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Becoming "urban" or staying "rural": The experiences of diverse groups of rural-to-urban migrant women and men living in gecekondus and apartments in Ankara, Turkey

Erman, Tahire Erdoğan, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1993

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BECOMING "URBAN" OR STAYING "RURAL": THE EXPERIENCES OF DIVERSE GROUPS OF RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRANT WOMEN AND MEN LIVING IN GECEKONDUS AND APARTMENTS IN ANKARA, TURKEY

by

Tahire Erdoğan Erman

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York

1993

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

To my parents Banu and Sedat Erdoğan

who made sacrifices in order to educate their daughters

Abstract

BECOMING "URBAN" OR STAYING "RURAL":
THE EXPERIENCES OF DIVERSE GROUPS OF RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRANT WOMEN AND MEN LIVING IN GECEKONDUS AND APARTMENTS IN ANKARA, TURKEY

by

Tahire Erdoğan Erman

Adviser: Professor Maxine Wolfe

This dissertation was aimed at understanding the lives of rural-to-urban migrants in Turkey from their own perspective, bringing out their voices as well as revealing the diversity in the migrant population. It explored the question of whether migrants become urban or stay rural and what that means. While seeking answers to this broad question, it focused both on objective and subjective realms and investigated the conditions under which migrants live as well as their self-definitions in terms of rural/urban. It investigated further the relationship of migrants with the village and their interaction with the city both in physical and social terms as well as with their housing environment. Taking a gender and an environmental perspective, the study asked how being a female or a male and how living in an apartment area or a gecekondu[1] settlement affected the experiences of migrants.

---

[1]Gecekondu (ge-che-kon-du) is the name given to squatter houses in Turkey. Its literal translation means "landed overnight."

This dissertation drew on grounded theory developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). It employed ethnographic research techniques, namely, participant observation and formal and informal interviews. It also used photographs as a means to approach people which proved to be useful motivating people to invite me to their homes as well as to special occasions, such as wedding and circumcision celebrations.

During the research, I rented the lower floor of a house in a gecekondu settlement and resided there for five months. I also paid frequent visits to a neighborhood where gecekondus were being replaced by apartment blocks.

The findings inform us about the experiences of migrants in the city and the factors that shape those experiences. They reveal significant differences in the experiences of males and females and those living in apartments and gecekondus.

The findings also inform us about the manners and possibility of "becoming urban" for migrants. These findings may be applied to the cases of people who move from one place to another to live on a permanent basis. They may also refer to the general relationships of low-status groups to high-status groups in a class-stratified society.

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Doing this dissertation has been an exciting experience and a big challenge. During the course of it, I learned a great deal as a social scientist and as a human being. First of all, I thank my participants for making this research happen. Not only did they do their best to provide me with data that would help me complete my research project, but also enriched my life (and my research) by accepting me into their lives. I owe special thanks to my female neighbors who took care of me and who became my close friends, now and then sharing the intimate aspects of their lives with me, as well as to my keyperson's relatives who were excited about my research and took their time to provide me with the details of their experiences. I would like to extend my gratitude to my keyperson, my roommate, and my next door neighbor in Greenville, without whom this project would not have been possible.

I would like to use this opportunity to thank my adviser Prof. Maxine Wolfe for her intellectual stimulation and emotional support, for being my friend and my mentor (I will never forget the excitement of sharing ideas with her), Prof. Susan Saegert for her creative ideas and comments, and Prof. Leanne Rivlin for her insight, kindness, and patience who read the dissertation very carefully, editing it many times. Words are not enough to express my deep gratitude to them.

Being an international student in a Ph.D. Program means more than working for a degree. It requires to establish oneself in the new environment, forming new relations, making emotional adjustments, and the like. This may be a real challenge if that environment is an excitingly diverse yet overwhelmingly hectic and gigantic

cosmopolitan city like New York. I thank the members of the Environmental Psychology Program for providing me with a nurturing environment, especially Nina Gottlieb, Jody Imbimbo, and Lena Sorensen, as well as my friends outside the Program, especially Ahu Iltus, Sandra Tomas, Sophie Balcoff, Firuze Karamete, and Atakan Bayri, for being my friend and for supporting me emotionally and socially in a foreign country. I also thank Ercument Erman for encouraging me to start this Program.

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PREFACE

This dissertation is about rural-to-urban migration in Turkey, a country at the capitalist periphery, and its rural migrants who started moving to the city in huge numbers in the 1950's. They created their own environment, namely, gecekondu[1] settlements, despite the attempts of the State to prevent it, surviving in the city despite economic and social hardships.

In the literature, there are not many studies which bring out the diversity in the migrant population. The general trend in the literature has been to focus on squatter settlements where rural-to-urban migrants are concentrated, making those migrants living in apartments invisible. Also, the changes in the migrant population have been neglected to a large extent. However, over the years, differentiation in the migrant population in socio-economic and environmental terms has occurred, some migrants improving their financial situations and starting to live in the established middle- and upper-class parts of the city. In addition, new migrant groups have been emerging as second-generation and recent migrants who have different experiences and expectations from firstcomers start living in the city.

For my dissertation, I asked the general question of how rural migrants lived in the city. I wanted to understand the lives of migrants from their own perspective and to bring out their voices, particularly those of migrant women who are often not heard. I also asked the question whether migrants become urban or stay rural and

---

[1]Gecekondu (ge-che-kon-du) is the name given to squatter houses in Turkey. Its literal translation means "landed overnight."

what that means. While seeking answers to these broad questions, I wanted to find out about the relationship of migrants with the village and their interaction with the city both in physical and social terms as well as with their housing environment. I wanted to know how they defined themselves in terms of rural/urban (köylü/şehirli) and whether those migrants living in apartments defined themselves as urban, while those living in gecekondus defined themselves as rural. I also wanted to know how being a female or a male (a gender perspective) and how living in an apartment area or a gecekondu settlement (an environmental perspective) affected the experiences of migrants. While seeking answers to these questions, my particular concern was to reveal the diversity in the migrant population.

To achieve these goals, I employed the method of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Strauss, 1987; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I grounded myself into the research project through ethnographic techniques. As the pilot study revealed, it was imperative that I live with migrants in order to investigate the issues that were interest to me. Therefore, I rented a gecekondu and resided there for five months. I also paid frequent visits to an apartment site in transformation from a gecekondu settlement. I participated in people's daily activities. I was invited to special occasions, such as wedding and circumcision celebrations. I sometimes interviewed people formally, tape-recording or writing down their answers, and sometimes asked the questions informally in a conversation. I took photographs of people, their homes, and their neighborhood. My taking photographs became a major means for me to approach people and a main reason for them to invite me to their homes as well

as to special occasions.

The data obtained in this qualitative research are very rich and detailed. They describe the lives of migrants on the one hand, and on the other, they answer the particular research questions. By doing so, they broaden our understanding of the experiences of rural migrants in the city and the factors that shape those experiences. They reveal significant differences in the experiences of male and female migrants and of those migrants living in apartments and gecekondus. These differences would not have been identified if the research had been limited to the environment where rural migrants are the most visible (namely, gecekondu settlements) and to the "heads of families" (namely, men).

This dissertation contributes further to the literature by addressing to the diversity in the migrant population. Its contribution is a consequence of the kind of methodology employed: It enabled the researcher to become close to the lives of the participants and to incorporate new issues that emerged as significant as the research advanced. Treating the various approaches of migrants to the researcher--an established urban dweller--as part of the research revealed important aspects which would have not come out otherwise. Its contribution also is due to its approach to a migrant population as males and females, as those living in gecekondus and those living in apartments, and to a lesser degree (because of the limited availability of middle-class migrants in this research), as middle- and lower-classes.

As a final product, a number of hypotheses were developed which inform us about the manners and possibility of "becoming urban" for rural-to-urban migrants.

They are based on the findings which cover both objective and subjective realms, that is, the conditions under which migrants live as well as their own definitions of themselves in terms of rural/urban. These hypotheses may be applied to the cases of people who move from one place to another to live on a permanent basis. They may also refer to the general relationship of low-status social groups to high-status groups in a class-stratified society.

Furthermore, this dissertation contributes to environmental psychology (or rather environmental social science) by doing research in a "Third World" context. Environmental social science will benefit from the studies carried out in the "Third World" which will inform us about the relationship of people with their environment in different socio-economic, cultural, and political contexts.

This discipline will also benefit from migration studies, or stated in a broader way, the movement of people from one place to another to live on a permanent basis, as opposed to "residential mobility" which is, for now, a much more Western concept. My dissertation is a step towards this end.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the literature relevant to the dissertation is covered. This literature review provides background information on the one hand, and on the other, it addresses to the areas and issues that are neglected and need to be investigated. By doing so, it leads to the research goals of this study.

A Historical Approach to Rural-to-Urban Migration and Gecekondu[1] Formation in Turkey

Appearance of Gecekondus

Rapid social changes have been taking place in Turkey, as in other parts of the world since WWII as the result of rapid "urbanization" of the country largely due to rural-to-urban migration. In the late 1940's, a new development model was adopted in Turkey under the leadership of the private sector. It was based on economic dependence on the West through long-term loans, openning the country to a market economy. Through the economic and technical help of the Marshall Plan, new agricultural products and technologies (tractors, fertilizers, irrigation systems) were introduced to the agricultural sector to increase productivity and new roads were built to transport the agricultural yields to the market. This intervention in the agricultural sector, aimed at its mechanization, disturbed its balance. Many farmers lost their

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[1]Gecekondu (ge-che-kon-du) is the name given to squatter houses in Turkey. Its literal translation means "landed overnight."

land; many sharecroppers or tenants lost their employment. As a result, large numbers of people began to leave their villages for larger cities.

When this mass migration from rural areas to larger cities started, the cities were not ready, either physically or economically, to receive migrants. Ankara was the most vulnerable of all cities because of its almost total lack of housing for low-income people, except for the rundown houses of the citadel region (Senyapili, 1982). New migrants built their gecekondus in the areas which were both close to the city center and geographically undesirable (steep slopes, river beds), and they found marginal jobs. From the very beginning of their appearance in the city, they received negative reactions from "the established families with old middle-class values" (Karpat, 1976; p.62) who regarded rural migrants as a disaster and as "vulgar," "dirty," and "ignorant peasants" who invaded their hometown. They started blaming migrants for destroying their "peaceful lives" and "clean and orderly city."

> Complaining about the disappearance of city manners and of privacy and accepting at face value the rumors of rising crimes in squatter settlements, they hoped to prevent this migration by every possible means....(On the other hand), intellectuals and newspapermen (sic) who disdained the first group either as conservative bourgeois or decadent, Osmanli aristocracy looked on the squatter settlements as the spawning ground for the revolution they wanted to lead; but they seldom, if ever, left their comfortable houses and secure offices to visit the gecekondus (Karpat, 1976; p.62-64).

Despite the negative reaction of old inhabitants, migrants were determined to stay in the city, usually because they did not have any other choice. They started giving services to the city and its people as they worked as cleaning people and street sweepers:

> In the morning, summer and winter, human beings flow down from their caves

> to the city center to add to the comfort, happiness and pleasure of its residents. They are everywhere--in stores, at markets, in houses. All day long they are at your service, under your orders (A. Fenik, 1949 in Senyapili, 1982).

The Government's Reaction to the Gecekondu Phenomenon

The government's initial response to gecekondu formation was to prevent the establishment of gecekondu settlements and thus protect private property and public land from illegal occupation. But the law of 1924 that authorized municipal governments to demolish dwellings built on public land also required that an order be issued before an inhabited building could be demolished, and this slowed down the process of demolition (Danielson & Keles, 1985). The changes in the economy when Turkey adopted a dependent economic development model and started undertaking more investments in cities increased the demand for cheap labor in the industry. Thus, the role of migrants in the economy gained significance. The government, however, failed to provide houses for them. This led to a change in the government policy. The government began to view gecekondus not as a problem any more, but as a solution to the problem of housing shortage in cities (Karpat, 1976), as the inevitable consequence of rapid urbanization and Turkey's level of economic development (Danielson & Keles, 1985). In his book, Karpat (1976) quotes from the speech by the Turkish government to the United Nations:

> Urbanization and its accompanying "gecekondus" are not considered today an undesirable phenomenon in Turkey. Instead, the rapid growth of cities and the existence of gecekondu areas -planned or unplanned- are considered positive factors in national development, for, from them are to come the workers for the proposed massive industrialization programme of the decade of the 1970's (p.65).

Thus, a more positive approach that identified gecekondus with urbanization, industrialization and modernization took over the negative emphasis on prohibition and demolition. This change resulted in a government policy for the upgrading of existing gecekondus (Payne, 1982). Yet, there was still gecekondu demolition going on. "The gecekondus were tolerated as necessary evil though occasional demolition did occur" (Payne, 1982). At the same time, the government was trying to control the expansion of gecekondu settlements. The law of 1949 which legalized existing gecekondus on the one hand, prohibited future ones (Danielson & Keles, 1985). The same attitude of the government was repeated with the Gecekondu Law of 1966 which ordered that "good gecekondus would be improved, bad ones eliminated, and new housing provided" (Danielson & Keles, p.177). Although the law was successful in the first two of its goals, it proved to be a failure in the third one. Thus, the law could not stop the formation of new gecekondu settlements. Another gecekondu law was passed in 1976 which again legalized existing gecekondus while prohibiting future ones. Up to the present time, the governments have not been successful at controlling gecekondu formation.

Changes Over Time

Starting in the 1950's, as demand for cheap labor in the industry increased, migrants became an indispensable element in the economy and their gecekondus a permanent part of the city. Many gecekondu settlements received services and infrastructure, including roads and bus transportation to sites, city water and

electricity inside houses. However, gecekondu residents have never been on equal terms with the middle-class in their plea for urban services. They often used their "connections" to obtain services (Heper, 1982).

Meanwhile political parties attempted to take advantage of the vote potential of gecekondu residents, visiting gecekondu settlements during election times, making promises about services and infrastructure to the area and titles to the land (Karpat, 1976; Danielson & Keles, 1985). The thaw in the relationship during election times was occasionally followed by a period of neglect and even hostility against gecekondu settlements (Karpat, 1976; Danielson & Keles, 1985).

During the period from 1960 to 1970, the role of migrants as consumers in the economy gained significance when migrants started participating in the consumption field as the economy showed the need for new domestic markets (Senyapili, 1976). In the 1970's, land speculation in gecekondu settlements became a significant issue. Gecekondus, once praised for their self-help, spontaneity and responsiveness to their residents, became a commodity in the hands of gecekondu brokers and speculators, informal yet organized interest groups in the gecekondu market (Turan, 1988; Payne, 1982). They bought land in the outer areas of the city (or rather enclosed it) and parcelled it into plots for prospective gecekondu owners. They also bought gecekondus, replacing them with apartment blocks (Aksoy, 1987; Bektore, 1986). Today, there are gecekondu settlements where multi-story apartment buildings are built here and there. They have the status of a gecekondu, that is, they are illegal: They have shared titles and no construction permits. On the other hand, there are

modern housing complexes built in a gecekondu settlement which are legal. They are likely to be the agents of "gentrification" in the gecekondu settlement. There are also gecekondu settlements which go through transformation into an apartment area after the master plan is completed. In this process, gecekondus are bought by contractors to be placed by apartment blocks, and gecekondu owners receive ownership to several apartments in the buildings replacing gecekondus.

Different Views About Urbanization, Rural-to-Urban Migration and Squatter Housing in the "Third World"

Macro-Level Studies: Urbanization and Rural-to-Urban Migration in the "Third World"

Since its occurence, urbanization and rural-to-urban migration in the "Third World" (countries at the periphery of the capitalist system) and squatter housing as its outcome in the physical realm, have attracted the attention of scholars who attempted to explain this phenomenon, ending up with different views.

Modernization theories conceive of rural-to-urban migration as the means to the urbanization of the country, since this was the case in the West during the 19th century Industrial Revolution (Friedman, 1968). In this view, through the relocation of people from the traditional, agricultural sector of the rural areas to the modern, industrial sector of the cities, the urbanization and therefore the modernization of the country will eventually happen, and "modern" individuals will emerge. In the modernization approach, a dichotomy exists between the rural and the urban, rural

being associated with traditionalism and urban with modernism. In this view, urbanization is a process during which rural-to-urban migrants totally discard their rural culture and are assimilated into urban society, acquiring urban habits and values (Wirth, 1938). According to Karpat (1976), this view adopts the elite middle-class view of urbanism.

In contrast to the modernization view, some other approaches to the changes in the "Third World" conceive of rural-to-urban migration as the ruralization of the city, but for different reasons. Some emphasize the occupational aspect and regard the "marginal" employment of rural migrants in the city as the reason for migrants' not becoming urban (Isaac, 1974; Mc Gee, 1973). Some others emphasize the cultural aspect and regard the continuing rural way of living and rural values of migrants as reasons that make migrants "peasants in cities" (Mangin, 1970; Abu-Lughod, 1961).

Another approach which has a different perspective on the issue conceives of rural-to-urban migration as the exploitation of migrants by the status quo (Castells, 1983; Senyapili, 1987; Perlman, 1976).

At the same time, as the factors causing rural-to-urban migration in the "Third World," the imbalance between urban and rural areas--the concentration of services, educational and medical facilities, the existence of better infrastructure and transportation systems and the availability of job opportunities in cities--motivate villagers to migrate to the city, economic hardship, poverty, and the high rates of unemployment in rural areas, make it difficult, if not impossible, to earn a living in the village, forcing villagers to migrate out of the village (Danielson & Keles, 1985;

Karpat, 1976). In Karpat's research (1976), many respondents cited the lack of land and low soil productivity as the chief cause of poverty and the immediate cause of migration to the city.

The cultural significance attached to the city is another factor in its favor:

> The city in the third world, in addition to the economic opportunities offered, has been regarded traditionally as a superior form of existence. The high status attached to life in the city--sehir, madina, polis, or urbanismo--is a deeply engrained element in the cultures of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The term madaniyyat--that is, civilization--in the Muslim culture derives from madina, or city. It stands, in fact, as an independent cultural variable responsible for rural migration into cities (Karpat, 1976; p.244).

Michelson & Keles (1985) also maintain this view.

Thus, while the city pulls villagers, the village pushes them (Karpat, 1976; Simic, 1985; Michelson & Keles, 1985).

The desire to move to the city is particularly true in the case of women. Karpat (1976) writes:

> Women, though generally concurring with men's opinion about the reasons for leaving the village, had a much more concrete view of the living difficulties in a rural area where they did most of the work in the fields and homes--especially in the gurbetci families, where men left their village in the summers. They were attracted to the city by the desire to escape the hardship of field work and to find better opportunities for their children (p.75).

Today, 40 years since the first massive rural-to-urban migration, relatives, and other migrants already settled in the city have become another significant factor in the migration of villagers to the city. "The establishment of a base in the city acts as a magnet for future migration from the village" (Simic, 1985; p.134). Karpat (1976), while talking about the reasons for leaving the village, states as one of the reasons "to catch up with relatives who seemed to be prospering in the city" (p.75).

In the literature mentioned above, the focus is on the macro level, and the experiences of individual migrants are not studied. Yet, the investigation of experiences is necessary to understand the phenomenon under study and not just to explain it (or sometimes explain it away) in order to direct it. Studies at the macro level should be complemented with studies at the micro level. The reverse is also true. Studies focusing on individual experiences without placing them in a wider socio-economic and political context fails to capture the reality.

Studying experiences is particularly significant in the case of rural-to-urban migrants who are assigned low status in the city.

Micro-Level Studies: Rural Migrants in the City

Many of the studies that focus on the individual migrant investigate the "adaptation" of migrants to the city. Some compare them to established urban dwellers in socio-economic and occupational terms (Goldscheider, 1983; Garcia et al, 1981; Hogan & Berlinck, 1976; Bock & Iutaka, 1969), or in cultural terms. Among the latter group who study the changes in the values and ways of living of migrants, there are those who believe in the modernizing effects of the city on migrants and expect changes in them towards becoming "modern." These investigations look at the fertility of migrants (Iutaka et al., 1976; Stanhope et al., 1981), household size (Stinner, 1982), eating habits (De Mello Amorozo & Shrimpton, 1984), health care behavior (Uyanga, 1983; Davidson, 1983), and educational levels (Bouvier et al., 1976). Others are interested in the political realm (Nelson, 1970; Cornelius, 1974).

These studies fail to understand the phenomenon from the perspective of migrants.

There is another approach which, rather than comparing migrants to urban dwellers, contextualizes them in the city and attempts to understand their lives, some ending up by pointing to the disadvantageous positions of migrants in the city (Perlman, 1976; Peattie, 1970).

These studies uncover various aspects of the experiences of migrants in the city.

Experiences of Migrants in the City

Migrants face hardship in the city in both economic and social terms. Their jobs are usually low-paying and low-status, ranging from maid, peddler, gas station worker, and janitor to waiter, driver, salesperson, groceryperson, and builder (Karpat, 1976;[2] Ersoy, 1985).[3] Many work almost all days of the week.[4]

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[2]In Karpat's study, 93 % of the men and 30 % of the women were employed. Of the employed men, 20 % were self-employed, 57 % worked in private firms, 21 % in state enterprises, and 2 % were undesignated. Of the employed women, 8 % were self-employed, 6 % worked in private firms, 3 % in state enteprises, and 83 % were undesignated. 39 % of the men were employed at services (unskilled work, maids, servants), 17 % at technical professions, 20 % at construction, 6 % at crafts, 10 % at trade, 3 % at agriculture, and of the women, 90 % as maids, 2 % at technical professions, 5 % at crafts, and 1 % at trade.

[3]In Ersoy's study, there were civil servants and service people working in hotels, restaurants, etc., and skilled workers and technicians working in the "modern capitalist sector," as well as those employed in the "traditional sector," working, for example, as shoemakers, tailors, carpenters and taxi drivers, or as assistants to these groups.

[4]In Karpat's research (1976), 21 % of the men and 38 % of the women worked 3 to 5 days a week, and 75 % of the men and 37 % of the women worked 6-7 days a week.

The low status of migrants is frequently mentioned in the literature (Danielson & Keles, 1985; Senyapili, 1982, 1978; Perlman, 1976). Migrants are usually looked down upon by the more established people of the city as "uncivilized," "backward," and "vulgar" (Danielson & Keles, 1985). They are kept from participating in urban life and from using its services by established urban people who are unwilling to share the facilities and cultural institutions of the city. Karpat writes (1976):

> The migrants were blamed for crowding in buses and trains and amusement parks, for the heavy traffic caused by the dolmus (taxis) often operated by gecekondu residents, and for a variety of other urban difficulties. The gecekondus in their eyes were sources of crime, prostitution, and drug addicts, although, as indicated earlier, this was not true (p.155, 156).

Migrants are treated with "traditional paternalism" which implies "the idea of father-child relationship between the elites and the squatters" (Hasnath, 1977). And "[city people] resent [migrants] and, at the same time, exploit them....Authorities and established communities ignore [them] or treat [them] with hardly disguised hostility" (Koenigsberger, 1976; p.75). Perlman writes (1976):

> (Migrants in Rio de Janerio) were not marginal but in fact integrated into the society, albeit in a manner detrimental to their own interests. They are certainly not separate from, or on the margin of the system, but are tightly bound to it in a severely asymmetrical form. They contribute their hard work, their high hopes, and their loyalties, but they do not benefit from the goods and services of the system. It is my contention that the favela residents are not economically and politically marginal, but are exploited and repressed; that they are not socially and culturally marginal, but are stigmatized and excluded from a closed social system. Rather than being passively marginal in terms of their own attitudes and behavior, they are being actively marginalized by the system and by public policy (Perlman, 1976; p.195).

