamaşır makinesi | | |
| Müzik seti | | |
| Elektrikli süpürge | | |
| Telefon | | |

43) Rahat bir yaşam için kazancınızın ne kadar olmasını isterdiniz?

44) Tasarruf yapabiliyor musunuz?

Evet ise; Neler için?

45) Durumunuz uygun olsa en çok ne almak isterdiniz?

46) Eşinizin ya da çocuklarınızın almanızı istediği ancak alamadığı belli başlı şeyler nelerdir? Bu durumda nasıl bir tutum alıyorsunuz?

47) Gelirinizin büyük kısmını nelere ayırırsınız? Öncelik sıralaması yapar mısınız?

48) Alışverişlerinizi en çok nerelerden yaparsınız?

a) İşporta b) Semt pazarı c) Mağaza d) İkinci el pazarı e) Diğer

49) Geliriniz geçinmenize yeter mi?

Hayır ise; Hangi ihtiyaçlarınızı karşılayamıyorsunuz?

50) İşinizi kaybetmeniz veya geliriniz azalsa, hangi ihtiyaçlarınızdan fedakarlık edersiniz?

51) Aşağıdaki besin maddelerini ne sıklıkla tüketiyorsunuz?

| Süt,yoğurt,peynir | Et,tavuk,balık | baklagiller | sebze | meyve | Makarna/bulgur | Ekmek |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------|-------|-------|----------------|-------|
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |

Aile İçi İlişkilere Yönelik Sorular

52) Ailenizde kararları kimler verir? (ev, eşya alma, çocukların eğitimi, işi, akraba, sosyal çevre ile ilişkilerle ilgili olarak)

53) Eğer eşiniz çalışmıyor ise; Eşinizin çalışmasını ister misiniz?

Evet ise; Neden?

Hayır ise; Neden?

54) Kadınlar çalışmalı mı? (Kadınlara sorulacak)

Evet ise? Neden?

Hayır ise; Neden? (Kadın çalışıyor ise) Peki siz neden çalışıyorsunuz?

55) Eşinizle nasıl tanıştınız?

56) Eşinizle kendiniz mi tanıştınız?

57) Eşinizle aranızda herhangi bir akrabalık bağı var mı?

58) Eşinizle tartışır mısınız?

Evet ise; En çok hangi konularda tartışırsınız?

59) Aile içinde şiddet uygulanan durumlar olur mu?

Evet ise; En çok hangi nedenlerle ve kim kime uygular?

60) Eşiniz sizi döver mi/ Eşinizi döver misiniz?

Evet ise; En çok hangi nedenlerle? Siz bunu nasıl karşılırsınız? Karşı mı çıkarsınız, katlanır mısınız, neden?

61) Kaç hamilelik geçirdiniz? Düşük, kürtaj gibi nedenlerle çocuk kaybettiniz mi?

62) İlk çocuğunuz evliliğinizden kaç yıl sonra doğdu?

63)Çocuklarınız evde mi, hastanede mi doğdu?

64)Çocuk sahibi olurken kız ya da erkek çocuk tercihiniz var mıydı? Neden?

65)Çocuğunuzun okul durumu nasıl? Başarısız olduğunu düşünüyorsanız, bunu nedenleri sizce neler olabilir?

66) Çocuklarınızla aranızda görüş ayrılıkları oluyor mu?

Evet ise; En çok hangi konularda?

67) Sizce insanlar neden suça yönelir? Nedenleri neler olabilir?

68) Ailenizde karakolla ilişkisi olan ya da ceza alan kimse var mı? Neden?

Sosyal Çevreyle İlişkilere Yönelik Sorular

69) Neden bu mahallede oturuyorsunuz? Ne zamandan beri?

70) Oturduğunuz mahalledekiler en çok nereli?

71) İş yaşamı dışında ailenizle birlikte olmadığınızda vaktinizi nerede geçirirsiniz? En çok görüştüğünüz kişiler kimler?