Despite all the hardship migrants face in the city, they tend to stay in their new environment. Some do this because they do not have any other choice. Others, who have that choice, do not want to return to the village as a failure or they are reluctant to live the same way they used to live before their migration. Indeed, despite the difficulties they have in the city, their lives are better when compared to the village (Karpat, 1976; Michelson & Keles, 1985). In Karpat's study (1976), comparing themselves to their villagers, 80 percent of all squatters believed that their life in the city was definitely superior to that of the villagers in every aspect. And they are hopeful about their future lives in the city. Karpat (1976) writes:

> The overwhelming majority appear to be satisfied with their life in the city, especially in comparison with their former village existence. The squatters, usually the village migrants rather than those who came from old city districts, express in general a feeling of satisfaction and optimism. They seem very confident that their situation will improve in the future, and that their children, in view of the opportunities for advancement offered by the city, will have a better life than their parents (p.35).

Factors That Affect the Experiences of Migrants

In the literature, several factors are mentioned as affecting the experiences of migrants in the city. The kind of employment migrants have and the amount of money they make (wealth) are found to be the most significant (Senyapili, 1978; Perlman, 1976; Levine, 1973; Peattie, 1970). Thus, the irregular employment and low incomes of migrants act as two major impediments to their "absorption" into the city.

The relationship of migrants with the village has been the subject of several

studies which attempted to find out how this relationship affected the lives of migrants and whether or not it kept migrants from "adapting" to the city. Levine (1972) found in his research on Turkish migrants living in Ankara that their relations with the village were helpful to them in the process of "their urban acculturation." Suzuki's research (1964) on rural migrants living in Istanbul also supports this finding.

The political and socio-cultural contexts in which migrants establish their lives also appear to be important. In the political context, it is the attitudes of the government towards migration and/or squatter establishment (Danielson & Keles, 1985; Castells, 1983; Heper, 1982; Senyapili, 1982, 1977; Cornelius, 1974). And in the socio-cultural context, the closely-knit squatter community which largely houses migrants from the same villages (Lobo, 1982; Karpat, 1976; Perlman, 1976; Peattie, 1970; Suzuki, 1964) influences the lives of migrants.

The period of migration, shaped by the political and socio-cultural contexts of the time, also affects the experiences of migrants in the city (Senyapili, 1985).

The time spent in the city is considered important in the "adaptation" of migrants, and there have been several studies on the time-related changes in migrants (Kartal, 1982; Karpat, 1973; Kongar, 1973; Yasa, 1973). Karpat (1973) categorizes the time-related changes in migrants in four phases. First, newly arriving migrant men begin to dress like urban people, whereas migrant women preserve most of their rural way of dressing. Second, if provided, migrants easily adapt to the material aspects of the city, for example, listening to radio or reading newspapers. Third, they acquire friends outside the kinship circle. Finally, they are alienated from the

village and identify themselves fully with the city. This last phase, as Karpat says, can be mostly observed in the second generation of migrants.

Karpat's study can be criticized on the basis of its assumption of a linear change in migrants towards becoming "urban" which is not supported by empirical data, as well as homogeneity in the migrant population.

Kongar (1973) found that migrants read newspapers more as they lived longer in the city. He also found that some migrants became advocates of the status quo. This finding contradicts Kartal's study (1982) which showed, among other things, that migrants became more radical and more aware of the power structure of the city as they spent more time in the city. This may be due to the different periods the two studies were conducted. In Yasa's research (1973), migrants became more time-coordinated over the years.

Most of the migration studies focus on rural migrants, since migration from rural to urban areas has been the prevalent tendency in migration following WWII. However, there are some migrants who come from small cities and towns. The type of community from which migrants come was found to affect their lives in the city (Goldscheider, 1983; Brody, 1970).

Demographic factors, such as age, educational level, socio-economic background, and gender are also mentioned in the literature as factors which influence the "adaptation" of migrants to the city (Goldscheider, 1983; Kubat & Richmond, 1976; Levine, 1973; Brody, 1970).

Gender is an issue which, despite the reference in the literature to its

importance in creating differences in the experiences of migrants (Goldscheider,1983; Kubat & Richmond, 1976; Levine, 1973; Brody, 1970), exists as a relatively unexplored area, especially in comparing the experiences of migrant men to those of women.

Gender: Male and Female Migrants in the City

The migration literature has been mainly male-oriented. Most of the sociological research on migrants has been carried out with the "heads of the household" which usually means "husbands" (Goldscheider, 1983; Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Balan, 1968; Suzuki, 1964). Until recently, female migrants were invisible in migration processes and were assumed to be merely passive movers, following their husbands (Fawcett, Khoo & Smith, 1984). However, as the result of the increase of single women in migration streams as well as the growth of women-oriented consciousness in the world, there have been several studies which focus on migrant women in cities (Fawcett, Khoo & Smith, 1984; Youssef, Buvinic & Kudat, 1979).

Speaking of the consequences of rural-to-urban migration in terms of gender, Boserup (1970) argues that urban residence does not necessarily result in increased participation of women in modern urban life, since industrial urbanization undermines the traditional productive roles of women, and it increases men's role in the economic sphere. In a study by Kandiyoti (1982), Turkish urban women from three different social classes were found to be submissive to male dominance in society. In her introduction, Kagitcibasi (1982) summarizes Kandiyoti's study as follows:

> they do not in any way challenge the male role. To achieve this, lower class urban women (women in "shanty towns") may retreat into domesticity, or if they have to work, it is considered unimportant or temporary. In the case of lower-middle class women, subordination is reflected in very limited access to the outside world. Even in the case of professional women ("educated middle class and upper class women"), husbands continue to be sheltered from new role demands (p.18).

Kandiyoti (1977), after studying a number of different socio-economic contexts in Turkey, namely, the nomadic tribe, the traditional peasant village, the changing rural environment, the small town, and the large urban center, points to the submissive role of women in all sectors with some minor differences.

On the other hand, there may be some changes in the husband-wife relationship in favor of the migrant woman as a result of moving to the city, as in the Tehranian case where wife-beating decreased, wives got free from the control of the in-laws which prevailed in the village, and they started having more responsibility and autonomy in the urban household (Bauer, 1984). Moving to the city may also make the migrant woman turn to her female relatives for help and support. Kandiyoti (1977), after observing the existence of female networks of mutual support and help at the neighborhood level, suggests a hypothesis which states that "urbanization may bring about a shift toward greater solidarity with women relatives as opposed to patrilineal kin" (p.71).

Religion appears to influence the cultural ideals related to sex-roles and to increase the differences between male and female experiences (Fawcett, Khoo & Smith, 1984). This is especially true of the Islamic religion which creates sexually segregated societies to varying degrees, depending upon the degree of secularization

of the society. Religion has been a male-dominated sphere, and in the Islamic religion as in other religions, women have been given submissive roles (Bullough, 1973). Thus, in the case of migrant families in Muslim societies, religious values and prohibitions may be crucial in determining migrant women's relationship with the city and may confine women to their proximate residential environments (Bauer, 1984). On the other hand, it is argued by some academics that the forces of modernization will break down the seclusion of women due to the need for women in the economy. In this view, women's roles widen when the traditional family can no longer economically sustain its women in seclusion, due to the impact of industrialization, rising consumer expectations, and the expense of raising children (Youssef, 1978). This may cause men to perceive modernization as an "emasculating phenomenon" (Mernissi, 1975), or they may try to increase their control over women (Kandiyoti, 1982; Kuyas, 1982).

Despite the commonalities in women's experiences as the result of belonging to the same gender group which holds among its members shared physiology and shared sex-roles defined by the society, there are differences among women in terms of class. Since a class-stratified society provides different opportunities/restrictions along class lines, women's experiences differ in terms of class (Stoler, 1977; Arizpe, 1977; Chinchilla, 1977; Nash & Safa, 1976). "The liberation of upper-class women appears to depend on the subordination of lower-class women as domestic servants" (Elliott, 1977, p.8). (See Senyapili, 1982 & Kandiyoti, 1982 for the Turkish case.)

While in lower-income migrant households, women may have to work outside the home, mostly as maids in middle-class houses (Senyapili, 1982), middle and lower-middle-income migrant women may "choose" not to get a paid job which usually means they become home-bound and secluded in the city (Kandiyoti, 1982). In the case of lower-middle class women:

> Here, the subordination of women takes the concrete form of drastically limited access to the outside world, this to a greater extent than in the case of poorer women whose husbands and fathers are in a more unfavorable position with regards to being the sole providers (Kandiyoti, 1982; p.117).

On the other hand, the geographical mobility profile of middle and upper class women was also found to be rather low (Kandiyoti, 1982).

The influence religion has on women's experiences differs by class. In Islamic societies where "modernization" is taking place, upper-income women may adopt Western ideas and values, which requires a relaxation of the Islamic requirements, as in the case of the "upper classes" of Tehran (Bauer, 1984). The poorest women, too, may practice religion in a less strict way, not by preference, but out of necessity, the necessity to work for a living, as a result of which they may suffer a loss of status. In between are the middle- and lower-income women who strictly follow religious rules and, as in the case of Iran, adopt seclusive behavior which is status-denoting in the society (Bauer, 1984).

These studies on migrant women fail to bring out their voices.

Also, the physical environmental dimension is missing in gender studies. However, the environment is expected to influence women's and men's experiences differently, and different types of housing environments create different experiences

for their residents. (See for suburban vs. urban housing environments, Saegert, 1985; Saegert & Winkel, 1980; Mackintosh, West & Olson, 1977; Michelson, 1973.) Some studies in the migration literature imply that squatter and apartment environments may influence their rural migrant residents differently. (See, for example, the discussion on public/domestic spheres in the Islamic religion in Bauer, 1984; pp. 271-274.)

Physical Environmental Dimension

In the investigation of the critical factors that influence the experiences of migrants in the city, the physical environmental dimension is highly overlooked. There has been some research on the role of furniture in the lives of squatter residents (Senyapili, 1982, 1978, 1977) which shows the function of furniture as a means to status-achievement in the case of squatters for whom "the only way to integrate with city life is to be able to consume like the urbanites" (Senyapili, 1982). There is also a Master's thesis which compared apartment and squatter residents in their attitudes towards and satisfactions with the two types of housing environments (Erdoğan Erman, 1981). Otherwise research on the physical environment is missing in the migration literature. However, the environmental aspect is expected to be significant in the experiences of migrants, and environmental psychology literature is full of evidence which would support the contention (Saegert, 1985; Rivlin, 1982; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Horwitz, Klein, Paxson & Rivlin, 1978; Becker, 1977; Fried, 1963; Young & Willmott, 1957).

Physical dimension and the environmental psychology literature.

There is a deep bond between persons and places where places become a part of the person. Proshansky and associates coined this as "place identity" (Proshansky et al, 1983; Proshansky, 1978). The house and objects in the house provide the grounds for experiential fulfillment (Chikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Tuan, 1980), or they can be indicators of social/individual identity (Duncan & Duncan, 1976) and act as status symbols (Duncan, 1981; Laumann & House, 1972). The role of the environment to provide cues for social/individual identities is not limited to the house. The neighborhood/settlement patterns, in general, may also reflect/shape people's identities (Rapoport, 1981) and give information about the kinds of people that live there (Becker, 1977). The social image of a neighborhood influences the identification of people with it (Hunter, 1974). But, there may be different meanings and values given to a physical environment by different "social worlds"; it may send different messages to different groups (Pratt, 1981; Duncan & Duncan, 1976). Objects can be seen as consumer items which are substitutes for reality and which act as means to maintain the status quo (Lefebvre, 1971) and homeownership as a reflection of the ideology of the status quo (Rakoff, 1977).

The study done by Milgram and Jodalet (1976) illuminates the significance of residential locations. Buttimer's work (1980) demonstrates the role of reference groups in shaping people's relationships with the city and in determining what they know about the city, what parts and places of the city are significant for them, and what meanings they hold.

Goffman (1959) also shows the important role the physical environment plays in people's lives, but this time the focus is on the individuals themselves. Goffman provides examples of how people use the physical setting to convey certain images about themselves to others, "front stage," which is complemented by the "personal front" (the clothing, posture, speech, etc. of the person). Goffman calls this process "impression management."

As we have seen above, it is essential to bring the physical environmental dimension into the study of migrants.

Type of residential environments: Squatter settlements and apartment neighborhoods.

(i) Squatter settlements

There have been many studies on squatter settlements and their usually poor and low-status residents (Lobo, 1982; Payne, 1982; Karpat, 1976; Turan, 1974; Mac Ewen, 1972; Peattie, 1970). In general, squatter settlements are conceived as the physical evidence of the presence of rural migrants in the city, although there are some studies which show that squatter settlements also house lower-income urban people (Castells, 1983; Flinn, 1970). The illegal and unplanned appearance of squatter settlements at the periphery of large cities and the low-status of their residents have created a negative image of squatter settlements among the established and better-off people of the city (Karpat, 1976; Perlman, 1976; Sewell, 1964). On the other hand, there is a positive view of squatter settlements as indiginious,

occupant-built and spontaneous housing environments which respond to the needs of their residents (Turan, 1974; Turner, 1973).

There have been several conceptions of the squatter community in the literature. It has been described as the replica of the village life in the urban context (Abu-Lughod, 1961) and blamed for preventing migrants from developing an "urban identity" by isolating them physically and psychologically from the rest of the city (see Kagitcibasi, 1982; p.15). On the other hand, it has been described as a closely-knit group of people with high degrees of solidarity and homogeneity and praised as supportive of migrants socially, economically and psychologically, acting as a buffer between the individual migrant and the larger society which is hostile and uncertain to extremes (Lobo, 1982; Karpat, 1976; Peattie, 1970; Suzuki, 1964, 1960). Many empirical studies on squatter settlements reveal the attachment of people to their communities (Lobo, 1982; Karpat, 1976; Sewell, 1964). Empirical research in the squatter communities of Argentina, however, shows that this may not always be the case and that there may be competition among squatters due to the limited social and geographical mobility open to migrants (Mac Ewen, 1972).

(ii) Apartment neighborhoods

Despite the focus in the literature on squatter settlements, there has been little research on rural migrants who live in apartment buildings (Erdoğan Erman, 1981) and only some research on apartment development in squatter areas (Aksoy, 1987; Bektore, 1986) and on people who are relocated from squatter settlements to social

housing projects (Perlman, 1976; Safa, 1974; Bruce-Laporte, 1970). In my research (Erdogan Erman, 1981), the apartment buildings were built for lower-income people. To my knowledge, no research exists on migrants who are wealthy enough to afford living in apartments in middle-class districts or who have become upwardly mobile and have moved from squatter settlements to middle-class districts. The limited number of wealthy rural migrants in the city and the difficulty of reaching them may be the two reasons for the lack of research with this group.

However, it is important to include rural-to-urban migrants who live in middle- and lower-income apartment areas if one wants to understand the ways of living of migrants in the city and the factors that shape it. Apartment and squatter areas require different kinds of relationships with the environment from their residents due to their different physical and social attributes (Erdogan Erman, 1981). They also hold different social meanings and provide different statuses for their residents.

A study of migrants living in apartment areas also enables the investigation of the role of economic status. Although there may be some better-off migrants who live in squatter settlements, most migrants in apartment neighborhoods are well-off enough to afford living in apartments.

Definitions of Rural-to-Urban Migrants in the Literature

Studies which focus on rural migrants define them as
(1) both rural and urban at the same time, since they preserve some of their rural characteristics while they change others in the process of "adaptation" to the city

(Mc Gee, 1975); or

(2) as neither rural nor urban, since they do not belong either to the village or the city (Senyapili, 1978); or

(3) occasionally, as rural (Mangin, 1970; Abu-Lughod, 1961).

Except for a few questions in the large body of a questionnaire (e.g. Karpat, 1976), no data exist which inform us about how migrants, and not scholars or established city dwellers, define themselves in terms of rural/urban.

Epilogue

The movement of people from one place to another to live on a permanent basis raises very relevant issues for the field of environmental psychology. Yet, environmental psychologists seem to have neglected this area. On the other hand, in the migration studies in other fields, such as sociology, anthropology, and political science, the focus has been mostly on the macro level, and individual migrants and their experiences are not studied in their totality and complexity. The diversity in these experiences has been overlooked. Those studies which focus on the individual migrant have often failed to understand the phenomenon from the perspective of migrants. Different views define rural-to-urban migrants in different ways. Yet, remarkably little is known about the self-definitions of migrants in terms of rural/ urban. The low status of migrants in the city is frequently mentioned in the literature. Yet, we do not know much about how migrants deal with their status in their lives. The gender issue in the migration studies has not received the attention it

deserves: The focus in the literature has been on the migrant man as "the head of the family," and the migrant woman has often been neglected.

Foremost, the physical environmental dimension has been neglected to a large extent, and its role in the experiences of migrants has not been investigated. Despite the focus in the literature on squatter settlements, there has been little research on rural-to-urban migrants living in apartment areas. Yet, in Ankara, as in many other larger cities of the "Third World," there is an increasing trend towards transforming squatter houses into apartment blocks as the city expands rapidly towards its peripheries. Today, more and more rural migrants are moving from squatter houses to these apartment buildings. However, very few pieces of research exist which investigate this physical transformation and its social outcomes. Over the years, the once-indigenous squatter settlements have been undergoing transformation as well as migrants themselves. Research on these issues is both promising and essential.

This dissertation directs itself to the investigation of these neglected yet significant aspects in the field of rural-to-urban migration. It aims at understanding the phenomenon from the perspective of migrants and to illuminate the experiences, both of women and men, those living in gecekondus and in apartments, as well as of the young and the elderly, and the newcomers and long-term migrants. It explores the meaning of being a rural migrant in the city and of being a gecekondu or an apartment resident. While doing so, it attempts to capture the complexity of reality. It discards the concept of "adaptation," since it implies changes required in the newcomer to fit in. Instead, it studies the range of migrants, investigating their

relations (both existing and desired) with the village and the city, with villagers and urbanites, their lives in the city and in apartment districts and gecekondu settlements, as well as their self-definitions in terms of rural/urban and their self-presentations.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS

A qualitative methodology was employed in this research because, in addition to the need for qualitative research on the lives of rural-to-urban migrants in Turkey, it qualifies as the appropriate methodology to my epistemological approach. It sees people as individuals and allows diversity present itself. This is in line with my commitment that the voices that are heard are as diverse as possible and not simply reflect those with power. Qualitative research in its own right reveals a kind of information about the complex nature of people and conditions that cannot be quantified. Quantitative research practice today, on the other hand, suffers from a base for finer understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. The "insignificant" findings in a quantitative study due to their small quantity may prove to be significant and qualify as a major trend in the future. Qualitative research, by suggesting possible relations among factors, has the potential to inform us about future trends.

Grounded Theory

The General Methodological Approach of the Research

Grounded theory, developed by Glaser & Strauss (1967) and further elaborated by Strauss (1987) and Strauss & Corbin (1990), has been adopted in this dissertation. Although my goal is not to develop a theory, grounded theory is still useful, since it presents rigorous ways of doing this kind of qualitative research. It also fits the

philosophy of this research: It involves a grounding in data. It is based on field observational data supplemented by experiential data. It acknowledges the significance of experiences, both of participants and researchers, and encourages (or rather requires) researchers to incorporate their experiential knowledge to the study. It does not expect researchers to follow a single path determined before the data collection begins. Instead, it asks researchers to be fully open to data and to their insights and to allow the data collected so far determine the next steps of the research. It allows researchers to go back and forth during the research, collecting new data even during the writing, making the writing process both analytic and creative.[1]

This approach requires the analysis of data from the very beginning which guides further data collection. It suggests constant comparison of data as the way to understand the phenomenon under investigation. It requires researchers to do "coding" (developing concepts and relations among them out of the data collected so far) and "memoing" (writing down personal ideas, insights and experiences regarding the phenomenon under study).

In the philosophical approach taken in this dissertation, the researcher as part of the research gains significance. Researchers do not keep themselves back from the research. They are not concerned about attaining the kind of objectivity defined strictly in the positivistic tradition. Rather they interact with participants. They learn from them, and they teach them. They are open to them and to the changes they

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[1]Ethnographic research (Spradley, 1980) also argues for a cyclical rather than a linear kind of research, requiring researchers to analyze data before the data collection is over.

bring, and they expect to produce changes in them ("consciousness raising"). They bring their previous experiences to the study. They are a part of the research, and the research process is more than a mere means of providing "objective data." It is something that adds to the experiences of researchers and enables them to see the world in a different (and wider) perspective.

Thus, the approach of participants to the researcher as a female urbanite has been treated as part of this study. The study would lose significant data, and most probably, it would delude the truth, if the researcher was not included.

Research Sites

The research was carried out in Ankara, a predominantly bureaucratic city with a large migration population. The two main sites were Greenville[2] as the gecekondu area and Blueville as the apartment area of the research. Whiteville was included into the study as an established middle-class area.

Deciding on the Sites of the Research

Since the main aim of the research was to understand the experiences of migrants living in two types of residential environments, that is, gecekondus and apartments, a gecekondu settlement and an apartment neighborhood were chosen for the study. I became interested in Greenville for its proximity to a luxurious upper

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[2]To secure confidentiality, the name of the gecekondu area is changed to "Greenville," for the apartment area, to "Blueville," and the established middle-class area, to "Whiteville."

class residential district. I was lucky that the former babysitter of a professor of mine (ZT, who became my keyperson) owned a house there. So Greenville became the gecekondu environment of the research. Again luckily enough, ZT owned an apartment in Blueville, a newly developing apartment area and a once-gecekondu settlement located geographically close to Greenville. ZT had recently moved to Blueville and had relatives and friends living there, many of whom also had moved from Greenville. So Blueville became the apartment environment of the research. Blueville was mainly inhabited by rural migrants, making the area appropriate for the study. Since I believed that it would be interesting to study migrants living in established parts of the city, another apartment area, Whiteville, a middle-class residential district, was included in the study. ZT had some relatives living there, and it was in the same part of the city as Blueville.

Greenville: The Gecekondu Site of the Research

Greenville lies on the slopes of a hill in the south of Ankara. It faces the high-rise apartment blocks of an upper-class area, creating a marked contrast between the two.

Greenville differs from older gecekondu settlements in Ankara which were built on steep slopes next to the old city center and which are densely populated today. It also differs from recently established gecekondu settlements which lack electricity and water in the neighborhood and where services and institutions (transportation, education, health, etc.) are minimal. Greenville is in a rather good

physical condition when compared to squatter settlements in many other "Third World" countries. This is true for the squatter settlements in Turkey in general and is due to the approach of the government to improve existing squatter housing while trying to control further squatter formation.

There is an asphalt traffic road in the settlement. It connects the settlement to the rest of the city. The other roads inside the settlement are in poor condition--they get muddy or frosty in the winter and dusty in the summer.

There are several stores in the settlement, including grocery stores, a bakery, a photo lab, a real estate office, a place that sells cheap construction materials, a furniture store, a hardware store, a bottle gas agency, a coffee house, and a hair cutter; and there are some public institutions--an elementary school, a mosque, and a health clinic. An open market place was established in 1989.

All houses have electricity, and most have running water. Greenville received electricity in 1981 and running water in 1984. Those who do not have running water in their homes bring it from the close by houses by pipes. There is no sewage system in the area. Organic waste materials are collected in cesspools dug at the back of the houses. Drainage is also a problem. One can often see sewage water running in the open. Although there are garbage containers distributed by the Municipality and placed along the asphalt road, garbage is not collected on a regular basis. People dispose of their garbage at a place reasonably far away from the houses. This gives a neglected appearance to the area.

Buses and dolmus (shared taxis) operate frequently, although they fall short

during rush hours.