72) Ekonomik sıkıntılarınız olduğunda en çok kimlerle dayanışma içinde bulunursunuz?

73) (Varsa) evli çocuklarınızla borç alışverişinde bulunur musunuz?

74) Herhangi bir kamu kurumundan yiyecek, giyecek, yakacak gibi yardımlar aldınız mı?

Evet ise; Hangi kanallardan ulaştınız?

75) Herhangi bir dernek, sendika gibi bir kuruluşa üye misiniz?

Evet ise; Ne tür aktivitelerde bulunuyorsunuz? Bu tür derneklerden bir yardım aldınız mı?

76) Gazete, dergi, kitap ne sıklıkla okursunuz? En çok hangi konular ilginizi çeker? Bu yayınlara nasıl ulaşırsınız?

a)Satın alma b) Kütüphane c)İşyeri d) komşu/tanıdık e) Diğer....

77) Şehir dışına en çok nereye gidersiniz? Neden, nerede ya da kimde kalırsınız?

78) Bu şehrin en çok nerelerini bilirsiniz? Buralara hangi amaçla gidersiniz?

79)Sağlık sorunlarınız olduğunda nereye ya da kime başvurursunuz?

80) En çok hangi TV kanalını seyredersiniz, hangi gazeteyi okursunuz, ne tür müzik dinlersiniz? Neden?

Geleneklere İlişkin Sorular

81)Çevrenizde yaşayanlarla aranızda giyim tarzı, ibadet etme, yeme-içme alışkanlıklarınızda farklılıklar var mı? Varsa bu durum sizi rahatsız ediyor mu?Çevrenizdekilerden bu konuda bir müdahale oldu mu?

82)Bu konuda eşinizle ya da çocuklarınızla tartışma yaşadınız mı ya da halen yaşıyor musunuz?

83)Çocuklarınızı okul dışı bir aktiviteye gönderir misiniz?

Evet ise; Kız ya da erkek çocukları arasında ayırım yapar mısınız? Neden?

84) Sizce kız ve erkek çocuklar için en uygun meslekler nelerdir? Neden?

85) Oruç tutar mısınız, namaz kılar mısınız, camiye gider misiniz?

Evet ise; Ne sıklıkla?

Beklentiler ve Geleceğe İlişkin Bakışa Yönelik Sorular

86) Ne olmak isterdiniz? İsteğiniz gerçekleşmedi ise sizce nedenleri neler olabilir?

87) Olanağınız olsa nasıl bir iş ve nerede oturmak isterdiniz? Neden? Sizce bu durum hayatınızı nasıl değiştirdi?

88) Çocuklarınızın evleneceği kişilerde aradığınız en önemli özellikler neler?

89) Olanağınız olsa çocuklarınızı şimdi gittikleri okuldan başka bir yere göndermek ister misiniz? Neden? Bu konuda kız ya da erkek çocuk tercihiniz olur muydu?

90) Çocuklarınızın ileride ne olmalarını istersiniz? Sizce bu mümkün mü? Nasıl mümkün olabilir?

91) Sizce yaşadığınız ekonomik sıkıntının nedenleri nelerdir?

92) Daha iyi yaşam şartlarına kavuşmak için sizce neler yapılabilir?

93) Siz ne yapabilirsiniz? (iş, eğitim olanakları, ev edinme, sosyal güvenceye kavuşma v.b.)

Anadili:

Mezhebi:

Hanede Yaşayan Çocuklara Yönelik Sorular

94) Yaşadığınız kentin en çok nerelerini bilirsiniz? Buralara hangi nedenlerle gidersiniz?

95) Gittiğiniz okuldan/yaptığınız işten memnun musunuz?

Evet ise; Neden?

Hayır ise; Nasıl bir okula gitmek isterdiniz/nasıl bir işte çalışmak isterdiniz?

96) İleride ne olmak istersiniz? Sizce bu mümkün mü?

97) Boş zamanlarınızda neler yaparsınız?

98) Herhangi bir bilgi/beceriye edinmeye yönelik bir kursa devam ediyor musunuz?

Evet ise; Bunun gelecekte size nasıl bir faydası olabileceğini düşünüyorsunuz?

Hayır ise; Neden?

99) Ailenizle aranızda anlaşmazlık konusu olan şeyler var mı?

Evet ise; En çok hangi konularda?

100) Çevrenizde yaşayanlarla aranızda giyim tarzı, ibadet etme, yeme-içme alışkanlıklarınızda farklılıklar var mı? Varsa bu durum sizi rahatsız ediyor mu?Çevrenizdekilerden bu konuda bir müdahale oldu mu?

101) Evleneceğiniz kişide aradığınız en önemli özellikler nelerdir?

102) Olanığınız olsa bu kentin neresinde oturmak istersiniz? Neden?

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire for Urban Poverty Research

Demographic Characteristics

1) Marital Status a) Married b) Bachelor c) Widow(er) d) If widow(er);
since when?

e) S/he has been living from her/his spouse.

For Married a) Officially married b) Religiously married c) Both of
them

2) Number of children:

3) Number of persons in the household (except for the children who are living
outside the home)

4) Table of household:

| Person | age | education | Occupation | income |
|--------|-----|-----------|------------|--------|
| | | | | |
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Interviewee's;

5) Father's: a) Place of birth b) Education level c) Occupation

6) Mother's: a) Place of birth b) Education level c) Occupation

Her/his spouse's

7) Father's: a) Place of birth b) Education level c) Occupation

8) Mother's: a) Place of birth b) Education level c) Occupation

9) Who belongs the house that you are living in? A) To me b) to my spouse
c) to my parents
d) Hired e) other

10) If the house belongs to the interviewee, how much would he/she want as rent?

11) The house which you are living in; a) Number of rooms b) kitchen c) bath d) toilet e) electricity f) water

12) Do you have a house on hire) a) yes b) no

If yes, how much is the rent?

Question on Migration

13) What is your place of birth? a) City.....b) Province.....c) Village.....

14) If married; where did your wife/husband born?
a) City.....b) Province.....c) Village.....

15) When did you come to Istanbul/Gaziantep and from which city did you village/province come? a) City.....b) Province.....c) Village.....

16) Why did you come to Istanbul/gaziantep? Who made the decision? With whom did you come here?

17) I there anyone who helped you to come here? If yes, who helped you and how?

18) Did you want to come here? a)yes b) no c) I don't know

19) Did you live in any city before you came here? If yes, where, how long and why?

20) Do you go to your hometown?

If yes, why and how often?

21) Does anyone come from your hometown to visit you?

22)what were you doing in your hometown? (In agricultural sector? as worker* his/her own land?)

23) Do you have any assets in your hometown?

If yes?

a)land b) field c) house d)animals e)other....

24) What is the state of these assets now?

a) shareholder

b) the interviewee uses the asset(s)

c) Interviewee's relatives are in charge of these assets

d) Not in use

e) Vacated

f) Other

25) Do you consider going back to your hometown or to any other city/province?

a) If yes; why?

b) If no; why?

26) When you compare this city with your hometown, what are the positive and negative aspects of both?

| | Positive aspects | Negative aspects |
|-----------|------------------|------------------|
| Istanbul | | |
| Gaziantep | | |

Questions on Work life

27) Since you came to this city, which you and other family members worked have?

| Person | The job (last three jobs) | Income | Duration of each job | Reason for quitting the job | Insurance Yes? No? |
|---------------|------------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Interviewee | | | | | |
| spouse | | | | | |
| I. children | | | | | |
| II. children | | | | | |
| III. children | | | | | |