The houses in Greenville are scattered, with paths connecting them. They are generally free-standing one-story houses, with the exception of a few two- or three-story ones that were built in the last decade and a few shanties which were the first houses built. Shanties are one-story, low ceiling structures, usually covering most of the plot. This is the way people have attempted to claim ownership to the land. They usually do not have either separate kitchens and bathrooms or running water inside the house. Toilets and kitchens have been added to some, and running water has been connected. The construction quality is poor and dampness is a problem. On the other hand, multi-story houses have rather good quality construction. Some are reinforced concrete buildings with the possibility of adding more stories. There are some that are built on the same plot as the original. If the plot was large enough to hold more than one house, some shanty owners, instead of demolishing them, preferred to keep and rent them, while building better-quality houses next to them for themselves. These houses have modern amenities--bathtubs or showers and hot water heaters. None of them have central heating--they are heated by stoves. Usually owners live on the upper floor, renting out lower floors or having their married sons live there.

One-story houses that dominate the area range from rather poorly built structures to quite well-built ones. Many of them were built in 1979, the year before the military intervention of 1980 during which anarchy and social disorder governed the country. Following 1980, the construction of more houses has been under way,

although at a slower pace, despite the threat and/or act of demolition. A few of these houses do not have running water inside the house, whereas some others are equipped with showers and hot water heaters. The coal storage spaces of some have been converted into dwelling units and are rented out. These once-coal storage spaces have two small rooms, a very small kitchen and a toilet. Since the houses, in general, are built on slopes without adequate insulation, dampness is a big problem inside many of them. Owners live in some of them, whereas some others are rented out.

Most of the houses in Greenville have gardens, usually small, a few large enough to grow vegetables and fruit trees to sell. The environment has a rather rural appearance, with turkeys, chickens and, sometimes, cows around.

Most of the gecekondu owners in Greenville have shared titles to their land, but lack construction permits. Yet, in the part of the settlement farther away, there are some who do not have titles, although they paid some money for the land.

Blueville: The Newly Developing Apartment Site of the Research; in Transition From a Gecekondu to an Apartment Area

Blueville lies in the southeast of the city. It is twenty minutes' walking distance from Greenville. It has a mix of apartment blocks and gecekondus. Construction of more apartment blocks is under way. The apartment blocks usually have three stories from the entrance level, and in the case of those built on a steep slope, this means 6 or 7 stories without an elevator. Buildings without central heating dominate the area. Construction quality is rather poor when compared to the

buildings in the more established parts of the city.

The area received electricity in 1966 when it was a gecekondu settlement. An asphalt road was built in 1970. It received water in 1978-79. The master plan of the area was completed in 1980.

The infrastructure and some of the roads are under construction. There is frequent bus service to the area. Many commercial places exist, especially grocery stores and supermarkets of various sizes.

The apartment buildings are mostly inhabited by lower-middle income people, mostly rural-to-urban migrants. Migrants live in the gecekondus which still survive in the area.

Whiteville: The Middle-Class Apartment Site of the Research

It is one of the established areas of the city with services, infrastructure, and commercial and public facilities as in many other established districts. It lies in the southeast of the city close to Blueville. Its residents are mostly long-established urban people with some rural-to-urban migrants.

Participants

Based on the basic features of grounded theory, the number and characteristics of participants were not determined in advance other than defining prospective participants as male and female rural-to-urban migrants living in gecekondus and apartments (lower- and middle-income). The decision about who the next participant

would be was made as the research progressed and as significant issues emerged. There was a conscious effort throughout the research to include a wide range of experiences of migrants.

The research ended up with 144 participants (see Appendix C). All but 5 apartment residents once lived in gecekondus. Among the participants there are both tenants and owners, wealthy and poor migrants, long-term migrants (who moved in the mid 1960's) and newcomers (who moved in 1988 and 1989), and people in their early 70's and teenagers. Some of the Greenville residents have been living there for a long time (over 20 years), whereas some others are newcomers who either built their gecekondus or rented the houses of those people who moved to apartments. In Blueville all of the apartment residents moved within the last two years. The participants living in Whiteville are long-term apartment residents.

The majority of participants are from Eastern Anatolia, the less developed region of the country with a harsh climate and unproductive soil. There is also a significant number of participants who came from the villages of Central Anatolia, particularly from those of Ankara. There is only one family who migrated from a village of an inland city in Western Anatolia.

All but eight of the households consisted of married couples and their children, in several cases elderly parents living with them. The exceptions are two young single women (one living by herself and the other with her separated sister and the sister's daughter), two elderly women living alone (one is divorced and the other's husband died), and four women in their 50's living with their grown-up children.

(The husbands of three of them died, and the fourth woman is divorced.) In three cases, the husbands were not with their families at that time--they were working abroad. There was a couple with whom the older brother of the husband lived (the brother's family was back in the village), and there was another couple with whom lived a kuma (illegal second wife).

In some of the households, both wives and husbands, in some others only wives, and in a few cases, only husbands were interviewed. In several cases, grown-up unmarried children, and in a few cases, grandparents participated in the study.

The dominating number of females over males reflects reality. Throughout the research women were more available and easier to approach, whereas men were not around most of the time and were less welcoming. Most of the men worked, except for a few older men. They were not available during the day on weekdays. Some of them were not available even at nights or on weekends: They worked odd hours as waiters, bartenders, and the like, or worked seven days a week, holding more than one job. On the other hand, many women did not work in Greenville or worked part time. Also, many of my female neighbors tended to spend their time in the neighborhood, mostly outdoors. All these made it easier to find female participants in Greenville.

In Blueville, again, most of the women did not have paid jobs, whereas most of the men were employed.

In addition to the more limited availability of men than women, I was less welcomed by men than women, and this made it harder for me to find male

participants, at least at the beginning. Women were willing to participate, especially when I was introduced by a friend, whereas men tended to be skeptical. (This usually changed as I became closer to their families.)

Also, as a woman, it was harder for me to approach men than women. I felt more comfortable with women at the beginning of the research which somewhat changed towards the end as I became friends with some of the men.

The number of people living in Greenville, Blueville, and Whiteville also reflects reality: There are more rural-to-urban migrants living in gecekondus than in apartments, and not many rural-to-urban migrants live in middle-class areas. Also, as it became apparent in the research, middle-class rural-to-urban migrants may be hard to find: They may not be identified as migrants; they may also avoid such a study which investigates the experiences of "rural" migrants.

Gecekondu Tenants

Most of the tenants living in gecekondus are young people. There are also a few elderly women living by themselves. In general, gecekondu tenants are poor when compared to gecekondu owners. However, there is some degree of differentiation in the tenant group, some doing better or worse than others. The jobs of the husbands range from civil servants to a teamaker in a private club, from a valet in a hotel to a data entry person, from a bartender to a car repairman. Most of the wives do not hold paid jobs. Several young families live in small, usually damp places which are either shanties or ground floors that were once used for coal storage.

Some of these families, although they make relatively good money, prefer to rent these places in order to save money to buy (or build) their own places in the future. Tenants who rent upper floors of two- or three- story gecekondus are better-off than the rest. Among them there are young couples whose husbands run their own business (e.g. a taxi-driver, a pizzeria owner) or are employed by the State (e.g. a police officer).

Gecekondu Owners

The majority of the gecekondu owners in Greenville are middle-aged couples (19 to 24 years of marriage) with grown-up children (18 and older). They moved to the city between 1965 and 1975. The husbands are usually employed in the public sector, many as civil servants at ministries, municipality, and state banks. There are also a few who are employed abroad, working for Turkish companies. Several of the wives work as cleaning women and babysitters, while others either stopped working as cleaning women or they have never gotten paid jobs. Some of the grown-up daughters and sons are employed, usually in the public sector, and some of the sons run their fathers' taxis. There are also several who are unemployed, looking for a job, and others are students.

In addition to the middle-aged gecekondu owners who are long-term migrants holding secure jobs, there are several couples in their 30's. The husbands moved to Ankara in the late 1960's and the early 1970's when they were teenagers or young adults in their 20's and got married in the city. Their jobs range from chefs in hotels

to self-employed taxi drivers, from civil servants to a police officer. The wives do not hold paid jobs, except for a couple of cases in which one of the wives works as a teamaker in a company, and the other runs a grocery store. The children attend school or they are below school age. There are also a couple of families who moved to the city rather recently (one of them in 1979 and the other in 1984), bringing their wives and children with them. The husband of the family who moved in 1979 runs his own taxi today, and the husband of the other family works as a plasterer.

There are also elderly gecekondu owners who are less in number than the other two groups. They moved to Ankara in the 1960's when they were young adults and had newly established families. The jobs of the husbands range from a cook to a gardener, from a cleaning person to a haircutter. The wives, most of whom used to work as cleaning women, do not work any more. They have grown-up children--some married and moved out; others brought their wives to their parents' house. Some of the latter live in the same house with their parents; others live on one floor of a multi-story gecekondu owned by the parents; still others live in a house built on the same plot of the parents' house.

Apartment Owners

The majority of the apartment owners are middle-aged couples (45 to 55 years of age) with grown-up children. They moved to the city starting the mid 1960's until 1978, many in 1971 and 1972, with their small or school-aged children. Most of the husbands are employed by the State. Some are waiting for their retirement. Some

have to hold more than one job to meet the increasing expenses of the family, usually due to their children in school. The remaining run their own businesses (grocery store owners). Some of the wives have never been employed outside the home, since their financial situations have always been relatively good. On the other hand, some others used to work, all of them as cleaning women, but do not work any more, since they are doing better financially. There are a few women who still work. One is a cleaning woman at a state department, the other works part time in an office.
In addition to the middle-aged apartment owners, there are young couples, 25 to 30 years of age. The husbands usually run their own businesses (owners of a pizzeria, a grocery store, a furniture store). The husband who once worked in Saudi Arabia is now in the construction business. Another husband is employed by a ministry as a driver.

One of the wives (a junior high graduate) works part time as a secretary. The rest either used to work as cleaning women but do not any more, or they have never had a paid job.

Among the apartment owners, there are 5 families who have never lived in a gecekondu. They are those who were better-off in the village or those who saved money by working abroad. There is also a young couple who have not lived in a gecekondu in their married life: They rented an apartment in a building in a gecekondu area in their parents' home for 6 years and then moved to the apartment they bought when they got married.

Apartment Tenants

They are mostly young couples who grew up in the city. They rented their apartments when they got married. They are better-off. Some of the husbands work as engineers in state-owned research institutes, and some of the wives (high school graduates) work as civil servants. There is also a woman who is a university student.

There are also middle-aged families who rent apartments. One of the husbands is in the construction business and rented the apartment through his business connections. Another family has been temporarily renting an apartment at the present. They will move to a new one located in the apartment building which will replace the gecekondu the husband's parents owned and sold to a contractor. In return, the parents will own two apartments, one for them and one for the son and his wife. Yet, another family started renting an apartment after the husband went bankrupt and sold the apartment he owned.

The last family who rents an apartment in this study is a couple in their 50's and their grown-up children. The wife is illiterate, whereas the children have received higher education. The husband is a retired state employee.

Research Design as Concentric Circles: Different Degrees of Focus on Participants

Some of the participants were closely studied as I spent a lot of time with them, others were met several times, some only once. In this respect, the research can be regarded as a series of concentric circles, the focus being at the most inner

circle with decreasing degrees of focus towards the outer circles.

The Most Inner Concentric Circle

In the most inner circle, there are a limited number of women who helped me with the research. They introduced me to other people, took me to the houses of their friends and relatives, encouraged them to participate in the study, and even sometimes asked them the research questions. In a way, they acted as my research assistants. I spent more time with them than anyone else in the study and became very close to them and to their lives. One of these women is ZT. She was the first participant through whom I initiated the research. She became the keyperson of the research. She introduced me to her relatives and neighbors living in Blueville as well as to her previous neighbors and relatives living in Greenville. She rented me her gecekondu and helped me with my move to Greenville.

Another woman in this circle is AY, my next door neighbor in Greenville whose husband worked abroad. She provided a major link to people living in Greenville. SUN, my roommate in Greenville with whom I shared my one-room place, is also in this circle. She occasionally accompanied me when I visited my neighbors, sometimes at nights. She provided me information about her big sister (GULD) and GULD's family who proved to be a significant case for the research and the only example in this study who rejected their rural ties for their integration into urban society. She again provided me with indirect data by asking her co-workers major research questions.

The Second Concentric Circle

It contains my neighbors in Greenville living in close proximity, all of them women. It includes young women with small children and an elderly woman living nextdoors, all housewives, as well as my next door neighbor's daughter in high school. I spent a great deal of time with them, sitting outside or at home, dining, watching TV, going to the local open market, visiting neighbors or having them at my place. I met them almost everyday, and they became a major part of my daily life.

The Third Concentric Circle

This circle has people whom I met many times (more than 10 times), but not on a daily basis. They are almost exclusively women, with a couple of men, namely, my keyperson's husband and son. The women in this group were some of my proximate neighbors in Greenville who had paid jobs or whose interactions with their neighbors were rather limited, as well as ZT's close relatives living in Blueville. The occasions on which I met them range from visiting other people together for various purposes (such as to celebrate a birth, a wedding, a new house, or to join a monthly women's gathering) to visiting them at their places or having them at my place, from gathering outdoors to going to a birthday party in Greenville, from playing cards to travelling to a neighboring city for a wedding ceremony.

The Fourth Concentric Circle

It has people whom I met several times (4 to 8 times). They are again mainly

women with some men among them. The men in this group were some of my proximate neighbors in Greenville. I visited these men at their places. Sometimes I met them while visiting their wives or on their way home, starting a conversation.

Some of the women in this group were again my proximate neighbors in Greenville, for example, a young housewife who tended to isolate herself from her neighbors and spent her time inside her house. Some others were also my neighbors but lived somewhat farther away, and the rest were ZT's relatives and neighbors living in Blueville. I usually paid a visit to these women at least once. I also met them in neighbors' or relatives' gatherings or on other occasions, such as eating outside, going to a wedding ceremony, and picnicking.

The Fifth Concentric Circle

In this circle, there are both women and men whom I met twice or three times, women still outnumbering men. Among the men in this group, there are those who lived close to my house in Greenville, young single men living outside Greenville who were highly interested in the study and retired men whom I met when I paid a visit to their places, sometimes to return photographs, and took advantage of that occasion to start a conversation on the issues relevant to the research. There are also some of ZT's male relatives.

The women in this group were either friends and relatives of my neighbors whom I usually met when they were visiting my neighbors and whom I visited at their places following the first meeting; or they were ZT's relatives and friends living

farther away from ZT's.

The Sixth Concentric Circle

It contains people whom I met once when I asked my questions. Most of the men in the study are in this group, their number approaching to that of women. The men in this group include the husbands of my neighbors and sons as well as ZT's male relatives, usually the husbands of those women who already participated in the study. I usually interviewed these men when I visited them at their homes. In a few cases, I took advantage of any opportunity to ask my research questions. For example, I interviewed a man during an engagement party when he was out alone in the garden.[3]

The women in this group are those who lived farther away from ZT's place or from my close neighbors in Greenville, those who were highly limited in their relations with other people, as well as those whom I met towards the end of the research and those who seemed reluctant to talk more than once. Usually I talked to them when ZT or AY took me to their houses, and sometimes when I met them in other people's places. In a couple of cases, I even asked the questions to a woman while waiting for a bus and to a hairdresser while having my hair cut. These conversations lasted about half an hour. Although these kinds of interviews were not

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[3]He was away from home seven days a week, running a food stand at a reservoir out of the city, and I had been trying to arrange a meeting with him. He was the husband of one of the women with whom I had formed close contacts, and I had already had some information about him.

given the same credit as a source of information as the intense studies of people during which I participated in their lives, asked questions and observed their actions, I included these interviews when they proved to be interesting data and helped clarify certain points in the attempts to understand the phenomenon under study.

The Most Outer Concentric Circle

It has few people whom I did not meet personally. I got information about them through other people, for example, through my roommate SUN about her older sister's family, as well as through my neighbors in Greenville about ATM, the wealthy real estate agent of Greenville. My concern about not missing something significant made me include some of these cases for which I did not have "first-hand data." These cases proved to be one of the most interesting parts of the research. On the other hand, I decided to exclude the interviews done by my roommate with her co-workers, since these data did not enable meaningful interpretation.

Research Techniques

This research employed ethnographic techniques, namely, participant observation and formal and informal interviews. "Ethnography offers an excellent strategy for discovering grounded theory." (Spradley, 1979; p.11). Taking photographs also contributed to the research as a source of information as well as as a means of approaching people. The difficulty of getting answers through direct

questions to some of the issues investigated here[4] makes participant observation and informal interviews indispensable. It is sometimes less informative and even unsuitable to ask questions from a written interview format than to elaborate on the issue when it emerges by itself.

Participant Observation

During the research, I rented a gecekondu in Greenville and lived there for five months.[5] I also paid frequent visits to Blueville. I participated in people's daily activities and observed their relationship with the environment and with each other. I paid attention to how people presented themselves to each other and to strangers (the way they spoke, dressed, ate, etc.), how they furnished their homes, how they used their homes and their neighborhood, and what issues they talked about. I also collected information about what sections of the city they visited. Now and then I initiated discussions on the issues relevant to the research. I was invited to special occasions, such as wedding and circumcision celebrations and birthday parties, family and neighborly gatherings, and dinners and picnics.

From the very beginning I kept a journal ("memoing" in grounded theory),

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[4]For example, in the pilot study, when I asked ZT about her relationship with other city dwellers, she said she did not have any problems. Yet, when I observed her interactions with other people, now and then I confronted degrading attitudes.

[5]I don't think I would feel comfortable moving to a gecekondu settlement for the sake of the research if I had been living in an established district before the research. At the time, I was living in a foreign country under rather difficult economic conditions, and this made it easier for me to sympathize with my participants and to share their feelings and problems.

taking down daily notes of my feelings, thoughts and observations that would help me understand the lives of migrants in the city, usually ending with questions to investigate. This journal-keeping guided me about whom to talk to next and what issues to pursue. It proved to be very useful to the progress of the research. (I ended up with nine writing pads full of notes.)

Formal and Informal Interviews:

Tape-Recording and Taking Down Notes

The approach of this research has been to understand the phenomenon under study rather than to follow a rigid research strategy. Thus, I did interviews in a group when there was someone with us or when I was alone with the respondent, when we were at home or outside. I sometimes asked the questions formally and sometimes informally during a conversation.

When I interviewed people formally, I introduced myself as a researcher, described my research interests and asked my research questions. I usually tape-recorded their responses after asking for their permission. To my surprise, the majority did not mind talking on the tape-recorder.[6] And in a few cases when they objected to it, I wrote down their answers. Sometimes participants encouraged each

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[6]I believe tape-recording provided a sense of credibility about the research. At the very beginning, when I was awkward about using the tape-recorder or taking conspicuous notes of the responses, merely listening to people and writing down a few words to remind me of the complete answers, I felt some nervousness on the part of the respondents. Probably they expected me to record their answers in one way or the other, showing them that I took them seriously.

other to speak on the tape-recorder ("This is not bad, don't get nervous"). Some were shy at the beginning and became comfortable after starting speaking, sometimes even forgetting about the presence of the tape-recorder. I treated the approach of participants towards tape-recording as a piece of data.

During the interviews, I let the participants talk the way they would like to about their migration and urban experiences. I did not interfere unless I felt that I needed more information. Following this, I asked them my particular research questions.

I did not ask a question when I felt it might be degrading to the respondent. For example, I did not ask a gecekondu resident whether or not she wanted to live in an apartment when she seemed too poor and too proud. I had the opportunity to discuss this issue with her when there was a conversation about a new housing development in the upper-class area seen from Greenville.

I also interviewed people informally when we were chatting. On our way to the local open market or a wedding celebration, at a neighborly gathering or while sitting outside in front of our houses, I would ask questions relevant to the research, framed not as formal research questions but as significant issues in those people's lives, and they would start talking. In this way, I got useful and interesting data. People felt free talking to me, occasionally bringing out their emotions, seeing me as someone who was interested in and concerned about them.

One disadvantage of informal interviewing is the difficulty of recording responses on site. One has to wait until he or she finds the appropriate time and

place to write down responses. Throughout the research, this kind of practice improved my recollection capacity. I also developed certain strategies to become more efficient. For example, when I was bombarded with rich and significant information at a neighborly gathering and was concerned about forgetting it, I would ask permission to go to the bathroom, waiting for the right time in order not to cut off the flow of conversation, and I would take down brief notes in there.[7] Or I would go to my house, saying I would bring my camera and use this opportunity to write down brief notes. I would expand on these notes when I had free time to myself. I felt the need to do this out of my concern for not jeopardizing the general atmosphere of the gathering (someone who wrote down something now and then would most probably bother or irritate the people at the gathering), and not in order to obtain information secretly.

At different phases of the research, I focused on different issues or questions, attempting to understand the experiences of rural migrants in the city. When I was satisfied with the data on a particular issue, I moved to another, usually that which rose out of it.

I asked the respondents a set of questions on the following issues:
(i) relationship with the village (whether they visit the village and why; the frequence of those visits; feelings about them; future plans regarding their relationship with the village);

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[7]I preferred to do so even it might mean missing some other information, since I could not have processed the incoming information while trying to keep in mind the earlier one.

(ii) preference of the village/city and the reasons for it;

(iii) interaction with the city and favorite districts (what parts of the city they use and why; what districts they like the most and why);

(iv) preference of the gecekondu/apartment and the reasons for it;

(v) rural/urban identity (whether they consider themselves rural (koylu) or urban (sehirli) and why); and

(vi) modern person (how they define a modern person and whether or not they consider themselves modern).

Taking Photographs

My camera was with me most of the time throughout the research. I wanted to take photographs of people and their homes in order to study self-presentations as well as presentations of homes. I also wanted to capture special occasions and significant features of the neighborhoods. Sometimes I carried the camera openly to let people see that I was interested in taking photos. Sometimes I kept it in my bag, especially when we gathered in someone's house of whose attitude toward photography I was not sure. I took out the camera only if I felt that the person would like or at least would not mind if I took photos. My camera helped me become popular. It became a major means for me to approach people and a main reason for them to invite me to almost every social occasion and to their homes. Once, when there was a wedding celebration outdoors, I offered to take photos. They were most pleased. After I had the photos developed, I paid a visit to that family. On that visit

I got information about how they migrated to the city and to their present house. I had the camera with me and offered to take the newlywed woman's photos in her new place: I was interested in the way the newweds' houses were furnished, and I thought of it as a good gesture.

This pattern of taking photos first, going to their houses to return the prints, becoming friends with them and asking my questions repeated itself several times. Sometimes people took the first initiative and invited me to take photos.

The eagerness of people to have their photos taken surprised me. This was particularly true in the case of women. I was expecting resistance, or at least shyness. I was wrong for the most part. I was a woman ready to take photos, and this offered a great opportunity for the women who would like to have their photos taken yet whose husbands would object to a male taking photos of their wives. Also, my inclination not to ask for money for the photos, I believe, motivated people to pose for me, although they seemed concerned about the costs of the photos. Those who could afford to pay offered me money, which I rejected, feeling that it might offend those who could not pay and might create a social division in the community. I asked them to accept the photos as a way of my thanking for their help and support. Their response was interesting: They said they were carrying out the usual duties of neighborliness and that every neighbor would have done the same thing. The issue of paying for the photos kept coming up almost at every meeting towards the end of the research, especially among the better-off participants. Even women whom I expected to be tight financially talked about paying me money for the photos in front of their

neighbors. I felt that it had become an opportunity to show each other their better economic situation than others in the community. When the cost of photos became unbearable towards the end of the research, I ended up getting money from better-off participants which I spent on the photos of the others.[8] I did not get money from my neighbors in Greenville, feeling that those who could pay might use this against those who could not. My participants found other ways to pay me back. They gave me small gifts, such as hand-made woolen socks, small decorations and scarves with the embroidery they made seamed on the edges. All of them I accepted with gratitude.

In a few cases, people objected to my taking photos. This happened in religious households as well as in the case of some men. Several times I had to stop when a male, either the husband or a grown-up son of the family, came in when I was taking the photos of women after asking for their consent.

In some cases, I had to wait until people trusted me. Some people were suspicious about my motives of taking photos at the beginning. I told them that photos would contribute to my research by giving information about how people interacted with their environment; I would most probably not publish them, and if I decided to do so, I would first ask for their permission. I was careful about not taking photos against people's will. I never took photos without first asking

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[8]I came up with a solution to deal with the cost of the photos. I would not take money from people whose photos I took for the first time, from those whose house I was visiting at that time, or from those to whom I was the one who made the offer to take their photos. On the other hand, I would take money from people who would ask me to take more than one photo, especially at wedding celebrations and neighborly gatherings.

permission, except for a few cases when I was sure that they would not mind, since I had already been taking their photos.

I treated the attitudes of participants towards having their photos taken as piece of data. The process of women's getting ready for the photos informed me about many things which I would not have learned otherwise.

Research Process

Pilot Research: First Contacts in 1988

ZT As My First Participant

I made the first contact in 1988 with a rural-to-urban migrant woman (ZT) through my professor at the university. ZT had brought up the professor's child. He described ZT as an example of successful migrants and provided me with background information about her.[9]

I called ZT, told her my connection with that professor and that I needed people to participate in my research. We met in her apartment the following day. I told her briefly about myself and explained my research. She was willing to help. I told her about my babysitting experience in New York. This acted as an equalizer in our relationship: Both of us were trying to establish a life in a new environment,

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[9]Later, some of this information proved to be incorrect as I got first-hand information from ZT: ZT's house in Greenville had two stories, not three; her apartment was in Blueville (a district in transformation from a gecekondu to an apartment area), not in Whiteville (a middle-class apartment district); and ZT was not a Kurd, but an Alevi. (The professor's wife thought ZT might be a Kurd since she made beautiful and colorful carpets.)

shouldering difficulties.

ZT had invited some of her relatives to meet me. They, too, were interested in my research. ZT and I decided to meet again to visit her relatives and neighbors. In this way, the "snowballing" process started.

Doing the Pilot Research in 1988

ZT Acting As My Keyperson

After this first meeting with ZT, the two of us started visiting ZT's relatives and neighbors in Greenville and Blueville. ZT introduced me as a student who was doing research on rural-to-urban migration. She was helpful on these visits. She encouraged people to participate, to talk on the tape-recorder and to have their pictures taken. Now and then she clarified questions, phrasing them in a way which was easier for respondents to understand. She also informed me about social events and invited me to neighborly gatherings and special occasions.

In this way, ZT became the keyperson of the research. The fact that ZT used to live in a gecekondu and moved to an apartment, thus knowing people both in gecekondu and apartment areas and having experiences in both of these environments; her large circle of friends and relatives and her popularity among them; and her articulation of ideas and interest in the research made her perfect for the research.

Soon I established a friendship with ZT. I helped her with housework, washing dishes or putting away things before we started our visits. At the neighborly gatherings in ZT's apartment, I helped her prepare pastry and serve it.

I accompanied ZT to several places in the city, such as to a weekly market in the area and to some stores in the modern section of the city. Once ZT and I visited my professor through whom we had met. (He lived in a prestigious area which could be seen in the distance from Blueville.)

I wanted to keep in touch with her when I was in New York. So, I sent her a postcard, and she wrote me back. Her letter was encouraging which I needed at that time.

When I came back from New York to continue my research, she was the first person I contacted.

Continuing the Research in 1989

ZT's Ongoing Contributions to the Research

When I came back to Ankara in the late Spring of 1989, I stopped by ZT's grocery store. She was happy to see me and filled me in on what had happened when I was away. I gave her a few gifts which I had brought from New York (including a solar calculator since she had trouble doing calculations at her store).

ZT was very busy at the grocery store at that time: Her son was away doing his military service. ZT and I used weekends to visit people when her husband took care of the store. Soon, her husband went out of town on a job assignment and ZT had to be at the store from six in the morning until late at night, including weekends.

Although ZT could not help me as much as she used to that summer, she still played a crucial role in my research by renting me the ground floor of her gecekondu.

When I found out that her tenant in Greenville would be moving out soon, I offered to rent the place, and she accepted.

During my stay in Greenville, ZT played an active role in keeping me in touch with Blueville. She informed me about the gatherings and special events there, such as wedding ceremonies to which I was invited.

In the Fall, ZT gave up running her grocery store when the store turned out not to be profitable and started working part-time for a firm. In her new job she had free time in the afternoons. ZT and I occasionally used this time visiting her relatives and neighbors.

I attended ZT's son's wedding ceremony held in a neighboring town, taking photos. On our way back, I had the chance to hear from people on the bus about their experiences and emotions when they returned to the city after visiting their village. (That town was located on the highway to ZT's province.)

In brief, ZT was very helpful throughout the research. At times she was at the core of the research, actively participating in it. And at other times she was in a secondary position when each of us had our own lives to take care of. But at all times she contributed to the research in one way or the other, certainly more than anybody else.

My Introduction to the Gecekondu Community, Greenville, in the Summer of 1989

I moved to my gecekondu just before a religious festival. I cleaned the house

with ZT's help.[10] We carried down furniture from the attic which ZT lent me, including a bed frame, a mattress, a quilt, and some kitchen utensils. I also brought a few pieces of furniture from my parents' house. While I was moving in, my next door neighbors dropped by to see what was going on. I talked to them while cleaning the windows or mopping the floor. One of the women brought us lunch.

When I started living in the house following the religious festival, I found out, to my surprise, that many of my neighbors who had gone to their villages to celebrate the religious festival with their elderly parents and relatives were not back. Some of them, especially women who did not have a paid job in the city, would be staying there for months.

I tried not to get frustrated and decided to go by myself to those neighbors who stayed in the city. I would introduce myself as ZT's tenant who was doing research on rural-to-urban migrants. I started visiting houses. However, after several attempts, I found out that this strategy did not work well: Some people were suspicious and did not want to participate.[11] Some others were very brief and reserved in their answers. I felt that this approach was too formal to be successful in that setting. I decided to give it up, since I believed that my introduction to the

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[10]We had to work whole day to clean the place, since the house painter who was one of the local people had left it with paint stains all over the place. (He worked for a state department and painted houses in his free time.)

[11]There was mass immigration of Turks from Bulgaria at that time, and some related my research to that phenomenon, finding it risky to participate.

community in that formal way would jeopardize the future of the research.

However, this period of my research was not completely futile. A neighbor whom I had met in 1988 became close to me during this time. I spent days and evenings with her. (In the evenings her husband was away working.) She introduced me to her proximate neighbors. During that time I was nervous to be alone in my place in the evenings, knowing that all the houses nearby, except one, were unoccupied and that I was left alone in the dark among the barking dogs and the trees swinging in the wind.

My neighbors started coming back at the end of July. My next door neighbor was among the firstcomers. With her return my research made fast progress.

AY: My Next Door Neighbor in Greenville As My Informant in the Gecekondu Neighborhood

AY was concerned about me, since ZT had asked her to look after me. Her husband (HY) had come from Saudi Arabia on his vacation for the summer. HY and I became friends, and this strengthened my relation with AY. I was married at the time, and HY had met my husband, and this I believe, made my relationship with HY legitimate. Before HY left for Saudi Arabia, he asked AY to help me with my research; she would take me to her friends in the neighborhood. I felt that AY was relieved by her husband's consent for her participation in my research: Every time she took me to a friend of hers, she would say that her husband who was abroad then had asked her to help me.

So AY became my informant in Greenville and played a major role in the gecekondu part of my project. She introduced me to her neighbors and took me to her friends. We sat outside and neighbors joined us. In this way, I got to know many of my neighbors. AY introduced me as ZT's tenant and her close friend who was doing research on rural-to-urban migration and gecekondu settlements. This informal way of approaching people worked fine. I did not have resistance from my neighbors. We sat on the cushions placed on the ground, chatting and exchanging local news.

AY was active in the neighborhood and interested in local events. She enjoyed talking about them and kept me in touch with the latest news.

During my stay in Greenville, I spent more time with AY's family than with others. AY often stopped by my house, to chat, to see how I was doing, to invite me to her house or to a neighborly gathering, or, once in a while, to let me know that I had a phone call. (She had a telephone and told me to give her telephone number to my family and friends.) When I was in her house, I did not act as a guest. In the evenings, I helped prepare dinner, making salad (the tap water started running ice cold after having washed several lettuce leaves), setting the table (sometimes we ate on a tablecloth laid on the floor; and sometimes on the divan while holding the plates in our laps), or putting things away. After dinner, we watched TV, chatting, AY knitting, her younger children doing their homework, playing or sleeping, and the older daughter joining us after washing the dishes. I showed interest in the children's schoolwork and helped the older daughter with her English. In brief, AY did well as

my informant in Greenville and contributed a great deal to my research.

Becoming More Established in the Community

Since I was living by myself, my neighbors were concerned about me. They brought me food; they lent me utensils; they invited me to dinner or to watch TV. (I did not have a TV set in my place.) I tried to use every opportunity to get to know new people, to spend time with those whom I had already met and to participate in local events. When some neighbors (females) gathered in a house, I went with them. When I saw women sitting outside, I joined them. I invited them to my house. But I was careful not to become a nuisance to them by being in their sight all the time. Soon I became a familiar figure in the neighborhood. They invited me to weddings, circumcision ceremonies, birthday parties and to a national day's celebration at school.

In the case of men, I was rather reserved at the beginning. Since I felt that my neighbors would not approve of my free approach to men, I avoided visiting houses when male members were at home. As time passed, my neighbors and I got used to each other, and this included female as well as male neighbors. I greeted men when I saw them outside. We started asking each other how we were doing, initiating small conversations. After I believed that I had developed the base for further relations with men, I started visiting homes when husbands were around. I found, to my surprise, that most men were comfortable with me. I believe the way I approached them as well as my closeness to their wives helped this.

My Roommate (SUN) in Greenville As My Research Assistant:

Fresh Blood in the Research

In late September, a niece of ZT's husband (SUN) moved in with me. She was a young single woman. When she had problems with her family, she had temporarily moved into ZT's apartment.

When ZT told me about SUN's story (see p.268) and asked if SUN could share my place in Greenville, I agreed. This arrangement worked well for both of us. SUN needed someone unrelated to her family with whom she could talk about her private life, and I needed people who would inform me about their experiences as a migrant. I felt very lucky when my roommate happened to be the younger sister of a woman (GULD) about whose family I had been hearing a great deal but could not get the chance to meet, since ZT was reluctant to take me to their apartment. I would have agreed to SUN's moving in with me anyway. She seemed to be at a difficult stage of her life.

SUN worked for the Department of Taxation. During the day I was on my own, visiting neighbors, sitting with them outside or writing down notes, and in the evening, when she came home from work, we spent time together, cooking dinner, visiting neighbors or entertaining them in our place. This routine worked fine. During the day I developed my own schedule and tried to finish writing down my detailed notes of the day before SUN came back. And after she came, we jointly made our decisions about how we would spend the evening, with more initiative given to me, thanks to SUN's recognition of the priority of my research. Occasionally

neither of us decided about the evening: Our neighbors considered it their duty not to leave us alone. It was especially the women whose husbands were absent in the evening who dropped by to visit us or to invite us to their places. And I did not mind it at all. This gave me the chance to get closer to their lives. Also, teenage girls visited us frequently. They felt close to us, since we were open to their opinions and willing to talk about their problems.

SUN accompanied me when I visited houses late in the evening, mostly to meet the male members of families who were out at work during the day. I appreciated her company, especially when it was dark and raining outside. Her presence guarded me against the dangers of the physical environment (steep, irregular paths which became slippery in the rain, broken glass and/or thorns in the way).

On these visits, sometimes SUN initiated discussions which turned out to be interesting. I was concerned about not offending people, whereas SUN was straightforward with her opinions, challenging people. Yet, she was thoughtful enough to let me ask my questions and get answers first.

After we came home or our guests left, we would start talking about SUN's life and the problems she was facing. During these conversations, I found out many things about her extended family. SUN showed me photographs, including of those who still lived in the village and of those who moved to the city. She described persons and places I was not familiar with. She was especially informative when she talked in details about her big sister (GULD) and her family and the way they lived. I was aware that SUN held negative feelings about them. Still the information she

gave me provided me with a general idea of what kind of people this family might be and what their perceptions of the city/village and gecekondus/apartments were.

Sometimes we discussed my project. We spent hours while she talked on the tape-recorder, responding to my research questions. Soon SUN became of great help to me as she understood more of my research concerns. She even started interviewing her co-workers, taking down notes.

The fact that SUN was living with me brought some of her relatives to our house who would not have come otherwise, and it justified my visits to them. Also, SUN's making clothes for our neighbors at a cheap rate pulled a number of women for a fitting to our house.

SUN was helpful in another way. She was similar to me in her appearance and behavior, and she was a single woman who chose to live by herself. Her presence in the neighborhood made mine more acceptable, and vice versa.

A Consciousness Raising Experience: Finding About Alevism[12]

During one of the conversations with SUN I found out that ZT and her

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[12]Anatolian Alevism is a social and political movement (leftist) rather than a religious one, although it was the religious disputes among Muslims which caused the separation of Alevis from the mainstream Sunnite population (Sener, 1988). In various studies done in Turkey (Sewell, 1964; Aksit, 1985), Alevism was found to be a primary identity group variable. Karpat (1976) found out that Alevi people were an egalitarian society who were open to new ideas while preserving their sense of village solidarity and community. In my study, the liberal attitudes towards women, women's less conservative looks and manners, as well as their closeness to left-oriented ideologies distinguished the Alevi community from that of Sunnites.

relatives were Alevis (Anatolian Shiites). I had noticed ZT and her relatives being open-minded and good critics of society. I had asked ZT if she was a Kurd, thinking that being from a minority group might generate critical attitudes, but her answer had been "no." When SUN told me that they were Alevis, it explained many things about these people. Later on I learned that ZT had told her next door neighbor (AY)[13] that she was an Alevi. As AY told me, one day ZT had gone to her and said, "I like you very much and I am an Alevi," and AY had responded, "I like you very much, too and I am a Sunni." I did not ask ZT why she did not mention to me that she was an Alevi. Yet, I believe that the news that SUN had told me about their Alevism circulated rapidly in the family circle and my continuing closeness to the family strengthened my relationship with them. Later on, I found out that some of the people whom I already met were, too, Alevis. I also met more Alevi people, some of whom ZT did not know. Sometimes people told me openly that they were Alevis and were against religious or sectarian discrimination. Some other times, I saw the physical signs of Alevism in people's houses, usually the pictures of Ali (the leader of Alevism) or Haci Bektas (a significant Alevi master). It is interesting that there were no physical signs of Alevism either in ZT's or in her relatives' places.

When SUN asked what she could buy for me which would remind me of her, I asked for the book on Alevism about which I had been hearing from her. To my surprise, I read in that book that 18-20 millions of the 60-million Turkish population

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[13]Being an Alevi or Sunni is an important issue among migrants and in Turkish society in general. It can be used against Alevis.

were Alevis,[14] not a small number to ignore. This is a proof of how successful the mainstream society can be at making some groups invisible. In brief, my relationship with my roommate proved not only very helpful to my research, but also a consciousness raising experience for me.

Moving Out of Greenville

I moved out of Greenville in December when I was content with the data collected so far, feeling too tired to go on, each day and every hour bringing more and more data and more and more people to the study. It was not easy to "be inside the research" all the time.[15] I also had some time concerns in my program in New York. I told my neighbors that it was time for me to go back to New York to continue my studies there. It was getting colder and more expensive to live in Greenville. (I did not light the coal stove during the day and tried to heat the place by electric stove when I was at home.) Before I left, it started snowing, giving me the chance to experience winter there.

My roommate gave me a farewell party at our place (see Appendix A, p.394). At the end of that party, I had the feeling that I was accepted and liked by this group

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[14]Some people may not agree with this number; it is hard to find out the exact number of Alevis, since some Alevis tend to keep their religious identity private.

[15]Living in Greenville meant "living inside the research," that is, having it in mind all the time and any time. A greeting in the morning and a chat following it was a piece of data; neighbors coming over to my house to ask for something was another; and so on. It was tiring to face data almost anytime. When I was alone at home (this was rare), I would either write down notes or think about the research. At times when it was too much, I would go to my parents' place overnight.

of people.

Before I left Greenville, I went to my neighbors to say goodbye. Some asked me to send them a postcard to let them know that I was alright, some gave me small gifts, and a woman gave me a a few things to take to her nephew in New York. I left Greenville with good memories and new friends.

My Visits to Greenville in the Following Couple of Years

I visited Greenville several times in 1990 and 1991. I also met with ZT and some of her relatives. When I was in New York, I had continued my contacts with ZT and some of my close neighbors in Greenville.

The first time I visited Greenville after I moved out of the neighborhood, my neighbors welcomed me warmly. They gathered in AY's house to celebrate my return, baking gozleme (Turkish pancakes). I felt happy to see them again. I was surprised at how much the children had grown up and how many women had gotten pregnant or had given birth.

On my following visits to Greenville, I collected data on the missing pieces of the research which I had identified during my final analysis.[16] I decided to limit my visits to Greenville as well as the data gathering to the missing pieces, closing my eyes to new information. Otherwise it would have been impossible to complete the dissertation.

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[16]Although I had done some analysis while collecting data, they were piecemeal. I had left the overall analysis for New York, since it was hard for me to do it in Greenville where it was impossible to spend a long period of time alone.

On these visits, I again took some photos, mainly of the newborn babies and of the children in their school uniforms who started school that year.

The Image Participants Had of Me

In my appearance and behavior, I was not like most of my neighbors. I usually wore pants (once an old woman said she thought there was a man at the gathering when she caught the sight of a figure in pants; it was me); I did not cover my hair; I did not knit or do needlework like almost every woman when they came together. My neighbors joked about this, saying, "You sit like a man."

On the other hand, they knew that I was not against them. I tried to understand them rather than to criticize or to preach them. I was sympathetic to them when they talked about their lives. I did not hold myself back from them. Rather I interacted with them closely, eating with them the way they ate, sitting the way they sat (sometimes on a cushion placed on the floor), going to the places they went, shopping at the places they shopped. I was not exactly one of them. Yet, I was becoming more and more a part of their community. I started greeting people at women's gatherings the way they did.[17] I learned what paths to take in the neighborhood in order to be considered a Greenville resident: Several neighbors told me to take dirt shortcuts to the local grocery store or to the bus stop instead of walking along the asphalt road. I felt that I was a member of that community

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[17]That is, kissing each woman on both cheeks while shaking hands, kissing the hand of the elderly, doing the same thing before leaving. This was done regardless of the number of people at the gathering.

everytime when I walked from the bus stop to my house on those paths.

I heard remarks from my neighbors about my increasing integration into their community ("You have become a gecekondu resident like one of us"), as well as from ZT's relatives ("You have become a relative to us"). They were informal with me and called me by my first name. Yet, once a neighbor objected to a young woman's calling me big sister ("abla"), saying that it would be more appropriate for that woman to call me Ms Tahire ("Tahire hanim").

There were incidents which gave me clues about the image they had of me. In their minds, I was an urbanite, probably one who was ignorant about the village life. Some tried to inform me about it, and I enjoyed learning about the specifics of the village life and the local terminology. But there were times when I became frustrated. For example, once a woman asked me if I knew what a cow was. Hiding my frustration and presenting a calm face, I had to tell her that my grandfather was a farmer and, although I had not lived in the village, I was not that ignorant.

In their minds, I was also someone from a family of good standing (father, a retired high-rank civil servant; parents, living in an apartment in a middle-class district; children, college educated). They met my mother when she visited me in Greenville. After she left, I heard compliments about her. (They said she was very nice and did not show her age at all.) They wanted to learn from me, asking for the recipes of the food I served them. My next door neighbor who was from Western Anatolia tended to align herself with me. (For example, she said, pointing to the fact that I was not wearing any make-up and criticizing the heavy make-up of a neighbor,

"She is an upstart. We (meaning she and I) are from the West, we are from established families.") Once a woman told her friend to ask me the time, saying, "Tahire must have a watch." I did not. Yet, another time, a neighbor said, "If Tahire is not familiar with this meal, that means it is not good. FAD says it tastes good. But I don't trust her judgment. She eats anything she gets her hands on."

Clues like these made me even more careful not to make them feel less than me. I mentioned my life in a foreign country (financial problems, doing services for the better-off, etc.) when I found it appropriate. I was modest in my outlook. (This was also a financial obligation.) I had only a few pieces of furniture at home. I told them that I was lucky to find a place which I could afford to rent. (That was true; I would either live with my parents or rent a gecekondu.)

I was also respectful to them, their ideas and their ways of doing things. I often pointed out that there might be different ways of doing things and that one was not necessarily superior to the other.

I was friendly and tolerant with children (except for one case when the boy was extremely spoiled) and young people. Some of the girls admired me for my connections with the United States. They seemed to like anything Americans did (me, "Americans jog in the rain and snow"; their response, "It is great") and anything they wore ("Your sneakers are very nice. I wanted to buy a pair for myself, but they are too expensive in Turkey"). They asked me about popular songs in the States; they wanted to know how people lived there. On the other hand, some young people liked me for my ideas. My roommate was one of them. In her mind I was a woman

"fighting for the causes she believed in and making sacrifices for it." She respected me for doing research in a gecekondu area and for doing it as a woman. She liked me for "being tolerant to people and caring for them." She said she had developed her trust in me.

I do not think that the people in the research understood me fully: I did not fit into any category. Yet, they accepted me into their community and trusted my good intentions.

My neighbors also thought of me as a young woman living by herself who had to be taken care of. Thus, they shared their food and possessions with me as well as their time and friendship.

As months passed, I became friends with many of them. They wanted to preserve this friendship. Some asked me to have a photo taken with them: They would keep it as a souvenir.

In brief, all the efforts put into this process of becoming a part of the gecekondu community proved to be highly rewarding. I made new friends, learned new things and opened up new visions, improved myself as a human being as well as as a social scientist, "experienced" a different way of life which formed the core of my academic interests rather than just "studying" it. I was lucky to have the chance of grounding myself into the community through a former resident who was both respected and liked.

The Image Participants Had of My Research

I made it clear to the participants that my research was not directed to solve a particular problem in their environment. I felt the need to do so, because I sensed that they were expecting it, and I did not want to raise their expectations and then frustrate them. Instead, I told them that my research was aimed at understanding the lives of migrants and informing other people about it, and that I expected this to bring about some changes in favor of migrants in the long run. On the other hand, I tried to help them solve some particular problems when I had the chance. (For example, I took the problem of the lack of a sewage system in the area to the Municipal officers when I went there to obtain documents about the research sites.)

My keyperson introduced my research as the study of rural-to-urban migrants and the gecekondu phenomenon. She had faith in me regarding my research, saying to people, "She will be very successful, she will receive an award in America." Other participants were also supportive of my research. They wanted me to be successful at school, to receive my degree. Yet, now and then I met people who were suspicious and questioned the pros and cons of the research. (For example, a woman asked me if it was a good idea to give information to Americans about the poverty and hardship in Turkey.)

Analysis of Data

In line with grounded theory, the analysis of the data has been carried out throughout the research, starting from the very beginning. For the final analysis, in

addition to grounded theory, the kind of analysis described by Kirby and McKenna (1989) has been used, since this book suggests concrete ways of analyzing data.