- 28) Would you like to change your job?
- a) If yes; why?
 - b) If no; why?
- 29) What are the hardest aspects of your job?
- 30) Who helped you to find the job your have now?
- 31) did you attend any course aiming at training you on a job?
- 32) Do you have a second job? If yes, what is it? How much is your income?
- 33) Are you engaged in any small outside jobs such as repairing for the people in your surrounding for money?
- 34) except for the job you have now, do you have any other knowledge/skills, although you do not make use of it now?
- 35) Except for you salary, do you have any additional income such as interest, farming income or family support? If yes what are they? How much is your income from these sources?
- 36) Did you get trained for the job you have now? If yes, how long did it last?
- 37) When you have a problem concerning your job, who or where do you consult?
- 38) Are your work hours regular?
- 39) Can you get your salary regularly? If no, what do you do to cope with this problem?
- 40) If the woman is not working, why hasn't she ever thought of working?
- Does she want to work?
- If yes, what kinds of jobs would she like to work?

41) If you don't have any knowledge or skill through which you can earn money, do you want to attend to any training/course? Did you or your wife/husband do anything for this purpose? How you/your family/neighbors/friends view your wife's working?

42) Do you have any working children? (Or were they working when they were very young?)

If yes,

How do they spend their money?

43) Why do they work? (Why were they working?)

| Durable goods | available | Not available |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| TV more than one | | |
| refrigerator | | |
| Washing machine Automatic/non automatic | | |
| Dish machine | | |
| Deep freeze | | |
| Stereo | | |
| Vacuum clean | | |
| computer | | |
| automobile | | |

44) If they are not working, do you want them to work? Why?

Questions concerning consumption patterns

45) Which of do following durable goods do you have?

46) How much income would you like to have for a comfortable life?

47) Could you save money?

If yes, for what?

48) What would you like to buy most if you are in good state economically?

49) What are the things that your wife/husband or children want you to buy, but you couldn't buy? What is your attitude in such a situation?

50) On what you spend most of your money? What are the first three priorities?

51) Where do you do your shopping most?

a) From bazaar

b) Second hand bazaars

c) Other (please indicate)...

52) Is your income enough for you to lead a life?

If no, which needs can't you afford?

53) Assume that you lost your job and your income reduced, which needs would you sacrifice?

54) How often do you consume the following foods?

| Milk/yogurt/cheese | Meat/chicken/fish | Fruit/vegetable | Bread/pasta |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

Questions Concerning Family Relations

55) Who makes the decisions in your family?

(Related to buying a house/furniture, education of children, relationship with relatives/social environment)

56) If the wife/husband is not working?

Would you like your wife/husband to work?

If yes, why?

57) (Question for women) Must women work?

If yes, why?

If no, why?

(If the woman is working) Why do you work?

58) How you get to know your wife/husband?

59) Did you choose your wife/husband yourself?

60) Are your wife and you relative?

61) Is this your first marriage?

If no, do you have children from your other marriages?

If yes, where are they, what are they doing?

62) Do you argue with your wife/husband?

If yes, on which problems/issues?

63) Are there any violent behaviors/attitudes at home?

If yes, why and to whom?

64) (a questions for women) Does your husband beat you?

If yes, why? How do you perceive this situation? Do you oppose or tolerate?
Why?

65) (a question for women) How many times did you get pregnant?

66) How many years later was your first child born?

67) Where were your children born? At home or in a hospital?

68) Did you have any preference for the gender of your children (boy or girl)?
Why?

69) What are the responsibilities of a woman and a man in a family?

70) Is/are your child/children good at school? If you think your child/children
is/are unsuccessful, what may be the reasons for this?

71) Do your children and you have different points of view?

If yes, on which subject/issues mostly?

72) Are your parents living with you?

If yes, what are the positive and negative aspects of this situation?

73) For you, why do people have tendency to commit crimes? What may be the reasons?

74) Is there anyone who has ever gone to a police station or punished? Why?

Questions Concerning Social Environment Setting

75) Why do you live in this neighbourhood? Since when?

76) Where do most of the people come from in your neighbourhood?

77) Who do you meet most among your neighbors in your neighbourhood? Why?

78) Where do you spend your time except for the time you spend with your family or at work? Who are the people they you see most?

79) Who do you consult most when you have economical problems?

80) (If available) Do you get debt from your married children?

81) Did you get any food, clothes and coal/wood etc. From any public institutions?

If yes, how did you get them?

82) Are you a member of any associations or trade unions?

If yes, which activities do you do?

Did you get help from these associations/trade unions?

83) How is your relationship with your friends? Do you consult them? Who else do you consult?

84) How often do you read newspaper, magazine, book? Which subjects interest you most? How do you get these publications?

a) I buy them

b) I go to a library

c) From workplace

d) From neighbours or relatives

e) Other (please indicate).....

85) Which cities do you visit/go most? Why? Where and with whom do you stay?

86) Which parts of this city do you know most? Why do you go to these parts of this city?

87) Who do or where do you consult when you have health problems?

88) Which TV channel do you watch most? Which newspaper do you need most? Which kinds of music do you listen to most? Why?

Questions Concerning Traditions

89) Are there any differences between the people living in your neighbourhood and you in terms of dressing style, worshipping, and consumption habits? If there are differences, is this situation a problem for you?

90) Did you have problems with your wife/husband or children on this issue or do you still have problems on this issue?

91) Do you let your children attend to school or an activity?

If yes, do you discriminate between male and female children? Why?

92) What are the suitable occupations for male and female children? Why?

- 93) Do you fast? Do you perform namaz? Do you go to mosque?
If yes, how often?

Questions concerning expectations now and in the Future

- 94) What would you like to be? If your wishes didn't come true, what may be the reasons?
- 95) What kind of a job would you prefer and where would you like to live if you had opportunity? Why? How would this lifestyle affect you?
- 96) What are the features that you look for in a person who will get married to your child?
- a) Should be committed to our traditions
 - b) Should have good income and social status
 - c) Should be one of from relatives or fellow countrymen
 - d) Other (please specify).....
- 97) If you had opportunity, would you like to send your children to a better school? Why? Would you have a daughter or son preference in this respect?
- 98) What would you like your children to be? For you is it possible? How can it be possible?
- 99) What are the reasons for the economical problems that you go through now?
- 100) What can be done to have better life standards?
- 101) Who can do something about this situation?
- 102) What can you do?

(Work, educational opportunities, owning a house, having social security etc.)

Mother tongue:

Religious sect:

Questions Concerning the Children in the Household

103) Which parts of the city you are living in do you know? Why do you go to these parts?

104) Are you happy with your school and your job?

If yes, why?

If no, what kind of a school would you like to attend? / What kind of a job would you like to have?

105) What would you like to be in the future? Is it possible?

106) What do you do in your spare time?

107) Do you attend to any course aiming at learning something new or ability?

If yes, what may be the use of this skill or knowledge in the future?

If no, why?

108) What are the conflicts between you and your family?

If yes, on which issues?

109) Are there any differences between you and your neighbourhood in terms of clothing, eating habits, worshipping? If yes, does this disturb you? Did you get any reaction from the people around you?

110) What are the most basic characteristics of a person that you are going to marry?

111) If you had opportunities, in which part of this city would you like to live in? Why?

ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın amacı, son yıllarda sosyoloji çalışmalarında önemli bir konu haline gelen Türkiye'deki kent yoksulluğu hakkında bazı ipuçları elde etmeye çalışmaktır. Bu konuyu araştırırken değişen işgücü pazarının etkilerini de incelemek amacıyla, çalışan kent yoksulları üzerine odaklanılmıştır.