In the final analysis, the interviews and conversations recorded on tapes were transcribed. Those data as well as the interviews written by hand and the notes in the diary were then grouped in terms of the emerging themes. This was done by making photocopies and by cutting parts from them and grouping them according to their themes. (Sometimes several photocopies of the same page had to be made when there was more than one theme emerging.)

While doing the analysis, the photographs taken throughout the research have been helpful, providing concrete and detailed data on migrants and their environments.

FINDINGS

One of the difficulties faced in the research was the enormousness of the data, all very interesting. It took a long time to decide how to handle it, despite the fact that the analysis of the data was done at various points throughout the research, memos were written down and significant issues were identified. In order to find the most appropriate way of writing this piece of research, several ways have been tried. And the final way of writing has been to present the findings in two sections. In the first section, various aspects of migrants' lives and their experiences of being a rural-to-urban migrant are described, with particular focus on the way they live in the city (where they live, what they do for a living, whom they socialize with), their relationship with the city and the village both in physical and social terms, their self-presentations in terms of the way they are dressed and the kind of furniture they have in their homes, and finally their experiences in and attitudes towards the two types of housing environments, namely, the gecekondu settlement and the apartment area. In the second section, migrants are grouped in terms of their relationship with urban and migrant communities and with their housing environment and neighborhood community, as well as, in the psychological realm, in terms of their identifications as rural or urban. In this section, the focus is on the individual migrant, enabling the reader to get a sense of migrants as individuals and not merely as an abstract group of people. As a result of the researcher's commitment as an environmental psychologist to reveal personal experiences, many quotations are provided throughout these two sections in which participants speak to certain issues.

SECTION I: THE EXPERIENCES OF RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRANTS

CHAPTER THREE

THE LIVES OF MIGRANTS IN THE CITY

At the Beginning

Migrants experienced hardship during the first years spent in the city, particularly those who moved to the city in the early years of rural-to-urban migration. Many had not seen the city before, and they did not know what to expect other than to live a better life:

SAT: No, I hadn't been to Ankara before. At those times, not many people were familiar with the city. I was expecting it to be wonderful. I was frustrated after I came (a woman who moved to the city in 1960).

DUR: When I saw the electric lights in the distance, I said to myself, "Stars must have fallen down" (laughing). I didn't know about electricity then (a woman who moved to the city in 1968).

FAN: When I first saw people walking in the streets, I started wondering. I said to myself, "My God, what do these people eat? The only thing they do all day long is to wander about" (laughing). Since I didn't see any fields around, I thought those were idle people. I didn't know that they worked in offices inside buildings (a woman who moved to the city in 1974).

Many villagers migrated to the city, assuming that they would easily get a job, find a nice place to live and start taking advantage of the city life. And in the face of the reality awaiting them in the city, they got frustrated:

TU: I was taking for granted that everything, at least a job for my husband and a house for my family, was ready for us in the city and we would live a comfortable life there. What a fool I was.

KI: I was very upset when I started living in Ankara. The area where my husband had rented a house was worse than the village--rundown houses, uneven dirty streets, no electricity.

What kept them in the city was their pride, their concern about becoming a failure in the eyes of their people and/or the impossibility of making a living in the village:

FAN: If I moved back to the village, everybody would say, "Poor woman, she failed in the city. She was not strong after all."

TR: A relative said to my husband, "What can you do in the village? Here if you have some money, you can buy a bowl of yogurt and please your children. You cannot do it in the village. There nobody sells yogurt or milk. You have to buy cows, but you don't have that money. So you will be dependent on other people for your living." So we stayed in Ankara.

Being in an unfamiliar environment, missing their homeland, feeling inferior to more established people of the city, living in undesirable places under difficult conditions with limited money, not having jobs, as well as the discrepancy between the city and the village, all contributed to their hardship in the city:

MY: There were times when I was so hungry that I had to search for food in the garbage. We didn't have coal or wood to burn in the stove. (1970)

FA: The windows of our first house were so small that I sat in the dark all day long. (1972)

YE: When I first moved to the city with my brother, there were times when we couldn't find anything to eat. I would lie down in bed all day long with an empty stomach, waiting for my brother to bring home some money to buy bread. (1989)

VL: In the village, you don't have problems like shopping or transportation. Here you have to buy everything from stores by paying cash. In the village, you have large containers full of flour, and you find it offensive to buy just one kilo of flour in the city. (1969)

Yet, many soon adapted to the city:

KG: Of course, I felt lonely at the beginning. I had just left my village, my people. But later I got so much used to the city that it became my village.

HJ: Naturally at the beginning, you feel like a stranger in your new environment, among people you don't know. I felt lonely....I felt inferior to my neighbors. ...Then I started improving myself. I learned how to make cakes or jams on the radio and from books. I started making cakes better than my neighbors. They started asking me about the recipes. My self-confidence grew.

If they have relatives already living in the city, the lives of those migrants who move to the city in the later years of migration may not be as hard. This is particularly true for the young women in this study who moved to the city when they got married to relatives already living in the city, usually in the gecekondus their parents owned. These women, although they missed their parents back in the village, did not have as many problems as other migrants, particularly the firstcomers, had.

It seems that, although all migrants had some kind of difficulties in the city following their move, those who migrated in the 1950's and 1960's faced the most severe problems in establishing their lives in the city, whereas those who moved to the city in the 1980's had less difficulties: The gecekondus built by former migrants were available to them to rent, and former migrants were there to help newcomers find jobs and places to live. Also, the increased interaction between the city and the village through migrants as well as through communication means familiarized villagers about the city, preparing them for the city life and making their adjustments smoother. One point to mention here is that the institutionalization of the gecekondu phenomenon may work against migrants when they want to build gecekondus, particularly for those who lack money. Today they have to buy public land from the so-called "gecekondu brokers" ("the gecekondu mob") as well as to buy second-hand materials from stores developed to serve the gecekondu construction.

After Years Spent in the City

Despite the hardship and sufferings migrants experienced at the beginning of their lives in the city, many feel that they have achieved some success over the years and are satisfied with what they have accomplished so far. This may be an apartment and/or a gecekondu ownership:

FK: I worked (as a cleaning woman) in order to pay our debt while building our gecekondu. After we paid it, we built this house (a three-story gecekondu) (laughing). And after it, we bought an apartment. (1969)

MC: We were poor. We lived in the basement of an apartment building as a kapici. Then we built this house (a gecekondu). From day to day we improved our lives. (1976)

The accomplishment may as well be their children obtaining higher education:

HS: All of my four children have been successful at school. My oldest daughter is a pediatrician now. One of my sons is a civil engineer. My other daughter attends college, and my youngest son at high school is an honor student. (Her sister-in-law adds, "They own four apartments and a store.")

FAN: The most important thing to me about living in the city is that I educated my children.

They are hopeful for better lives for their children:

TU: We suffered in the city, but, thanks to God, we reached a better life. We believe that our children will not suffer like us.

Many women who started working as cleaning women after they moved to the city, stopped working as their financial situations improved.

Yet, many still complain about the high cost of living and the difficulty of making the ends meet. In many conversations, they brought up the constant increase in prices and the difficulty of keeping up with it, especially those employed by the State who have fixed salaries:

ESM: I cannot understand where my salary goes. It disappears in the first few days after I get it. My son is also a state employee. We don't pay rent. Still we cannot stretch it to the end of month. I don't know how tenants survive under these conditions?

Those who pay rents suffer from the high cost of living:

AC: I pay more than half of my salary for this small poorly built gecekondu. I have to buy coal and wood. What shall I eat or wear?

In the face of the high cost of living in the city, migrants may consider migrating back to the village. AC's wife talks about their intention as follows:

CER: We are planning to move back to the village. Part of our family lives in the village, they work on the land our family owns. There bread, flour, vegetables are abundant.

Even those who are wealthy enough to own apartments complain about high prices:

BZ: The constant increase in prices affects our lives very much. Better-off people (like us) who have more expenses are affected a great deal by it.

New expenses, such as private car services to school, private preparation courses for the University Entrance Tests, private driver's courses, all take away money from migrants:

TU: I registered my son in a university preparation course. My daughter will also register. Yes, I own two houses, yet until today I have not had money to buy coal.

NA: My son had to register for a driver's course. My daughter takes typing courses. Today, my husband and my son work, I work. We have a tenant. Still we cannot make ends meet.

The economic system motivates people to buy. Yet, prices are high and salaries are limited. The solution present today is to pay by installments:

ESO: Today my salary is mortgaged for many months. Each month I have to pay

more than half of it as a mortgage.

Yet, still many fail to buy the things they want, and this makes them frustrated and angry:

ESM: This is unfair. You cannot buy the things you want to wear, you cannot buy the things you want to eat. You have your eyes on those you cannot get, and you feel discontent.

Financial problems make many migrants very careful with money. They try to economize on electricity and fuel. I noticed many people, and this included both apartment and gecekondu residents, not turning on the light even after dark, until it became too dark to see. They also tended to light the stove as late and as little as possible. I saw women making balls from coal dust. They also tried to find wood to burn in the stove, for example, in construction sites in the area. A neighbor told me that she had saved nine bags of wood for the winter.

To economize on the costs of accomodating people at their places,[1] migrants tend to invite other people when someone pays a visit arranged in advance. Several times when I paid a pre-arranged visit, expecting that I would be the only guest there, I was surprised to find out that the hostess had invited other people.

Also, migrants tend to make food at home, such as tomato/pepper paste, canned vegetables and tarhana (dried yogurt and dough for soup). Some of them dry vegetables and save them for the winter. They may also take advantage of their jobs, bringing home leftover food (as in the case of the cooks and waiters) or nuts and

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[1]In Turkey, when someone pays a visit arranged in advance, the hostess is expected to serve tea and several kinds of pastries.

cigarettes (as in the case of the helper in a dried-nut store "kuruyemisci") or even water pipes to be installed to bring running water into their homes (as in the case of those who work at the municipality).

In addition to financial problems, children may be a source of trouble for migrants. Comparing their lives to those of their school mates from better-off established families, children of migrants may become frustrated and unhappy, and sometimes rebellious, acting against their parents. Seeing their children unhappy upsets migrants:

KK: My son in high school envies his friends. He wants to have the same things his friends have. When he gets upset about it, he starts shouting at us, "Why did you bring me to this world? To make me suffer?" Sometimes he rebels. This makes me so sad.

KG: My daughter attends college. She wants to live like her friends at school. They are the children of doctors and lawyers. Their lives are very different from those living in gecekondus. My daughter wants to live like one of them. But we cannot afford this. Naturally she gets upset and so do we.

A boy in high school who is frustrated about his life in the city challenges his father:

YUC: When I asked my father why we moved from the village, his response was, "For you son." I asked him again, "Wasn't there anything you could do for us in the village?" He couldn't answer it clearly. He said, "I had expectations from the city. If I fulfilled them, you would get your share."

Under the influence of the city, children may be very different in their approach to life from what their parents expect them to be:

ZT: Young people today have their own way of doing things. They wouldn't listen to you. When they get older, their problems get bigger. They want to live their own lives. I want my children to get married. But they don't want it. My oldest son is against marriage. And this upsets me very much.

Despite all these problems in their lives, many migrants enjoy a sense of success and are satisfied with the progress they have made in the city:

ZT: I have never lived an easy day in my life. Yet, I carried on my life and reached a certain level. I feel happy about this.

Time will show whether newcomers to the city will experience the same feelings of success as do first-generation long-term migrants.

Residential History

The prevalent trend among migrants is, after staying briefly in the house of a relative, first to rent[2] and then to build a gecekondu and move there.

There is also a tendency to live as a kapici[3] without paying rents in the quarters reserved for them until retirement, even though this means living in small and unfit places:

SON: When my parents moved to Ankara, they stayed with a close relative for a week, then rented a gecekondu. After a year, they got a job as a kapici and so we moved there. We lived in the basement. It was small and dark. My parents divided the place into two by a curtain, reserving a private space for themselves. We lived there for 13 years until my father retired.

Meanwhile they build their gecekondus and usually rent them out to other

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[2]In Ersoy's study (1985), 80 percent of the respondents received the help of their relatives to find their first houses in the city. This is also true for my study. Today, newcomers tend to rent the gecekondus of their longer-term migrant relatives who moved to apartments.

[3]In the larger cities of Turkey, the general practice is to provide to the kapici and his or her family a place to live free of rent and utilities, usually in the basement of the building. Some kapici quarters lack sanitary conditions, despite the law that prohibits this type of accomodation.

people until their retirement.

Migrants may also start their lives in the city in the places of their in-laws, later renting or building their own places.[4]

Today, some migrants move to the city after they buy the land on which they are planning to build a gecekondu or after they build a gecekondu.[5] Usually their relatives in the city help them find the land and/or build the house.

The residential mobility of migrants is increasing as more choices become available to them. Today, there are more rental places which migrants can afford, many in gecekondu areas. Consequently, in their search for a better place to live, migrants tend to move from one rental house to another, until they become homeowners. Those who rent a nice and cheap place tend to stay there.[6] During the three years I was involved in Greenville five out of the 12 families living close to my

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[4]In this study, there were four young women who lived with their in-laws. One of them was planning to move to the apartment they bought when her children started school; another was hoping to live in an apartment in the future; in the case of the third woman, her family would either rent a place of their own or build a gecekondu on the same land of the in-laws' gecekondu in the near future; and the last woman started living alone with her husband in her in-laws' gecekondu after the in-laws moved out to an apartment.

[5]In this study, a family started living in Ankara in 1986 after the husband, who was working in Ankara as a construction worker, built a gecekondu which he originally intended to rent out. He later changed his mind and wanted to live there himself, bringing his family from the village. Another family bought land in Ankara while they were still living in the village and built a gecekondu on it immediately following their migration in 1979. And a family moved to their gecekondu right after their migration in 1970 when the husband, who was working in Germany at the time, asked his brother living in Ankara to buy a gecekondu for his family and bring them from the village.

[6]In Ersoy's study (1985), 82 percent of the respondents had lived in more than one rental place, one third changing four to ten times.

house moved out of Greenville.

Another aspect regarding the changes in the residential mobility of migrants is about apartment residence. In the past, migrants settled permanently when they ended up owning gecekondus. Today, apartment ownership is becoming more available to migrants as more apartment buildings are built replacing gecekondus. There is an increasing trend among migrants to buy apartments and move there from their gecekondus. This is another component, and probably the final one today, in the residential cycle of migrants: first renting a gecekondu, then building a gecekondu, and finally buying an apartment and moving there:

ZT: We lived in our gecekondu for eight years and moved to this apartment when my son in Germany bought it (moved to Ankara in 1971 and to her apartment in 1987).

HJ: We wanted to move closer to the city for our children's education. So, we got a loan from the bank, I sold my golden bracelets, we sold the house, and bought this apartment (in Blueville) and moved here (moved to Ankara in 1964 and to her apartment in 1987; lived in that gecekondu for 11 years).

So far 17 participants moved to the apartments they own after spending some years in the city. Eleven of them followed this trend of first renting and then building a gecekondu (after one to seven years spent in the city; the average is 4.8 years), and finally buying an apartment. These are middle-aged couples (45 to 55 years of age). They moved to the city starting the mid 1960's until 1978, many in 1971 and 1972. It took 12 to 17 years for most of them to own apartments. The fact that apartments which migrants can afford have become more available starting in the 1980's may be a significant factor in the ownership of apartments by migrants in the mid 1980's.

Some sold their gecekondus in order to buy apartments (5/11), and some kept

them, renting them out (6/11).

The rest of the participants (6/17) moved from the gecekondus they rented to the apartments they bought without building gecekondus in-between, except for one case in which a woman was married a man who already owned a gecekondu. They are younger (25 to 30 years of age), and the husbands run their own business. The general pattern of residential mobility in this group is to rent a place, usually a gecekondu or an apartment in a gecekondu area, and then to buy apartments. They bought apartments after they established their own businesses and started making good money. It took 5 to 9 years for these young families to buy their apartments, a much shorter time than the case of the middle-aged families.

A few migrants start living in apartments right after their move to the city. In this study, there are three participants. They are better-off and run their own businesses. Two of them established their business after working in Germany.

Usually migrants stop renting gecekondus as they get older and as the time they spend in the city increases. In this study, all but six of those who rent gecekondus are young people who moved to the city after 1980. The six exceptions are older and longer-term migrants.[7]

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[7]Two of them are single elderly women. They rented their present gecekondus after their husbands passed away. One of the families is a "broken family" (part of the family lives in Germany and part of it in Turkey), and another family has serious financial problems and is planning to migrate back to the village. The last two families that rent gecekondus own gecekondus, one of them in another district in Ankara (this family rented out their gecekondu and moved to Greenville when the crime rates in that district increased; they bought an apartment and moved out of Greenville in 1990), and the other, in Istanbul. (They rented out their gecekondu and moved to Ankara when their son started a business in this city.)

The general trend among migrants in this study is to live in apartments if they own them. Renting apartments seems not to be preferred by this group because it means higher rents, that is, more money wasted on accomodation instead of saving that money or investing it. In this study, those who rent apartments are generally young, second-generation, better-off migrants, waiting for their time to buy apartments. Migrants also rent apartments while waiting for the apartment buildings replacing their gecekondus to be completed. In this case, the general residential pattern is to rent a gecekondu, build a gecekondu, rent an apartment/gecekondu for a brief time after they sell the gecekondu for several apartments in the building to replace the gecekondu, and finally move to the apartment they own in that building. Better-off migrants may start renting apartments after they sell their apartments as a result of unexpected financial troubles. In this study, there is a better-off, first-generation migrant family who started renting an apartment when the husband went bankrupt and had to sell the apartment they owned.

Moving from an apartment to a gecekondu seems to be a rare incident. In this study, a police officer and his family moved from the apartment they rented to the gecekondu they built despite the wife's opposition. And a woman had to move out of the apartment her husband owned to a gecekondu she rented when she left her husband. Seven years later, she bought a rundown gecekondu and improved it over the years with the help of her children.

Another component of migrants' residential mobility is the location where it takes place. In the past, the concentration of migrants from the same region or

village at a particular gecekondu area was common, sometimes naming the area after their village or region (Karpat, 1976; Sewell, 1964; Ersoy, 1985). This concentration lessens as the time migrants spend in the city increases and as the residential choices that are open to migrants diversify. Migrants tend to move to the planned sections of the city as their time in the city increases (Ersoy, 1985). In my research, there are migrants from the same village or region living close to each other as well as those living physically away from them. In gecekondu areas, the proximity of migrants from the same village disappears as migrants buy apartments in other parts of the city and as tenants from various parts of the city move into those areas. Those who buy apartments may again concentrate in a particular area (this is the case in Blueville), although, as my participants say, this may not be planned in advance. When there are many apartments affordable by migrants in an area, migrants end up buying apartments and concentrating in that neighborhood, usually close to their relatives and migrants from their villages, sometimes without their knowledge. The proximity of an apartment area to a gecekondu settlement also plays a crucial role, making that area familiar to and accessible by migrants. In one case, eight families who were relatives bought apartments in the same building in an area close to their gecekondu settlement.

Occupational Realm and Job History

First-Generation Migrants

Men

YUC: Those who migrate from rural areas do the most difficult and undesirable tasks in the city. They work as kapici or construction workers. They fight in order to survive in the city.

There are migrant men in this research who did anything that would bring them money at the beginning of their lives in the city until they got a paid job, including collecting garbage or shining shoes. Many did a number of insecure and temporary jobs, including working as unskilled workers in construction, and even as bodyguards. Meanwhile they kept looking for a secure job.

Among the secure jobs available to migrants, working as civil servants or kapici (apartment building maintenance person) are the most preferred. If they become kapici, and this means having a place free of rent and utilities, and getting social security pension when they retire, they tend to keep that job. If they get another job, they usually try to stay as a kapici until their retirement, their wives taking it over while they work at other jobs. And if they are employed by the State, and this means a secure job with a future (retirement pension),[8] they again tend to keep that job. Many long-term migrants in this study are employed by the State at ministries, state-owned industries, public hospitals and banks, as well as by the

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[8]In Ersoy's research (1985), migrants favored employment as civil servants in the public sector. However, employment by the State is losing some of its attraction as the salaries in this sector often fall short to live on.

municipality and the military as officers, clerks, book keepers, janitors, nightwatch people, office "boys" (odaci's), security people, cooks, drivers, boilers and police officers. When they are employed by the State, some still hold a second job (and sometimes a third one), working on weekends or in the evening, or do tasks that bring them money, such as painting or repairing houses.

Another employment field that is desirable for migrants is self-employment.[9] Many migrants try to establish their own business in the city. Some bring with them money obtained by selling their land and/or animals in the village; some work abroad and save money; some "get lucky" in the city and make good money. Then, they open a grocery store, a food stand, a small restaurant if their capital is moderate, or if they have more money, they open big establishments, such as supermarkets, furniture stores, restaurants, ready-made clothing stores and travel agencies; or they become contractors in the construction sector. Some also buy cars and start running taxis. If they get bankrupt (there were three cases of bankruptcy in this study), they usually get a paid job, while trying to find money enough to start a business.

Working as waiters, bartenders and valets at restaurants, hotels (even at luxurious ones), and embassies, which means good tips, is also desirable for migrants today, especially for young men.[10] These jobs, which were not available to migrants at the beginning of the migration phenomenon, are becoming more common among

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[9]This is supported by other findings. See, for example, Karpat (1976).

[10]This is supported by Ersoy (1985) who found out that a significant employment field for migrants, in addition to employment by the State, was working as service people in hotels, coffee houses, restaurants, night clubs, and pubs.

migrants, as more of such places open and as migrants become more "presentable" as a result of the increasing influence of the city on rural areas.

In this study, there are also those who work as salesmen at small-size places (such as fabric stores and pharmacies), as teamakers and cleaning men, as gas station workers and mechanics, as watchmen at construction sites, and as lotto men.

There are not any peddlars or street vendors in this study, although this kind of employment in the "marginal sector" is often held to be typical employment of gecekondu residents by social scientists (Senyapili, 1978).[11] Also, there are only a few who worked in a factory briefly at the beginning of their lives in the city. This may be due to the limited number of factories in Ankara which is a bureaucratic city, as well as to the low status of factory work among migrants (see Karpat, 1976).

In many cases, either a relative, a migrant from the same village, or a friend (e.g. one made during the military service) helps the newcomer migrant find a job. Also, migrants may find jobs through their wives. In several cases in this study, better-off families, for whom the wives of migrants worked as a maid, placed the migrants in the vacant positions at their workplaces as a service person.

After migrants retire and become eligible for a retirement pension, they may continue to work (e.g. in this study, as a nightwatchman or a bookkeeper), since the retirement income usually is not enough to live on.

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[11]Bastug (1979) disagrees with this: "However, numerous studies, the present included, have shown that itinerant vendors and similar informal jobs are in fact atypical of squatter heads of households" (p.123).

Women

Most of the migrant women who work outside the home work as cleaning ladies in the homes of the better-off or in companies and government offices as service staff (cleaning, making tea, cooking). If they have some capital, they tend to open a small grocery store, mostly in gecekondu areas, the stores close to or part of their houses.[12]

Those migrant women who do not have paid jobs may help their husbands with their business in the case of private entreprises, such as cooking for the restaurant run by the husband, or they may contribute to the household budget by sewing, knitting or embroidery. One of the women in this study even bought a knitting-machine and started making all sorts of garments, selling them to her neighbors.

Very few first-generation migrant women, who usually have low educational levels, are employed at higher rank positions. One woman in this study who was first employed by the State as a cleaning woman became a clerk over the years when she finished junior high without attending classes and was successful in the exams to be a clerk.

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[12]This inclination causes the mushrooming of grocery stores in gecekondu areas, making it hard for the stores to survive. Women who run grocery stores in a gecekondu area seem not to have significant problems with it. They don't have great variety at the store, and they sell things in small numbers. They are not bored, since they sit in front of their stores, accompanied by their neighbors. On the other hand, they may have problems (particularly with bookkeeping) when they open stores outside the gecekondu area, since the number of people to whom the store gives service increases as well as the variety of merchandise. ZT is an example of this.

Migrant men, as a general rule, do not want their wives to get a paid job. They give, as their reasons, their young children to be taken care of, the work to be done at home, as well as the "evil" in the city (male strangers, liberal values). Some object to spending women's money:

TU: Our husbands didn't want us to work outside the home. They said, "We won't live on women's money." This is the influence of the village.

In this study, many of the newly married women and those with small children did not work outside the home. ("I have never had a job, although we had severe financial problems when we bought this apartment. I have small children"; "My husband earns money, I take care of the children"; "My husband doesn't want me to work, I agree with him. I want to spend my time raising my daughter.") When husbands can afford their wives' not having a paid job, they tend to keep them at home:

KI: My husband's supermarket makes more money than the salaries of three civil servants. So even if I wanted to work, my husband wouldn't let me.

The ideal view of the family with the husband as the sole breadwinner in Turkish society helps husbands in this regard. Women may share this view, particularly if the only employment field open to them is cleaning other people's houses. This is evident when women talk about their neighbors who have never worked outside the home, for example, saying, "She has a good life. Her husband does not let her work outside the home."

On the other hand, the pressing economic problems forcing women to get a job are changing people's attitudes towards working women:

RU: In the past, they used to speak ill of working women. Today, the same thing is true for women who do not work. My husband used to say, "It is wrong to spend women's money." Now he changed his mind. In order to be a housewife, one has to be wealthy.

When financial problems become unmanageable, women start working outside the home, sometimes without the consent of their husbands:

ZT: When I wanted to work, my husband objected to it. He said, "If you are away during the day, who will take care of the children? They will be miserable." But we needed money. We needed it for our children. When I heard from a relative that a woman was looking for a maid, I went to her place, keeping it a secret from him. I worked there that day and came back before my husband (laughing). I didn't tell him. The next day I went to that place again. When I came back, I said to him, "Look, I will work for a nice lady. She will pay me well. We need the money." So I started working.

And sometimes men are obliged to let their wives work if they fail to earn enough money to take care of their families:

RU: I started working in a factory by the consent of my husband.

Her elderly father adds:

RUF: If he didn't give that consent, they wouldn't be able to manage their lives. He was obliged to give that consent. Otherwise, he wouldn't prefer it.

Sometimes, although the woman wants to stop working, she cannot, because of financial difficulties:

AT: During the last five or six years, I have been thinking of quitting working. But today I still work because of the high cost of living. Every time I say, "I will not work any more," there is some expense to take care of (in her mid 50's).

And sometimes the women start working in old age because of financial problems:

KK: It hurts my feelings to start working in other people's houses at this age. When I come home, I cry. But we have to pay our debts.

When women with small children work, children become a problem if the household lacks a female adult other than the mother to take care of the children, since the society has not developed the infrastructure supportive of working women (for example, affordable daycare centers). The women in this study were troubled about this:

TU: I had to leave my daughter at home when I went to work. She would cry, "Mummy, take me with you." I remember the days when I found her sitting on the garden wall, waiting for me, trembling with cold. My children suffered very much.

ZT: One day I came home early. I had to give up working that day when the running water was cut off. I was upset that I didn't earn money. When I was home, my daughter hugged and kissed me, saying, "I will pray everyday for the water cut, so that you will stay at home with me." The child needs her mother. When she comes home from school, there is no hot meal, no stove burning. It is cold inside.

Working for other women, cleaning their houses, may be highly humiliating for migrant women, particularly if they belong to respected families in the village:

TU: It was hard for me to take orders from the women whose houses I cleaned. I remember many days when I cried on my way home or at the bus stop, praying to God to save me from that life. There were times when I wished I were dead. In some houses, they served me just one stuffed grape leaf, one slice of bread. Can this be enough for someone who has worked hard and used up all her energy? There were people who gave me just one apricot. I would prefer not to have any. And what about their bitter words? They were much worse than feeling tired. When I was finished and ready to leave, they would tell me to do something else.

I heard women who once worked as maids complaining about their poor health, thinking that the type of work they did caused it:

ZU: I worked hard when I was young. Now I suffer its consequences. My knees ache all the time.

Second-Generation Migrants

Men

Unemployment is a problem for second-generation migrants who usually have higher educational levels than their parents (high school or college graduates) and who are more selective. In this study, there were high school graduates who were looking for a job and were not very optimistic about finding one. Among the ones who were employed, there were those who worked in public and private sectors as engineers, computer analyists, and draft people. Taking over the father's business or helping him with his business (running a supermarket or a taxi) is highly popular in this group. They may also establish their own businesses, usually with the money given to them by their fathers or in-law who work abroad or who are wealthy enough to spare such money. So, they open their stores, such as supermarkets, flower shops or butchers, or they buy cars to run as taxis. Those who are young, some of whom continuing their education, and those who have low educational levels tend to hold various unskilled and insecure jobs, such as working as store helpers, street vendors, and shoe shiners.

Women

As the educational level increases with the second-generation, the number of second-generation migrant women working outside the home increases. In this study, they were predominantly employed as clerks or secretaries at state offices and, in a few cases, at private companies. Those who are civil servants tend to keep their jobs

after they get married, waiting to become eligible for the retirement pension, whereas those who work as secretaries at private companies tend to quit after their marriages. Some young women may also work in factories, usually until they get married.[13]

Yet, the attitude of keeping young unmarried women at home until they get married is still present among migrants. This attitude is challenged by the increasing financial pressure migrant families face today. The migrant girl may teach sewing and/or embroidery courses to other girls in the neighborhood if her family prefers to keep her in her housing environment while having her making money.

Relations Among Migrants/Relatives

Except for one family who turned their back on their migrant relatives and try to make friends with established urbanites, the migrants in this study mainly socialize with other migrants. These migrants may be their relatives, old friends from their village, or new friends met in the city.[14]

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[13]This was the case with the friends of my roommate, SUN, when when she worked in a factory in a city in the Aegean region. Young girls working in factories may not be true in the case of Ankara which has limited number of factories.

[14]In Karpat's study (1976), 32 % of the men and 39 % of the women had personal relations with relatives, 39 % and 37 % respectively, with new friends, 26 % and 19 % respectively, with old village friends, and 3 % and 5 % respectively, with nobody. One shortcoming of grouping "new friends" as one category is that it does not tell us whether these "new friends" are rural migrants or established urban dwellers. This is important to know in order to understand the social positions of migrants in the city.

ZT's relatives tend to spend a lot of time with each other.[15] Men and women pay visits together on weekday evenings or on weekends, sometimes men playing cards and women talking. There is a tendency for women to interact more with each other than men. During the week, female relatives who do not have jobs and who work part time gather in each other's houses. They come together on many occasions, including birthdays, dinners given in honor of senior relatives, visits from the village and religious festivals.

On the other hand, I heard complaints about the declining interaction with relatives because of hard living conditions and financial concerns:

BZ: In the past, there was intimacy among relatives. Nowadays this is disappearing. Hard living conditions cause this. When you calculate how much it will cost you to visit a relative in another district, you come up with the decision that it is better to stay at home.

MK: I used to visit my relatives at least once a month. Now I cannot afford it. I call them and ask them how they are doing. Having a telephone at home saves me the trouble of travelling. Yet, I think I lost something on the way: There is a lot of difference between meeting with relatives and talking to them on the phone just for a couple of minutes.

Yet, relatives are still important to each other. As HJ said, "Nobody makes the sacrifice a relative does for you."

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[15]Simic (1985) writes: "Relatives provide a readymade framework for reciprocity, and the strong ideological basis of such ties precludes the degree of insecurity often manifested regarding friendship. In many cases, interaction with kin is sufficiently intense so as to make unnecessary the formation of extensive extrakinship ties in the city" (pp. 134,135).

Help and Support vs. Social Control and Competition

The frequent contacts among migrants, particularly among relatives, bring them close to each other's lives. They know a lot about each other and share many things. I noticed a lot of support and help among them. For example, when a woman moved to her new apartment, her female relatives helped her clean the place and arrange the furniture. When her mother got sick, this woman temporarily moved to her mother's house, shouldering housekeeping, while her mother-in-law took care of her daughter and her husband.

Successful migrants may tend to act as the "godfather" for their relatives, helping them out and employing them, enjoying their power and recognition among them. This was the case of the real estate agent of Greenville.

Yet, this support and help may become a burden. Several times people complained about their relatives, saying that their relatives expected them to take care of them, not thinking the least that they themselves had their own lives and their own problems to take care.

The intimacy among relatives also results in social control. The migrant community does not want its people to change more than the migrant community itself. Consequently, migrants expect their relatives to conform to certain norms and values defined by the migrant community per se, and this shapes the lives of migrants to a large extent.[16]

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[16]It seems that the migrant community plays a role in the identification of migrants in terms of rural/urban, migrants feeling the need to consider themselves rural in order to stay in the migrant community. In this research, a couple of

In addition to the social control exercised by the migrant community, there may be competition among migrants, although it may not be manifested openly. The subject of the competition may be their houses and furniture, the neighborhood where they live, the amount of money they make, or their children (educational levels, kinds of jobs and success in life). Migrants may feel inferior in the presence of those migrants who have been successful in the city. Even seemingly insignificant issues matter. For example, when ZT was reluctant to take me to a relative of hers, I found out that that relative's children were all married, whereas ZT's children whose ages exceeded the "marriage age" were still single, and this worried ZT a lot.

Also, migrants may tend to take advantage of successful migrants. For example, the family members who turned their back on their relatives were concerned about the possibility that their relatives would want to share the family's success and material gain in the city.

Therefore, close relations with relatives are not always preferred. Some people, particularly women,[17] may prefer, although they may fail to do so, to keep some distance between themselves and their relatives, as they become dissatisfied by the obligations and responsibilities stemming from blood relations. This is particularly true as the years spent in the city increase and as migrants become less

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participants changed their answers. At first, they said they considered themselves urban, and then they changed their answers and said they considered themselves rural when their relatives objected to or were surprised at it.

[17]"Women preferred to deal less with friends from the village, possibly because of personal rivalries and fear of gossip" (Karpat, 1976; p.151). See the case of HAT as an example, pp. 308,309.

dependent (financially, socially and psychologically) on their relatives.[18]

Although the general trend among migrants is to preserve at least some kind of relationship with their relatives and other migrants, there are some migrants who turn their backs on their relatives and other migrants as they improve their economic situations and attempt to move to upper social strata. This makes the migrant community become sensitive on this issue, taking a stand against this kind of migrants. For example, a woman, while answering the question on who a modern person is, said, "I don't call modern those who look down upon their people, who do not mix with them, who do not accept them as their equals."

Relations With Established Urbanites

The majority of migrants in this study do not have relations with established urbanites other than working for them. My keyperson ZT talks about this as follows:

ZT: You cannot be with those who are ahead of you; you cannot enter their community. You can enter only the community of those who are at your level.

In this study, there are many women who work/once worked as cleaning ladies at homes and men as service people at public institutions or companies, or as kapici, living in the basement of apartment buildings.

Some migrants complain about the uncaring (and sometimes offensive) attitudes of established city people towards them when they work for them:

KK: I work hard to finish cleaning the place early so that I can be at home before

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[18]This is supported by Karpat's findings (1976).

my husband. When I finish everything, they ask me to do more and more things. They almost kill us in return for little money.[19]

SON: The residents in the building where my father worked as a kapici were nasty to my father. Yet, my father had to take it for the sake of his family.

On the other hand, some established urbanites try to help migrants, although the way they do this may be offensive, such as giving away their old clothes and leftover food. Now and then they become highly helpful to migrants:

MY: When I was working as a cleaning woman for a family, the husband of that family got my husband a job (as a janitor) at his workplace. I am still thankful to him. We owe him the bread we eat today.

ZT: The wife of the family for whom I was working as a maid supported me very much. She told me to bring my youngest child with me. When my child reached school age, she registered her to the elementary school in her district. Everyday my child would come to that house after school, and we would return home together after I finished my tasks. That woman was like a big sister to my children. She never thought of me as a maid. She left her apartment keys with me when she went on vacation, telling me to bring my children to her place to take a bath. God bless her.

Working for better-off city people familiarizes migrants with the lives of the better-off:

SAT: When I worked for a family as a maid, I ate well. City people are not like us. They always have meat for meals. The house of that family had three stories. It was full of furniture, there were built-in closets.

Migrants tend to take advantage of their connections with established urbanites. During the research, several people tried to get my father's help to obtain

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[19]The women migrant women work for also complain about the situation, in their case, about the spoiled attitudes of cleaning women. The increasing dependency of middle-class women on migrant women over the years, as the former group became more engaged outside the home, getting paid jobs, may have given some degree of power to the latter group, who can now bargain for their salaries and tasks (see Senyapili, 1982).

jobs for their children or relatives through me when they found out that my father was a high-rank officer (retired). This is one of the attempts on the part of migrants to overcome their disadvantageous situations in the city.

The few migrants who live/once lived as neighbors with established urbanites either ended up with frustration:

KI: GOP (an upper-class district) was very luxurious, very comfortable, but I couldn't get used to it. The neighbors were wealthy people with carefree lives. They were formal. They would keep themselves distant; they would not mix with you. They would look down on you; they would despise you.

Or they ended up with acceptance into the urban group, although usually migrants as lesser than established urbanites. The following is a middle-class urban woman talking about her migrant neighbor:

MHC: When she moved to our building ten years ago, she was wearing shalvars. Today she wears two-piece suits. I appreciate the progress she made. By her generosity and readiness to help, she made her neighbors accept her into their group. Everytime she makes gözleme (Turkish pancakes), and sometimes she bakes them on her balcony, its smell reaching everywhere, can you believe it (laughing), she gives some to her neighbors. We don't mind this, yet we don't like it when she doesn't care if her hands touch gözleme when she brings it. She talks a lot. But, she cannot express herself.

Very few migrants marry established city people.[20] In this study, the mother of a participant married a colonel (the participant was against it), and the sister of another married a city dweller without a rural background when she ran away to the city, leaving her family behind.

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[20]Karpat (1976) mentions the desire of gecekondu women to marry men from the city "because of their urban upbringing, which made them well mannered and respectful of women" (p.153).

Interaction With the City

Many migrants, particularly men, women who work outside the home, and teenage girls and boys who attend school, tend to interact with the city quite frequently, whereas elderly migrants, young housewives with small children and migrant women who are oriented to the rural community tend to stay in their neighborhood most of the time (see the "gecekondu-rooted" group, p.229; and the "migrant-community-rooted group, p.317).[21]

In general, migrant men of all ages enjoy access to all parts of the city, including parks and other places of leisure. They are free to go there by themselves. On the other hand, migrant women, as a rule, are less free than men in their interaction with the city. Those women from conservative families are required to limit their movements to their neighborhood, and at best to the places where their relatives live, usually in the company of other women, whereas some other women, mostly those from Alevi families, and among them there are even some young newcomers, travel by themselves in the city.[22]

The districts where relatives live are the most frequently visited areas in the

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[21]Karpat (1976) found out that "An overwhelming majority of the men and the unmarried, 85 and 86 percent, respectively, claimed that they visited the central city 2 to 7 times a week; 64 percent of the women, most of whom were working as servants, visited the city at least once a week. The rest paid rare visits to the city. ...The reasons for visits were -in order of priority- shopping, work, entertainment and recreation, and fulfillment of various official formalities" (p.151).

[22]I was surprised when ZT and her relatives returned home from a visit after dark. I was also surprised when her daughters went out by themselves to meet with friends and returned home late.

city, particularly in the case of women who do not have paid jobs:

KI: I go the most to those districts where our relatives live.

MS: I go anywhere in the city, since our relatives are scattered all over. There is almost no district in Ankara where I have not laid my feet on.

There are three major districts where migrants shop, namely, Kizilay, Ulus and Samanpazari. A few also mention Kavaklidere.[23] There is the issue of status with these districts. Kizilay has a higher status than the other two. For many migrants, shopping in Kizilay is a sign of belonging to the urban group. A young man explains his mother's preference to shop in Kizilay as follows:

ESO: Many people who come to Ulus are from poor areas, from the periphery of the city. Some of them disturb women. So in general women do not like Ulus.

I heard people emphasizing that they shopped in Kizilay, particularly those living in gecekondus who wanted to live in apartments and who considered themselves urban, and those who complained about external factors (poor living conditions) as holding them back from feeling like an urbanite:

ESM: My office is in Kizilay. I shop there all the time. I like Kizilay very much.

Yet, I noticed many participants shopping in Ulus or Samanpazari, buying goods ranging from stoves and rugs to fabric and clothes. It seems that those who

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[23]Samanpazari was the commercial center of the old Ankara before the Turkish Republic and has a reputation as a bargain shopping area where mostly rural migrants shop. Ulus was the city center of the early Turkish Republic and mostly used today by lower and middle income people, including migrants. It has a reputation among better-off, established urbanites as a cheap and low-quality shopping area. The city center shifted from Ulus to Kizilay over the years, and today Kizilay is the main shopping area of the city used by various groups, although upper-classes prefer to shop in Kavaklidere, a rather recent shopping area.

look rural and who prefer gecekondus to apartments are more comfortable about mentioning Samanpazari as the place where they shop.

Migrants go to open markets to buy fresh fruits and vegetables,[24] and among them, they choose those that sell cheaper goods and which they can reach by one bus ride or by walking. They tend to do grocery shopping weekly or monthly at bargain department stores. They usually shop at local stores on credits.

Those who can get hold of a car (including those who work for the State as taxi-drivers) tend to go to reservoirs or picnic areas outside of the city on weekends. They also tend to go to a park in the old section of the city ("Gençlik Parki"). Young people have fun at its amusement park. Yet, I heard a young woman complaining about idle men who disturbed women even when women were with their husbands. This woman and some other migrants, and they are usually young and modern-looking, prefer to go to parks in upper-class districts.

The limited budget of migrants and the high cost of living in the city as well as transportation costs seem to affect the interaction of migrants with the city and prevent many from using the amenities of the city:

ZT: We don't go to movies or plays. We cannot afford to go to places because everything is very expensive (laughing). So we visit our relatives. Other than that we don't go anywhere. Everybody works hard, at home, at work.

AYN: For me there is no difference between living here and in the village. When I say this to my husband, he responds, "We don't have money to go to places and entertain ourselves."

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[24]Open markets are established on particular days of the week at different districts of the city, for example, every Saturday in Kizilay and every Sunday in Esat.

BZ: When you calculate how much it will cost you to visit another district, you usually end up staying at home.

Not only the limited budget of migrants but also the anxiety that they might not be welcomed may keep migrants away from places that are frequented mainly by urbanites:

SUN: Migrants go neither to a movie nor to a play. They are not even comfortable going to a park because they know that other people will judge them by their outward appearances.

AJ: I have never been to the hotel where my husband works. Every year there is a special event held for the personnel, but it is not for me. One should wear her hair uncovered when she goes there. One shouldn't have an accent like mine.

Also, illiteracy affects the interaction of migrants with the city, making many of those who are illiterate timid to go out by themselves:

ST: I am illiterate, so I cannot go around the city by myself. I mostly spend my time in Greenville. My neighbors or my children take me to the dentist or to shopping when I need it.

On the other hand, I met some illiterate women working as cleaning ladies outside of their neighborhood. They seemed to manage their trips to the areas where they worked without much difficulty.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CITY AND THE VILLAGE

The following is a debate between two young women of the same age (26), both looking modern. One of them grew up in the city (YA) and the other in the village (YT; moved to the city in 1986). They have two different views, the former arguing for the city; the latter for the village. They are neighbors and friends, they even have the same name. Significant themes emerge from this debate about the city/ village and the experiences of migrants in the two places.

YA: I grew up in the city. I feel nervous when I am in the village. I don't fit in. Here when I am bored, I can go windowshopping or, in the summer, to a park. And soon I feel better. But in the village, I am confined in one room. I would die if I lived there.

YT: I never get bored in the village. There are so many things to do. I work on the land, milk cows and make bread.

YA: Once they took me to the fields, saying that, as an urbanite, I would enjoy a different activity. I gave up after I picked three handfuls of lentils. My hands were hurt. I said to them, "You can have the lentils. I will buy it for myself in the city."

YT: You don't know how to do it. So you hurt your hands.

YA: If you die for ice cream or cakes when you are in the village, you cannot get them. Why would anyone want to live in such a place?

YT: You are used to ice cream and I am to the village bread. I miss eating village bread with butter on top while drinking ayran (yogurt drink).

YA: I cannot eat chicken in the village. It tastes too strong to me. Village air gives me headache.

YT: I am the opposite. When I go to the village, village air sharpens my appetite. I wake up in the morning breathing fresh air. I warm myself a glass of milk, pick up some eggs and enjoy eating them. I do not come back without having a chicken for dinner. When I first moved to Ankara, I couldn't drink its water, it smelled awful. In the village, water does not have an odor. Here tap water is chlorinated, it smells like a medicine. I couldn't even eat the bread here. My whole mouth was full of sores soon. In the village, we make

bread in earthen ovens and eat it when it is still warm. When I try to make bread here, it does not taste the same. Sometimes I tell my brother to bring me village bread and village butter.

YA: I am used to sitting in an armchair. When I sit on the floor, I am uncomfortable in my tight skirt. How much I try, I cannot sit cross-legged. It is impossible.

YT: In the village, we sit on cushions placed on the floor. Here I don't feel comfortable when I sit in an armchair, and when I sit on the floor, I get cold--the floor is concrete. When I go to the village, I sit on cushions, stretching out my legs, it is so relaxing.

YA: Here in the city, we use porcelain plates; there, copper or zinc. It is hard to clean copper plates. My hands get worn out by doing dishes there. In the city, I use abundant water from tap while doing the dishes. I cannot do dishes by the water brought from the village fountain. People who carry water from the fountain get angry with me when I use up the water.

YT: That is true. There is a lot of work in the village. Housekeeping is much harder. Families are crowded, and older people expect young women to serve them. Beds are to be laid on the floor every evening. In the morning they are to be rolled up and placed on top of each other. Elderly people put on layers of underwear. When they change laundry, there is a lot to wash. Still I like the village. If you have land that gives plenty of yields, then you have a good life. There, sacks full of sugar are free, flour and cracked wheat, too. Here, half a kilo of sugar costs so much money.

YA: I smoke. Yet, they don't like women smoking in the village. When someone happened to show up while I was smoking in the presence of some close female relatives, they would make signs to send me to the kitchen. Yet, the kitchen would be too cold, and if it was the toilet instead, it would smell. I feel funny about the whole thing. I smoke here anywhere I go, and it is not something wrong. So why can't I do it in the village? I cannot understand it.

YT: When you smoke in the village, you have to go to the toilet or to an empty room.

YA: I hate going to the toilet in the village. It is outside the house, and you have to carry water with you there. I feel ashamed. Everybody knows what I am going to do. Here I can use the toilet without other people knowing about it.

YT: That is true. In order to go to the toilet in the village, you have to wait until there is nobody around.

YA: I wear stockings only in the winter to keep myself warm and not to cover myself up. They expect women to dress conservatively in the village--hair covered, long sleeves, stockings. But there is nothing I can do about it. I cannot change to please villagers.

YT: You were born and raised in the city. So I don't think villagers will criticize the way you are dressed. They tend to accept as they are those who are born outside the village. Yet, they criticize those who start dressing differently after they move to the city. They say, "See that woman. After she moved to the city, she opened up her buttocks." So I cover my arms, my legs and my hair when I visit the village.