Türkiye'de henüz başlamış olan kent yoksulluğu çalışmalarının kısıtlılığı nedeniyle, P. Lloyd'un bir Latin Amerika ülkesi olan Peru'da kent yoksulluğu üzerine yapmış olduğu çalışma temel alınarak, bir tanım oluşturulmaya çalışılmış, ve alan araştırması yapılarak Türkiye'ye özgü dinamikler ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, kent yoksulluğu kavramı, çalışan yoksullar, yoksulların çalışma koşulları, yoksulların kendi yaşam koşullarına karşı geliştirdikleri davranış örüntüleri, yerleşim yeri özellikleri, eğitim ve sağlık gibi hizmetlere ulaşabilme olanakları, gelecekleri hakkında beklentileri, aile ilişkileri, sosyal yaşam, cinsiyet rolleri ve çocuğun değerine ilişkin değer ve tutumları incelenmiştir.

Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'deki çalışan kent yoksullarının bölgesel farklılıkları anlayabilmek için gereken ipuçlarını bulmak amacıyla İstanbul ve Gaziantep'i kapsayan bir alan çalışması yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, dünyadaki konjonktürel değişimlerden Türkiye'nin de önemli ölçüde etkilenmiş olduğu ve yeni bir kent yoksulluğu olgusunun ortaya çıkmış olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Çalışan kent yoksullarının bölgesel farklılıkları açısından, İstanbul işgücü pazarı, Gaziantep'e göre yeni uluslararası işbölümünün ve yapısal uyum politikalarının etkilerini daha fazla yansıtmaktadır. İstanbul, uluslararası sermaye hareketlerinden oldukça etkilenen bir kentsel işgücü pazarına sahiptir. Fakat Gaziantep'teki kentsel işgücü pazarı kırsal ve yerel düzensiz işleri içermekle birlikte, yeni uluslararası işbölümü bağlantılarına da sahiptir. Mikro düzeyde, İstanbul'da çalışan kent yoksulu batılı ve kentli değerleri daha fazla yansıtmaktadır; daha yüksek okuma yazam oranı ve eğitim düzeyi, eğitimin rolü hakkında daha olumlu tutum, düzensiz işçilik açısından daha iyi çalışma koşulları, gelecek hakkında daha umutlu olma ve hayatta kalma stratejilerini hayata geçirme açısından daha motive olmuş insanlar fakat daha fazla

soyutlanmışlık hissi İstanbul'daki kent yoksullarının özellikleridir. Diğer taraftan, İstanbul'daki göçmenlerle karşılaştırıldığında, Gaziantepli kent yoksulları çok karmaşık ve çok aşamalı bir göç sürecini yansıtmaktadır. Ayrıca, Gaziantep'teki göçmen kadınlar tarım endüstrisi nedeniyle parça başı işlerde daha fazla çalışmaktadırlar. Bu nedenle, bu tezde Türkiye'deki kent yoksulluğu ve daha da ayrıntılı şekilde çalışan kent yoksullarının belirlenmesinde bölgesel ve kültürel faktörlerin ve göç dinamiklerinin önemli olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Genel olarak kent yoksulluğu ve daha ayrıntılı incelendiğinde de çalışan kent yoksulları makro, mezzo ve mikro olmak üzere üç düzeyde analiz edilmiştir. Makro düzeyde, 1980'lerden sonra meydana gelen büyük değişimlerin ve yeni uluslararası işbölümünün, yeni kent yoksulunun ortaya çıkışı üzerindeki etkileri tartışılmıştır. Mezzo düzeyde, bu değişimin en önemli etkilerinden biri olan ve en çok Türkiye gibi geri kalmış ülkeleri etkileyen “Yapısal Uyum Politikaları” irdelenmiştir. Fakat, bu tez genelde yoksulluğun mikro yönleri üzerinde odaklanmıştır. Mikro düzeyde aile ve akrabaların karşılıklı ilişkileri ve ortak dayanışma bağları; sosyal ve ekonomik hayat ile ilgili değerler ve gelenekler; hayatta kalma stratejileri; kültürel yoksulluğun etkileri incelenmiştir.

Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmanın bazı bulgularından şu şekilde sözedilebilir:

Araştırma birimi olarak alınan hane bazında, hane bireylerinin eğitim düzeyinin oldukça düşük olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Eğitim düzeyi kuşaklar arasında büyük farklılıklar göstermemekte, diğer bir deyişle genç kuşakların yukarı doğru toplumsal hareketlilik olanakları son derece kısıtlı kalmaktadır. Buna paralel olarak, ailelerin çocuklarının eğitimleriyle ilgili beklenti düzeyleri oldukça sınırlıdır ve ailede çocuk sosyal ve psikolojik bir değer olarak görülmekten çok ekonomik bir değer olarak algılanmaktadır.

Kent yoksulları, kent yaşamından fiziksel ve sosyal anlamda oldukça uzak bir çevrede yaşamlarını sürdürmekte, ekonomik, sosyal ve psikolojik anlamda kendi iç dinamiklerinde oluşturdukları dayanışma ağları yoluyla ayakta kalma

stratejileri yaratmaya çalışmaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda, aile ve akrabalık bağları, ortak mezhep ve etnik köken, kent yoksulları arasında güçlü bağları oluşturan en önemli dinamiklerdir. Aile ilişkileri açısından bakıldığında, ailede karar verme mekanizmasının erkek olduğu açıkça görülmekte, bu açıdan İstanbul ve Gaziantep illeri büyük farklılıklar göstermemekle birlikte, geleneksel değerler Gaziantep'teki kent yoksulları arasında daha baskın olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Erkeğin hanedeki egemenliği, kadının hane içinde gördüğü şiddetten, tüm yaşamına ilişkin kararlarda erkeğin tek söz sahibi olmasına kadar uzanmaktadır. Hane içi yaşamda görülen bu geleneksel değer ve davranış örüntüleri, erkeği küçük yaşlardan itibaren kadının önüne koymakta, haneler önemli bir oranla erkek çocuk sahibi olmayı öncelikli olarak tercih ettiklerini belirtmektedirler.

Kent yoksulluğunun diğer bir önemli dinamiği olan iş yaşamı ve çalışma koşulları, bu çalışmanın diğer önemli bir alanını oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacına uygun olarak, bir işte çalışan ya da halen iş arayan hane reislerinin olduğu haneler görüşme birimi olarak alınmış, hane reisi, eşi ve hanedeki diğer bireylerin çalışma koşulları incelenmiştir. Çalışma koşulları açısından en belirgin özellikler, kent yoksullarının enformal sektörde, herhangi bir iş güvencesine sahip olmadan ve çoğunlukla geçici işlerde çalışmalarıdır. Çoğu zaman işveren tarafından keyfi olarak belirlendiğini belirttikleri çalışma koşulları ve ücretler, kent yoksullarının yaşam koşullarını daha da güçleştirmektedir. Bunun en önemli etkilerinden biri kendini çocuk işçiliğinin ortaya çıkışında göstermektedir. Hanelerde çalışan çocuk sayısı oldukça yüksek olduğu gibi, çalışma koşulları da ebeveynlerinin çalışma koşullarından farklılıklar göstermemektedir. Kadının çalışma yaşamına katılması ise, daha çok ya mevsimlik tarım işçiliğinde ya da evde yapılan parça başı işlerle kendini göstermektedir. Kadının ev içi işleri, çocukların bakımı ve geleneksel değerlerin kadının ev dışında çalışmasına izin vermemesi gibi nedenlerle kadının kentsel işgücü pazarında henüz tam anlamıyla yerini almış olduğu söylenemez.