YA: Villagers do not change, especially the elderly. Your own family can get used to the way you are dressed, but I don't think others will. Try to change my grandma. You cannot.

YT: Villagers are changing by our influence. My grandpa who lives in the village wants to have soup at breakfast. But I don't. I want to have tea or milk. He wants soup, and I want tea. It is not nice to eat alone. One of us should give in. Believe it or not, it turns out to be my grandpa. He has tea for his breakfast when I am in the village. Can you believe this? This is true. My family got used to me.

YA: Yet, it is only your family who got used to you.

YT: Yes, sure. But isn't it your family who really matters?

YA: But you definitely cannot change others. They say the same thing, they look at you with same eyes.

YA: When we went to the market place, we bought anything we wanted, spending all the money we had.

YT: I like the village, but the city is better for women. In the village, women do not touch money. Here, the husband is bound to give money to his wife, so that she can buy bread and the like. She buys bread and keeps the change. She saves that money and spends it on something she wants.

Reasons for Migration From the Village to the City

It was the impossibility of making a living in the village that made many villagers migrate to the city. This was particularly true in the case of men:

KK: In our village, the only thing you can do for a living is to raise livestock, and usually a disease comes and kills them all, then you are in destitute. In our

region, life is really hard. You cannot grow crops there, it is too cold for it.

RU: In our time, young people who could not make a living in the village were moving to cities. We moved, too.

Because of the small size of the land when divided between brothers after the father's death or because of the poverty of the father, many young men migrated to the city to find a job. In addition, the lack of services and facilities in the village made villagers migrate to the city:

KK: If we had a school, roads and water in our village, why would we move out? Our sick people usually die on the way to a hospital because roads are closed by heavy snow in the winter.

Fights in the village, particularly blood feuds (vendetta), forced some villagers to leave the village:

AA: We ran away from the village. That is all I can say. I cannot talk about it now.

SUN: Villagers enter other people's fields while they pasture cows, then comes fighting. Villagers who get tired of this leave the village....You know, feud is common in Eastern Anatolia.

The attraction of the city and the things it promises also make villagers migrate to the city. Usually the disadvantages of the village and the advantages of the city work together, the village pushing away villagers, while the city pulling them in. Some migrants moved to the city to take advantage of the opportunities in the city. They especially wanted to educate their children:

MUS: I moved here to provide a better life for my children. I said, "I live an ignorant life, and I don't want the same thing happen to my children." I was well-off in the village, still I wanted to move to the city (a male).

ZE: We left our village for our children's education. There was no school in our village then. Children should get an education. We didn't move here because

of poverty, we moved here for the lives of our children, for their education (a female).[1]

Villagers may also move to the city to use medical facilities. This was the case with several people in this study. For example, a woman who suffered from a serious heart disease came to the city to look for a remedy for her illness. Her family decided to live in the city when they were told that she needed continuous doctoral supervision. Another woman moved to the city, among other reasons, for her disabled daughter whose one leg was missing.[2] A third woman moved to the city with her husband to seek a remedy for her infertility.[3]

Migrants play a significant role in motivating villagers to migrate to the city:

TU: When villagers see DUD (a migrant woman), they envy her life, saying, "Look, when her family left the village 15 years ago, they had nothing. Now they own a house and furniture."

ZT: That is true. When we visit the village, everybody envies us, they envy the way we are dressed. They compare their children's clothes to our children's and notice the difference. Or when they come here, they envy our lives, saying, "Amazing, they own two houses and a lot of furniture. They have a good life here. Their children are educated."

It is especially the success of those who are believed to be disadvantaged from

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[1]Migrants, particularly women, may feel more legitimate to mention the education of their children as the reasons for their migration to the city than personal ("egotistic") reasons. A relative of ZE commented following this conversation, "She was tempted by the city."

[2]She was concerned about the daughter's future life which, she believed, would be nil in the village. In addition to looking for a medical remedy in the city, she wanted to live in a place where her daughter's disability would not be a big disadvantage and where her daughter could get an education and establish a life for herself. Today, the daughter is still disabled, yet, she finished high school and is a state employee.

[3]She is still unable to bear children. She had a son last year from her kuma, the illegal second wife of her husband.

the beginning which increases the hope of villagers for a better life in the city:

HK: When I decided to move to Ankara, my friends cried and my enemies smiled, saying, "How can he survive in the city with his seven children? This family will suffer." They were wrong. I opened a grocery store, and it did well. And this time villagers who once doubted my success in the city, started migrating to the city themselves, saying, "If this family of nine people could make it in the city, so can we."

Migrants motivate villagers to move to the city in another way, namely, by offering them their services. They promise villagers a job, a place to stay and better living conditions. They open up their houses for newcomers for temporary stay. It is especially relatives who now live in the city who inspire villagers to migrate. They want their sisters, brothers or other close relatives to live with them:

ZE: When my brother in the city said to my husband, "You just move to Ankara, and I will take care of the rest," we decided to migrate.

ZT: When we stopped in Ankara on our way to another city, my sister's husband who lived in Ankara told us to stay there. He would help find a job for my husband.

Also, migrants offer villagers the chance to get familiar with the city by opening their houses to visits from the village. These visits may end up being permanent moves to the city if the visiting villager likes the city:

MUS: I was visiting a relative in Ankara. I liked the city. I found it clean and developed. So I decided to live there and started looking for a job. I had to go back to the village when I could not find a job after six months. After I left, my relative got me a job. So I moved to Ankara permanently.

Migrants open their houses to the children of their relatives living in the village. Sons usually come to the city to continue their education and sometimes to look for a job, and daughters to live in the city to find a husband and rarely to find a job. Almost always these young people settle in the city. Sometimes girls are sent to

the city to take care of their brothers already living there. For example, a girl started living in the city when she was 10 to take care of her older brothers. She did housework for them, and in the summer, she went back to the village to work in the fields. When she was 15, she was engaged, and after a year she got married and settled in the city.

Relatives in the city may act as a safety valve for people who have problems with their families in the village. They may leave the village and start living with their relatives established in the city.

Migrants offer villagers the chance to settle in the city through another means, namely, through marriages. In this study, there are many women who moved to the city when they got married to migrants from their villages. Many migrant men marry women living in their home village.[4] Marriage ceremonies held in the city become a means for young single men (and their mothers) to get to know young single women from the village. For example, a neighbor's sister who lived in the village got married to a migrant man and moved to the city when the man's mother liked her upon seeing her at the women's party for the neighbor's brother's wedding. Visits to the village may be another opportunity to find wives. Sometimes young women

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[4]"Men in general appeared less liberal in their family views, partly it downgraded their established superiority and partly because it created difficult adjustment problems....Young squatter girls, in particular, preferred to marry men from the city because of their urban upbringing, which made them well mannered and respectful of women. Men, on the other hand, appeared inclined to marry village women because of common family traditions, their thrift and their better adjustment to the poor conditions prevailing in the gecekondus. Some men felt that by marrying a village woman they would give her a better life and higher status, and she would be grateful" (Karpat, 1976; pp. 153,154).

visiting the village may get married to their villagers when they meet them on these visits. This happened to several young women in this study. The engagement ceremony took place in the village and the wedding ceremony in the city.[5] The couple started living in the city.

When they migrate, migrants may be accompanied by a younger sister or a niece who is expected to get married and settled in the city, for example:

NZ: I am an orphan. My older brother was married to my uncle's daughter. When they migrated to the city, they brought me with them. A year later I got married to a migrant man from our village. (Her brother made the decision for her marriage.)

Migrants bring to the city not only young people but also older people. When their parents get too old to live by themselves in the village, they ask them to move to the city to live with them. They may also ask their parents to move to the city to give a hand with their responsibilities in the city. For example, several older couples moved to the city when their sons, working in Ankara as kapici,[6] asked them to come

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[5]Wedding ceremonies for the couple, one of them (usually the man) living in the city and the other (usually the woman) living in the village, increase the traffic between the two places. Usually a long convoy of cars, sometimes even buses, full of relatives and neighbors, leave the city early in the morning to bring the bride from the village. Sometimes they start dancing and drinking on the previous night. Usually there is a drummer and a piper in the group who play music on the way to the village. (Once I was awakened at 5:30 am by the noise of a drum; it was a wedding convoy ready to leave for the village.) When they arrive at the village, honking and shouting, villagers meet and entertain them. They eat and drink and dance. When the bride is ready to leave, they get back into cars, this time being more crowded, since some of the villagers join them. In the city, dancing and drinking continue until late hours. The groom's side sometimes rents a wedding hall. This is popular among migrants.

[6]The Turkish word for apartment building maintenance people. Their responsibilities include cleaning up the building, shopping for the residents and

to the city to help them with their jobs or to take over their jobs during the time they would be doing their military service. (The couples did not return to the village.)

Preferences: The City vs. the Village

The captivating power of the city becomes salient especially in the case of women. In this study, the majority of the migrant women preferred to live in the city, whereas the migrant men preferred to live in the village.[7]

First-Generation Migrant Women

The hard work in the village, extensive social control over women and the social norm that expects young married women to live with their in-laws[8] make the

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heating the boiler in the case of those buildings with a central heating system.

[7]Out of 108 participants who preferred the city, 88 were females (31 were second-generation migrant women or those who moved to the city when they were small) and 20 were males (7 were second-generation migrant men or those who moved to the city when they were small). Among these 20 men, there were those who preferred the city under present conditions. Yet, they would have preferred to live in the village if they had made a living there. Out of 21 participants who preferred the village, 5 were females (3 elderly women, a teenage girl who grew up in the village, and a middle-aged woman whose family was planning to migrate back to the village because of the family's poverty in the city) and 16 were males.

[8]The majority of the participants are from Eastern Anatolia where "classic patriarchy," as Kandiyoti (1988) calls it, prevails to a large extent. Kandiyoti writes: "Under classic patriarchy, girls are given away in marriage at a very young age into households headed by their husband's father. There, they are subordinate not only to all the men but also to the more senior women, especially their mother-in-law. ...Among the Turks, there are lower rates of endogamy, and a husband is principally responsible for a woman's honor....As a result, a Turkish woman's traditional position more closely resembles the status of the "stranger-bride" typical of the prerevolutionary China" (1988, pp. 278,279).

city desirable for women where they enjoy some freedom and comfort. For many migrant women, village life means "hard work," "a lot of work," "filthy work":

TU: When I got married to a relative living in another village, I moved there and started living with my in-laws. Very soon I found out how hard life could be. Village life is very tiring for a woman. She has to work both at home and in the fields. Then she has a baby, and life gets even harder. I had to leave my baby at home when I went to the fields. When I came home, my baby cried on one side, and on the other side cows, returning to their barns, waited for me to milk them. I could breastfeed my baby for a very brief time. When I couldn't find time for it, my milk withdrew.

On the other hand, city life is "comfortable and clean" and "there is not a lot of work to be done in the city."

Also, men mention the desire of women to move to the city and their advantageous position there:

AC: Those who want to migrate to the city the most are women. They have a strong desire to move to the city, and at that point, there is nothing men can do but to migrate. Women say, "Let's move to the city. Once we move there, I don't care what happens to us. I don't mind suffering." In the village they work hard, planting crops and the like, and when they move to the city, they stop doing all these things. They gather together and talk and talk. That is all what they do here.

Women share men's opinion about migrant women's better conditions in the city, saying, "In the city, it is men who work hard and earn money, and it is women who spend it."

Migrant women prefer to live in the city even if that means working, usually as cleaning women, for other people:

AT: In the city, we have to work for other people, but we receive something in return. In the village, we work hard and barely survive. Our people back in the village live in poverty.

Another major reason women give for their preferences for the city is the

oppression of women in the village and the control over their behavior, especially of daughters-in-law who are expected to live with their in-laws:

SON: In my village, young married women are expected to conform to strict rules. They cannot talk in the presence of their in-laws. If they have to, they have to whisper. They cannot address to their husbands by their names or talk to them in the presence of other people. They cannot play with their children or show their affection to them. Daughters-in-law go to bed later than everyone and wake up earlier than everyone.

Women also complain about gossip in the village and social control outside the family:

SD: In the village, if a man rings your bell, everybody gets curious. This is why my mother moved to Ankara with us when my father went to Germany to work.

YG: In the village, you can easily get a bad name if you fail to conform to its strict rules. You have to dress conservatively, respect the elderly unconditionally and do what they ask you to do whatsoever. Otherwise you are condemned.

Also, better infrastructure (electricity, running water, paved roads) and better transportation means (as well as richer services), facilities and resources are available in the city which make some women prefer the city:

ESM: In the village, you cannot find baby food, you cannot find sugar or bread, you cannot even find flour to buy.[9]

HJ: In the village, you cannot find many things you need. Here in the city, you can buy anything you want anytime, if you are financially well-off, that is. All the time new things appear in the market. You buy them or make similar ones yourself. So your life becomes richer in the city. In the village, you cannot get the things you want to, even if you have the money. You cannot even find a bottle of milk to buy, since villagers prefer to save milk to make cheese and butter to take to the market to sell.

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[9]Every household grows its own wheat and makes flour for self-consumption, although villages are becoming more and more open to the market.

All these factors make the city highly desirable for women. Now they have an alternative in their lives which did not exist when rural-to-urban migration was not a widespread phenomenon: As they hear from their villagers who are established in the city, they come to believe that they can move to the city and live a better life there. In fact, in many cases, it is women who motivate or even force their husbands to move to the city. It is again women who are determined to stay in the city when they face hardship and suffering. Sometimes they move to the city despite their husbands' will, risking their marriages:

FAN: Let me speak frankly. I got angry and left for the city when my husband was too timid to do so. I was eager to move to the city, thinking that my life would get better. But my husband was reluctant. So I took my oldest son with me and left the village. On our way to Ankara, my son kept saying, "When I grow up, I will bring my brothers and my sister, too. I will kidnap them." After a while my husband came to take us back. I said, "No, it is impossible. I am not going back." So my husband ended up staying with us.

TU: My sisters lived in Ankara. When I received a letter from one of them, asking us to move to the city, I sent my husband to examine the situation. He stayed in Ankara for ten days, didn't like it and returned to the village. Then, a second letter arrived from my sister. This time I wanted it very much to move to Ankara, but my husband was reluctant to do so. It was not easy to persuade him, but finally we left for the city.

And sometimes they are determined to stay in the city despite their husbands' will to return to the village:

TU: At the beginning, we suffered a lot here. My husband couldn't find a job. He collected waste paper in the garbage, he shone shoes. He was very unhappy and started fighting with me. Everyday was full of fights. He wanted to move back to the village. But I was determined not to go back. I said, "Now that I am in the city, I am not going back to the village." So we stayed in Ankara.

Many young women living in the village are eager to move to the city by marrying migrant men and are ready to leave their villages for a promising life in the city:

MED: I was never sad to leave my village. I had such a strong desire for the city that I didn't care about living away from my parents, from my friends.

Preferring to live in the city does not mean that some of these women do not miss the village. Closeness to nature and being in a familiar social environment are the two positive points for the village. Yet, since living close to nature brings with it working hard in the fields to make a living, sometimes struggling against nature, and living in a familiar social environment brings with it the social control, many women prefer to visit the village rather than to live there on a permanent basis:

AT: I miss the village. I really miss it, its ice cold water, its fresh air. But when I remember the hard times I had in the village, I get intimidated by the village life. I certainly miss my homeland. But I had a lot of sufferings there, I learned what poverty means. I used to work as a laborer in the fields. I had to bring my kids with me. They would play with other kids, scaring each other with bugs, get tired, lay down on dirt and fall asleep. I lived such painful days in the village.

On the other hand, elderly women who spent their adult years in the village and moved to the city to live with their children when they got too old to live by themselves prefer to live in the village:

FZ: I am bored in the city. Village life is free. You can go out, see people, sit outside.

Some of the elderly women say that they would have preferred to live in the city if they had moved there in their youth. Now, it is too late for them.

It should be kept in mind that the majority of participants are from Eastern,

South-Eastern, and Central Anatolia, all underdeveloped regions where contacts with the outside world are fairly recent (primarily after WWII) and where traditional ways of life prevail to a large extent. Yet, even the only woman from the Aegean, one of the most developed regions of the country, prefers to live in the city for the sake of living away from her in-laws. However, she would like to spend some months in the village after her family builds a house in her village. She says her village, which is a plain village, is developed and has many facilities and services, whereas her husband's village is a mountainous village in the same region which is not developed at all. Also, the woman who argued for the village in the introduction to this chapter (YT), enjoys her freedom and autonomy in her nuclear family in the city. (She is from a relatively developed village close to Ankara.)

First-Generation Migrant Men

On the other hand, there were many men in this study, both young and old, who said they would have stayed in the village if they could have made a living there:

YU: Our economic situation was poor in the village. My family didn't own livestock or land. What could I do there?

CU: I would always prefer the village if my economic situation was good there.

For men, many of whom were once peasants in the village working on their own land, working under the orders of other people in the city becomes highly offensive, at least at the beginning. It hurts their identities and becomes a source of stress:

MUS: In the city, there is a term called "earning one's bread money." I couldn't get

used to this term for a year, I couldn't get used to the idea of working for others to earn my living. I felt unhappy and cried every time I heard that term. In the village, we don't pay for bread. Everybody, both friends and enemies, those coming into our homes and those going out, all share it. When I lived in the village, it was up to me to start working early or late, it was nobody else's business. In the city, this was different. If I was 10 minutes late to work, then there was trouble. My boss either would say angry words to me or cut my salary. It was hard to work under others' orders. (MUS opened a grocery store in his later years in Ankara.)

The fact that in many cases wives start working in the city out of financial obligations also hurts their male identities. Some have no choice but to help their wives with the housework or at least to lower their expectations from their wives regarding housework.

Many migrant men, first- and second-generation migrants, get tired of the city life and the stress it creates: The city is crowded and noisy; it is polluted and expensive to live; it is tiring to earn a living there:

OR: I prefer the village. Here there is air pollution, too much noise and overcrowding. Traffic is horrible (a taxi-driver).

HB: Life is stressful in the city. I am tired of overcrowding, the noise. When I lived and worked in Istanbul, I got sick of its traffic, of the time and energy I spent while travelling between home and work.

AC: Today, villages are much better places to live in the face of the high cost of living in cities. These days, one cannot make a living in the city with a state employee's salary. The rent of a gecekondu is more than half of the salary of a lower-rank state employee. Add to this heating expenses and it becomes impossible to live on that salary.

Like elderly women, elderly men prefer the village:

HZ: Living conditions in the village are far better. I like the serenity there. I am sure that I would live longer if I lived in the village, eating fresh yogurt, breathing fresh air.

A teenage girl talks about her grandfather as follows:

SY: He cannot stay in the city. He gets homesick. He feels confined to the house, since he cannot travel by himself. When he goes back to the village, walking up the mountains, he shouts, "Thank God, I am back. I give anything for my village, I even sacrifice myself." Then he starts singing. Here he gets extremely bored and depressed.

There are some men who prefer to live in the city. Differing from women who frequently give the hard work, social control and oppression in the village as their reasons, the majority of these men do not mention these issues. They give various other reasons, including the higher standard of living in the city, its many facilities, its cultural activities and the large variety of jobs available as well as limited resources in the village and the impossibility of earning a living. Some also mention the unrewarding work in the village:

CUM: Life in the village is hard, working in the fields and the like. You do not get anything in return for your hard work. In the end, nothing is left in your hands.

There are a few who prefer to live in the city for the sake of living in the city and not for being unable to survive in the village:

SK: Living in the city is a progress in one's life. It is a way to follow the developments in the modern world.

MUS: The city is a place of good manners, of knowledge and educational opportunities.

Similar to women, men emphasize educational facilities for their children as well as medical facilities in the city. Again similar to women, they say they cannot find the things they need in the village, even if they have the money.

Second-Generation Migrants

None of the second-generation migrants, either girls or boys, or the young people who moved to the city very young and grew up there, prefer to live in the village. They say:

SEM: I was born in the city and I am used to living here. I don't know any rural tasks.

SY: I am used to the hectic life of the city, to its crowds, its busy streets, its densely built buildings. When I visit the village, it looks as if it is deserted to me; it is unnaturally quiet....There when a car passes or a stranger walks around, everyone stares. Here, nobody notices a person walking in the street. I like it, I like to walk without being noticed, without feeling that I am under inspection.

The Role of the City in Gender Relations

First-Generation Migrants

Liberating Effect of the City on Women

By living in the city the authority of the husband may relax to some extent, and improvement towards more egalitarian relations between the wife and the husband may appear:

ZT: In the city, when your husband sees other husbands helping their wives, he starts helping you. Here, there is not such a thing as, "Men should be men, women should be women; women should do this and that." Your husband learns from urbanites. Now my husband lights the stove. When he sees me setting the table, he says, "Let me help you." In the village, even when you have 30 men at dinner, not one of them helps you. They all wait women to serve them. Women prepare the meal and they eat it. When they are finished, women eat leftovers.

TU: Men are macho in the village. Women have to do everything for them. Men sit down and wait for women to serve the meal, while women have so many other things to take care of. When they move to the city, men are bound to

change, since the life in the city is very different.

The wife's getting a paid job has the potential to bring some equality to the migrant couple's relations, particularly if that means long hours spent at the workplace:

RU: My husband irons his clothes. We clean the house together. I cannot do all these things by myself. I work at two different places.

TU: What do you mean? He sure helps me with the housework. If I don't have a meal ready to serve, he helps me prepare it. Or if I say, "Let's have a breakfast type of dinner tonight," he doesn't object to it. When we lived in the village, he would get mad if I failed to serve a hot meal.

Thus, the potential decrease in the authority of the husband when the wife gets a paid job and the redefinition of gender roles as the result of it (men starting to participate in housework) may be a reason, yet unstated, for men's objection to their wives' getting paid jobs. Working women may become more conscious of their power and less dependent on their husbands:

NP: If my husband spends his time at the coffee house, while I clean other people's shit, if this is what the marriage is all about, then I would stop sleeping with my husband and spend my life alone.

On the other hand, this may not always be the case. In fact, there are many families where the wife works, yet she is the person who takes care of the house and the family, and the husband is sheltered from responsibilities regarding housework and is still the only authority figure in the family. Even in the cases when husbands help their wives, it is the wives who have the main responsibility for the family:

RU: Ironing, cleaning the house, cooking, all of these depend on me. My husband helps me. Still I am the one who runs the house. This is tiring.

Negative Effects of the City on Migrant Men

Despite the potential liberating effect of the city on women, there are men who continue their old attitudes towards their wives, even in an exaggerated form. In their cases, the effect of living in the city seems to have a reverse outcome--the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city making them very conservative and highly jealous of their wives. My contention, supported by the literature (Bauer, 1984) is that these men become too nervous to have their wives living in an unfamiliar environment with strangers around. They tend to have absolute control over their wives, becoming highly oppressive. For example, there was a patriarchial man in this study who moved to the city in 1986. He did not allow his wife even to go out of the house. I heard from my neighbors that he had his feet washed and his clothes taken off by his wife, and he sometimes beat her. ZT mentioned him as a conservative man. When she was collecting money from neighbors to bring running water to the neighborhood, this man had refused to pay it to ZT, saying that he would not trust his money to a woman. I did not have a chance to meet that woman during my stay in Greenville until the very end: My neighbors warned me about her jealous husband, so I did not dare to visit her. Finally I met her when she invited me to her house to take pictures of her baby without her husband's consent.

The husband may become interested in other women in the city, spending money on them. A neighbor mentioned her three friends whose husbands had left them for other women. The same thing happened to ESM.

ESM: After we moved to the city, my husband started seeing other women. Then he ran away with one of them and married her (had a religious marriage, illegal

> in the Turkish law). I moved out, leaving my children with my mother-in-law. I started working. When my children grew up, they moved in with me.