Özellikle 1980 sonrası dönemde, Yapısal Uyum Politikaları'yla, geçici, yarı zamanlı, mevsimlik işler yaygınlaşmıştır. Bu durum da, işgücünün

sömürülmesini kolaylaştırmıştır. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre, bu sürecin en önemli sonucu, bir çatı altında toplanamayan ve sermayeye karşı güç birliği oluşturamayan düzensiz ve sosyal güvenceye sahip olmayan işgücünün ortaya çıkmasıdır. Ayrıca, böyle bir süreç, işverenlerin keyfi uygulamaları için gereken koşulları yaratmıştır. Çalışma koşullarının güçlüğü ve yüksek oranda iş kazası riski çalışanlar için hayati tehlike oluşturmaktadır ve çalışma koşulları nedeniyle işini bırakmak zorunda kalmış olan bir çalışan tamamen tek başına bırakılmaktadır.

Diğer bir önemli nokta ise, devletin yoksulluğu azaltacak sosyal politikalar yaratmak yerine, yasaklayıcı kanunlar yoluyla sözde düzenlemeler yapmasıdır. Bu tür düzenlemeler, kent yoksulluğunu önleyememekte, sadece devletin bu konuyu gözardı ettiğini göstermektedir. Bunun en önemli göstergelerinden biri çalışanların çalışma koşullarının ihmal edilmesidir ve bu ihmal işverenlere çalışanları sömürmeleri için görünmeyen bir destek sağlamaktadır.

Kent yoksullarının çalışma koşulları ile ilgili diğer bir önemli nokta, geleneksel ilişki ağlarının kullanmaları nedeniyle eleştirilmeleridir. Bu durumun kentsel değerlerin benimsenmesini, birey olma bilincini engellediği savunulmaktadır. Araştırma sonuçlarına göre diyebiliriz ki, kent yoksullarının geleneksel ilişki ağları yoluyla ayakta kalmaya çalışmaları, bir tercihten çok zorunluluktur. Kent yoksullarının bir kurum ya da sendika çatısı altında toplanma çabaları yasaklanır ya da haklarını talep ettiklerinde işlerini kaybetme riskiyle karşı karşıya kalırlarsa, kültürel yoksulluk kavramı geçerliliğini kaybeder. Buna ek olarak, içinde bulundukları ekonomik durum ve eğitim düzeyi nedeniyle bulundukları çevreye sıkıştırılan kent yoksulları diğer ayakta kalma mekanizmalarını kullanamadıklarında, kentin olanaklarından yararlanmadıkları ve geleneksel değerlerini korudukları gerekçesiyle suçlanamazlar.

Bu çalışmanın diğer bir önemli sonucu, kent yoksullarının kendilerini algılayışlarında kendini gösterir. Kent yoksullarının kendi oturdukları çevre dışında kentte bir yaşam alanları yoktur. Bu nedenle, referans grupları, akrabaları, komşuları ya da iş arkadaşlarıdır. Bunun en önemli sonucu, görelî

yoksunluk kavramında kendini göstermektedir. Göreli yoksunluk duygusunu en az hissettikleri ortam daha iyi fırsatlara sahip olan insanlarla iletişim kurmadıkları ya da bu fırsatları hiç farketmedikleri ortamlardır. Aile kurumu ve din de kent yoksullarının kendi yaşam koşulları ile ilgili duygu ve tutumlarını etkilemektedir.

Sonuç olarak, kent yoksullarının içinde bulundukları durumu pasif bir şekilde kabul ettikleri ya da kaderci bir yaklaşım benimsedikleri söylenemez. Diğer bir deyişle, araştırmacılar tarafından yoksulluğun nedenlerinden biri olarak görülen kültürel yoksulluk bu çalışmanın bulgularıyla örtüşmemektedir. Kent yoksullarının çalışma koşullarının ve diğer hayatta kalma stratejilerinin de gösterdiği gibi, bu çalışma da, kent yoksullarının kent yaşamında hayatta kalabilmek için gerçekçi çözümler üretmeye çalıştıklarını, yoksulluğun nedenleriyle ve yoksullukla mücadele etme yollarıyla ilgili gerçekçi bir yaklaşıma sahip olduklarını gösterir.

VITA

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