This inclination of men may increase as they make good money in the city. For example, I heard rumors about ATM, the real estate agent of Greenville, who was caught by his wife when he had his secretary sitting in his lap.

I encountered incidents of beating by husbands among my neighbors in Greenville. The brutality and dominance of men may be an extension of their rural habits. Also, financial problems and the stress of living in the city may be contributing to this, making husbands nervous and tense, as well as the attraction of some men to the worldly pleasures in the city (women, liquor and the like) without a normative structure of the village. In addition, the somewhat increased autonomy of wives in the city away from the control of in-laws and the village environment where there are clearly defined roles and rules may be a factor here, giving husbands more reasons to get angry at their wives.

Second-Generation Migrants

Gender relations may improve in the case of second-generation migrants, particularly in the case of those with higher education. For example, a young civil engineer who grew up in the city helps his high school graduate wife who works as a civil servant, and they make joint decisions.

Yet, growing up in the city does not necessarily mean more egalitarian and liberal relations between spouses. A modern-looking young woman complains about her fiance and his family:

DER: My fiance's family wants me to cover my hair. My fiance does not mind if I don't. Yet, he doesn't want me to wear pants. He doesn't give me permission to get a job. (She is a junior high graduate, and her fiance is an elementary school graduate and runs his taxi.)

Today, young women, including newcomer migrants to the city, seem to be more concerned about having a more or less equal relationship with their husbands:

YE: After I get married, I want to earn my own money. I don't want my husband to say to me, "You are a burden on me." Also, if I don't get a job, I will be the only person who has to take care of the housework, and I don't want this.

Relationship With the Village and Villagers

Social and Economic Relationship With the Village

Visits to the Village

Some migrants visit the village on a regular basis (at least once a year), some once in a while, and others do not visit the village any more. The land owned by migrants themselves or by their parents/in-laws in the village and parents and close relatives living there are the two major reasons for migrants to continue their relationship with the village. They go to the village to work on the land, to spend religious festivals with their relatives or to attend wedding celebrations. Spending vacations in the village, enjoying fresh air and nature, and socializing with old friends is another reason for visits to the village.

Transportation costs and the amount of free time migrants have depending on whether or not they are employed and, if they are, the kinds of jobs they hold, as well as the distance of the village to the city are important in shaping the relationship of migrants with the village. In this research, some of my neighbors gave up their

plans of visiting the village after they calculated how much they would spend on such a visit. This included, in addition to transportation costs, the money to be spent on gifts. On the other hand, there were several people who started visiting the village more often and staying there longer after they retired.

Young married housewives who moved to the city in the last several years visit the village regularly. They are expected to work on the land of their in-laws in the summer. These women take their small children with them to the village, while leaving their husbands back in the city. They usually spend several months in the village. Since the husbands are employed in the city, they either go to the village on their vacation, some of them working on the land and others resting, or they go there for a couple of days to bring their wives and children back. In return for their services, these women get shares from the harvest. They also bring home various kinds of food, such as butter, yogurt, cheese, chickpeas, grape leaves, cracked wheat, flour and eggs. Usually women make winter provisions when they are in the village, including tarhana (dried yogurt and dough for soup), pickles, and dried fruits and vegetables, among other things. Those whose villages are close may even bring wood or tree branches to burn in the stove or lambs to sell.

Long-term migrant families whose villages are close or who have part of the family living in the village also tend to retain their economic relations with the village. For example, there is a family who moved to the city in the early 1960's and whose village is close to Ankara. This family still keeps their land in the village. Usually female members of these families go to the village in the summer to work on

the land. Retired men join the women. Male members who are employed in the city go there on their vacation. They may or may not be working on the land.

Having economic relations with the village is not limited to owning land there. For example, a man in this study whose village is distant goes to the village every year to bring honey and butter to sell in the city.

Those families which are divided between the city and the village have strong ties with the village, for example, children living with their mother in the village while the father works in the city; or some of the siblings (adults) living in the village while the rest in the city, sharing a common budget. There is a family in this study part of which lives in the city and part of it in the village. The family shares its resources between the city and the village. Those living in the city send money to the village. When they go to the village they carry in their taxi the things that are not available in the village. And on their way back, they bring meat, vegetables, flour, cheese, butter and the like from the village. This seems to be a good arrangement, and the prosperity of the family is flourishing. Today they own two cars. They are planning to run one of them as a commercial taxi and to keep the second for their private use.

Migrants who have close relatives (parents, siblings, in-laws) living in the village tend to visit the village on a regular basis. A woman says about this, "If we don't visit the village once a year, the hearts of my parents are broken. They miss us very much." The pressure to visit the village relaxes when their elderly parents spend the winter in the city with them, returning to the village in the summer, or when their

parents move permanently to the city when they get too old or too lonely to live by themselves.

It usually takes several years for newcomers to visit the village. In this study the newcomers who moved to Ankara in the last two years have not visited their villages yet, although they want to and miss their parents there.

Those who do not have close relatives living in the village, but who like the village also pay occasional visits to the village. They enjoy being close to nature and seeing their old friends.

Migrants who never (or very rarely) visit the village are usually young people: second-generation migrants or those who started living in the city when they were children. Some of these young migrants want to visit their villages, but cannot find time. (They have different piorities: They are employed and, in their limited vacation time, they go somewhere else.) Some do not want to visit the village any more: They did not like it when they visited it. On the other hand, there are young second-generation migrants who visit the village.

Some long-term migrants who, although they used to visit the village frequently in the past, do not/cannot visit it any more. In many cases, they do not have anything or anybody left: They do not own land (those who once owned land sold it), and their close relatives either died or moved to the city. Those who do not own houses in the village any more may feel uncomfortable staying in other people's houses. Those who still have their houses in the village may be nervous about finding them ruined and may avoid visiting the village, saying they cannot face that reality.

The relationship with the village may be cut off because of the special conditions of some people. For example, a serious heart problem prevents a woman from visiting her village, although she wants to. And a dispute a man had in his village which made him run away keeps him away from his village.

There is a recent trend among migrants to spend time at the seaside in the summer. To them, it is a sign of status and modernity. So some migrants have started going to coastal towns and summer camps instead of visiting their villages, sometimes trying to visit both the village and a coastal town in their vacation time.

Visits From the Village

Migrants not only visit the village, they also accomodate villagers who visit the city. For vilagers, they serve as a means to take advantage in the facilities of the city. Villagers come to the city for hospitals, for schools, for governmental agencies. They also come to rest and to see their relatives. Weddings and other special occasions are another reason to come to the city.

There may be so many villagers coming to stay in the city that accomodating them may be overwhelming for migrants. For example, when I suggested to a woman that the great distance of her village to Ankara might be a disadvantage, limiting the interaction between the village and the city, she said that she regarded it as an advantage. Despite the long distance, she had many guests from the village, one after another, each staying at least a couple of weeks. She sometimes could not have time alone with her family for months, ending up neglecting her children. "If

this is so when my village is distant," she said, "imagine how it would have been if my village had been closer."

When they come to stay, villagers bring gifts with them, and these gifts are usually food from the village, such as village bread, cheese, yogurt, tarhana, and butter.

Usually older people come to the city in the winter to stay with their children, mostly with their sons' families. This may be a stressful situation for young women who moved to the city to get rid of the oppression of their in-laws. Yet, many do not object to it:

AJ: When my mother-in-law stays with us in Ankara, she gives me trouble all the time. Yet, I still want her to stay with us. Otherwise there will be gossip. They will say, "AJ does not want her husband's mother" or "AJ's mother-in-law is not comfortable in AJ's house."

There may be conflicts when villagers, particularly elderly in-laws/parents come to stay. They may expect to live the way they are used to in the village, for example, to have soup for breakfast. And they may get angry if their children fail to provide it.

Also, villagers visiting the city may be inclined to check on the changes in migrants:

YA: When my husband's uncle came from the village for a visit, he was angry at me when he saw me in the grocery store, my hair uncovered. He said to me, "Why do you wear your head uncovered? It is a sin."

YT: Once, when I was cleaning up the house, I saw my brother-in-law climbing up the hill. He had come from the village to visit us. I was wearing a dress with short sleeves, and my hair was uncovered. I was nervous that he would see me like that. I rushed into the house and changed my dress and covered my hair.

Psychological Relationship With the Village

Visits to the village strengthen the migrant's identity, and this has positive or negative outcomes for the migrant. Migrants visiting the village remember who they are and who they once were. Remembering who they are in the village especially helps those who have high-status in the village and who suffer from loss of status in the city. They feel important in the village where they are respected and liked. They relax away from the stress of the city. Remembering who they once were gives them the chance to compare their past lives in the village to their present lives in the city. They generally end up feeling happy and content. This comparison particularly helps those who were poor in the village and had success in the city: Today, they are not poor peasants any more; they have improved their lives in the city. In this way, the village becomes a measure of their success in the city.

On the other hand, visiting the village has negative effects on those who are oriented to the city. They feel that they are pulled back into the rural community into which they do not fit and to which they do not belong.

To have a psychological relationship with the village does not necessarily require visits to the village. It may be attained through conversations when migrants talk about the village, especially when there is somebody in the group who has just returned from the village. They exchange news, remember their past lives and sometimes get so emotional that they even start crying. Migrants who prefer to socialize with other migrants from their village, prefer this, among other reasons, for the opportunity to remember their past lives in the village and to be among people

who knew them and their families. This prevents migrants from feeling that they are nobodies in the city: They are not just another peasant in the city; they are the daughters/sons of important families in the village.

The loved ones living in the village make many migrants psychologically close to the village. Those whose parents and/or siblings live in the village want to visit the village as often as their living conditions permit (an exception to this may be the presence of stepmothers) and want to accomodate them in the city. If neither is possible, they send or receive gifts if there is someone travelling to/from the city. During the research, several people sent their photos which I had taken to the village, particularly if their young children were in them.

In the case of those migrants who attempt to become a part of the established urban society and who do not depend on the village economically or socially, visits to the village may help distance themselves psychologically from the village community. In this study, a better-off migrant family used to visit the village to put on airs and to look down on villagers.

Visits to the Village

Many migrants try to fit in while they visit the village. If they do not, they say, they are not welcomed by villagers:

AJ: We have to adapt to the village when we stay there, by the way we talk, walk or behave. Otherwise we have to sit alone in a corner all the time, isolated from villagers (a young woman).

CU: You are criticized by villagers if you show them the cultural difference you acquired in the city. For example, if you want to wash your hands with tap

water instead of from the watering trough, villagers will find it bizarre (a young man).

The changes villagers expect migrants to make in themselves while visiting the village are more profound in the case of women:

YT: When you are in the village, you have to cover your arms and hair.

SON: In the village, even if I try to walk like villagers, they say, "You walk in a coquettish way." So you have to be alert and follow their way of doing things.

Villagers have different expectations from those who migrate to the city in their adulthood and those who grew up in the city. The expectations are usually lowered in the latter case:

SY: Villagers accept me as an urbanite and do not expect the same behavior they expect from a villager or from someone who moved to the city as an adult.

Yet, even second-generation migrant women may feel the need to make changes in themselves to fit in while visiting the village:

SY: When I go to the village, I don't wear stretch pants like the ones I have on now. I try to dress to fit in. I don't wear any make-up. I wear pyjamas under my dress. This helps when I sit down on the floor. I think this is appropriate, that is why I do it.

Changes taking place in the village may enable women not to make profound changes in themselves any more:

SY: I don't have to cover my hair in my village, since these days village girls wear their hair uncovered.

YT: Mostly elderly people live in the village now and those who are young live in the city. When I go to the village, there is someone from the city in each house, visiting their relatives. They are dressed like I am dressed here. So villagers get used to the way we are dressed.

HJ: There are many people who migrated from our village to Germany. Their visits to the village have made changes in villagers. They are not so conservative any more.

On the other hand, there are migrants who try not to fit in with the expectations of the village community. They do not like the village and have a low image of villagers. Some visit the village rarely, only when there is a very special occasion, such as a very close relative marrying someone in the village. Some visit the village to put on airs, to display to villagers their success in the city. These migrants, by the way they dress and behave, try to show villagers that they are not one of them. A young woman who went to the village to bring her brother's fiancee to the city wore make-up and did not cover her hair and seemed enjoying the shock of villagers. Villagers tend to talk behind their backs, criticizing or making fun of them:

SUN: After they leave, villagers say, "This man who used to work in the fields with us until yesterday behaves today as if he is the governor. But we know who he really is. He cannot deceive us."

Despite the inconvenience of making changes in themselves to be welcomed by villagers, migrants have some advantages of being there: They are privileged in the village and enjoy higher status among villagers.

Migrants feel differently about their time in the village, depending on the sex and age of the migrant as well as on being a first- or a second-generation migrant.

Young Women

When young married women who do not have a paid job in the city go to the village in the summer to work on the land of their in-laws, the time they spend with

their in-laws proves to be stressful and tiring for many of them:

FS: I don't mind going to the fields before dawn. But I cannot stand my mother-in-law who interferes with everything.

They are expected to work in the fields and at home:

AJ: My mother-in-law wakes me up every morning at 5. If I don't get up, she gets angry. I have to make bread and prepare breakfast. Then I go to the fields. When I come back, there are many chores waiting for me--to milk cows, to prepare dinner, to wash dishes. When I go to bed early at night, I don't have any energy left in me. In the city, I stay awake until the programs on TV are over, like two in the morning, and I don't feel exhausted. When I am in the village, my mother-in-law says to me, "You look pale now. When you were in Ankara, you had color on your face."

Yet, even these young daughters-in-law may be treated differently because of living in the city:

AJ: My father-in-law does not want me to go to the barn. He is concerned that I may get fleas. He says, "You are a lady from Ankara now."

These young women are expected to stay with their in-laws when they go to the village. One of the major reasons young women give for their city preferences is to live away from their in-laws. Yet, they return to the village to live with them in the summer.

On the other hand, for those women whose parents live in the village and whose in-laws in the city (or they are dead), visiting the village may be something to look forward to. They are pampered by their parents, rest and sometimes help their parents with the fields or orchands, although they are not generally asked to do so:

MC: I went to pasture cows with my mother. I picked mushrooms with her. We walked miles. I was very energetic there. I did not have even one single headache during the 10 days I spent in the village. I woke up early every morning like a bird ready to fly.

Middle-Aged Women

As women get older and their time in the city increases, they are less expected to work on the land. They usually go to the village for a visit, particularly on special occasions (usually accompanied by their husbands). Some of them like to spend a week or two in the village, and they get bored if they stay longer. They say their home is in the city and they miss their lives there:

ZT: During my first days in the village, the village seems stange to me, I feel awkward. Yet, in a few days, I feel close to it as I remember my past life there, I get used to it. Then I start missing my home and want to return to Ankara.

They may find it uncomfortable to stay in other people's houses, especially because of the authority built on age:

ESM: It is too long for me to stay in the village for more than 10 days. I cannot lay down, sit or act as I would do in my own house. In the village, the elderly have the last word. If they say, "Go out," you have no other choice but to go out; if they say, "Come in," you have no other choice but to come in. I cannot go out if they don't want me to. If they don't want me to talk to a neighbor, I cannot. In the village, they do not respect your opinion, they do not treat you as an individual.

They miss their homes back in the city and worry about their children if they are not with them. While we were travelling on the highway connecting Ankara to the provincial city of HJ's village on our way from an engagement party in a neighboring city, she started telling me about her memories which were brought back by that trip:

HJ: On my way to the village, an excitement fills my heart when I remember the years I spent there. On my back to Ankara, I get happy, thinking that I am coming home.

For many, the most preferable visit to the village is a brief one during which

they enjoy nature and see their old friends and relatives:

FK: We went by our car, stopping by various villages where we had people we knew. We visited our relatives, staying in each one's house for a couple of days. Our relatives accommodated us well, they invited us to dinner. We picnicked up in the hills in the forest, we picked mushrooms. We moved from one house to the other, from one village to the other. We enjoyed it very much. We brought home food which our villagers gave us as gifts.

A few women who go to the village for business purposes, that is, not to work on the land but to supervise orchards or to collect money from sharecroppers, seem to enjoy being in the village where they are entertained and pampered by their villagers during their brief stay there:

BZ: When I was in the village, I spent a couple of days in one village and a couple of days in another. My villagers gave dinner parties for me. It was great. Villagers were nice to me, they visited me, offered me gifts, invited me to dinner.

There are some middle-aged women who enjoy working on the land. They do this not out of obligation, but as a hobby. They say working on the land is hard, and they would not like doing it as their everyday activity. Yet, they enjoy going to the fields with their villagers, talking and joking:

MY: At first, I feel tired. Then my energy rises gradually. God knows how I worked with a shovel this summer. I worked on other people's land. It was so much fun.

Men

Many men who visit the village enjoy it. For them the village is a place to rest. They feel comfortable "among our own people, on our own land." They say the air in the village is clean, the meat and milk, and the vegetables and fruits there

are all fresh. Many hold jobs in the city and go to the village in their time off. Some tend to split their vacation time between the village and the seaside. When they are in the village on their vacation, some work on the land, and some do not. If they are retired, they tend to spend months there.

Migrant men may get bored in the village when their friends spend the day working on the land, whereas they stay at home by themselves, not finding people to talk to:

HK: Staying in the village for three days is enough for me. Everybody goes to the fields during the day. I spend my time alone and get bored. It is easier to spend time in Ankara.

They may also get bored in the village if they visit it after many years when few people are left whom they once knew in the village. This may bring about frustration and grief when young people of the village do not know them and fail to recognize their success and the contributions they once made to their village:

DD: Before I migrated to Ankara, I was the headman (muhtar). Everybody knew me, respected me. Now when I go to the village, the youngsters look at me and say, "Who is that stranger?"

Those young men who are oriented to the city, yet who are obliged to go to the village because of their parents living there may also get bored in the village.

Second-Generation Migrants

Usually young second-generation migrants who visit the village with their parents get bored there if they stay there for more than a week or two. They are not familiar with rural tasks. They stay at home while villagers at their age go to the

fields:

HKD: Girls at my age go to the fields, so I cannot find anybody to talk to. I can go nowhere but stay at home. The last time I was in the village, I got too bored to stay any longer in a week.

SY: When I visit the village, it looks to me as if it is deserted; it is unnaturally quiet....Oh my God, you just sit there in complete silence, not one paper or book to read, nothing....I couldn't stand that complete silence and desolution: all villagers had deserted the village to work in the fields.

For some second-generation females, the social norms which villagers expect from women may be highly frustrating:

YA: They stare at me with disapproving eyes, and I stare back at them with disapproving eyes. They look at me as if I were a beautiful mare in the stable. They find bizarre the way I am dressed, my make-up. They say, "Look at her, she dyed her hair, she pulled out hairs from her eyebrows, look at her eyes, she colored her eyelids, look at her lips, she is wearing lipstick, look at her, she is dressed like a bimbo, look at her feet, at her high-heeled shoes, look at her hands, her arms."...Once I told them, "I don't know you, and you don't know me. Why are you so concerned about the way I am dressed? Why do you say, "Cover up your arms, your hair; otherwise you will go to hell, you will be a sinner." I sometimes joke, saying, "I don't mind going to hell. Let me dance and have fun first, and then bury me while drums and pipes are played at my funeral."

The attention they get in the village, even without the criticisms that usually follow it, may become annoying:

YA: If I had to stay in the village for a month, I would get crazy--staying inside all the time to avoid the attention I receive from villagers.

Even those who try to fit in may face criticisms:

SON: When I talk to villagers, they stop me, saying, "You know too much, you talk too much, you are a smart ass." This makes me feel cold for villagers, I don't want to talk to anybody.

On the other hand, children like the village. They play outside without much interference from adults and enjoy their freedom. They like being close to nature--

trees, stream, grass; they like being with people who pamper them. A girl says, "There, everybody is a relative or a neighbor. I love it. They are so nice to me."

Yet, as the child gets older (reaching eight or nine), gender becomes an issue, and it affects the child's feelings for the village. Girls who are now expected to stay inside begin to dislike the village, whereas boys whose freedom increases as they get older continue to enjoy the village life.

Young second-generation migrants may enjoy the village if they visit it at their own will to find about the village life and their roots, and not out of obligation. They may enjoy living in a different environment close to nature among people who show them friendship and attention:

YUC: This summer, I went to the village by myself and stayed with my relatives for a week. They were very nice to me. Villagers are very friendly to those coming from the city. They like and respect them (a young man).

SUN: I was 18 when I visited the village for the first time. I was with my father. Two years later I went there again, this time by myself. I liked the warmth and attention villagers showed to me. It was very nice to meet people who knew my past, my roots (a young woman).

Yet, it does not mean that the time they spend in the village is without problems:

SUN: I couldn't get along with my cousins; I didn't like their brutal jokes. We couldn't find common interests to talk about....I argued with some women. The way they see the world conflicts with mine.

Future Plans Regarding Moving Back to the Village

Migrants, as a rule, do not want to move back to the village other than in retirement. Many men want to intensify their relations with the village after they

retire. This may mean moving back to the village on a permanent basis or it may mean sharing their time between the city and the village. There is a family in this study who started building a house in the village to be used in summers after the husband's retirement.

Many wives object to migrating back to the village. Their main reason is their children who are settled in the city and who will never think of living in the village:

ZT: My man says, "When I retire, we can move back to our homeland. We can have a good time there. We can even build a pond for our pleasure." But I don't want it. My kids won't go. If they stay here, it is hard for me to leave them and move to the village.

For a few women, it is still the hard work of the village that keeps them from moving back to the village:

AT: My husband wants to live in the village since he retired this year. But I don't. We cannot live on a retirement salary there, we have to work on the land, and this is a very tiring thing to do.

Or it is the relative comfort they have in the city when compared to the village:

SEM: I am used to the comforts of the city. Village houses are not built orderly. You have to collect wood to burn in the oven. It is a burden to live in the village.

Or it is the villagers themselves:

TU: I cannot get along with villagers. Some say, "When we retire, we will move back to the village, or at least spend more time there." I don't agree with them. I would never think of doing anything like this, ever.

In the case when the husband wants to live in the village and the wife does not, a resolution may be reached by dividing their time between the city and the village.

Also, some men do not want to live in the village on a permanent basis, but to spend some time in the village and the rest in the city: They want to spend the winter in the city where it is less troublesome, and the summer in the village, enjoying nature.

In the case of migrants who experience hard economic conditions and poverty in the city, they may plan to migrate back to the village. For example, there is a family in this study who is poor and rents an old gecekondu. The husband's brother lives with them, whereas the brother's wife and children are back in the village living with his parents. This family is thinking of moving back to the village. The wife says she wants to migrate back to the village.[10]

The inclination of men to spend some months (even the whole year) in the village after their retirement does not mean that they will do it. It remains as nostalgia in the case of those who do not have relations with their villages any more. Among them, there are those whose villages are distant with a harsh climate and unproductive land from where most of the village population has migrated out and those who have no land and no close relatives left back in the village.

In the case of young men whose retirements are too far ahead to plan for,

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[10]When I asked her how she felt about living in the village, her brother-in-law answered instead and said that she enjoyed staying in the village that summer and did not want to return to the city. He added, looking at CER with a smile on his face, "At least this is what she told us." The next time when I saw her, she had just come back from the village. Our subject was the village, and I asked her how she felt about staying there. She said she enjoyed it, yet it was hard work and what she brought with her back to the city was little when compared to the amount of work she put into it.

some say they cannot migrate back to the village now, because they cannot make a living there, and those who are oriented to urban society say they do not want to move back to the village.

For second-generation migrants, both females and males, living in the village anytime in the future is out of the question.

Conceptions of a Rural Person (köylü)

The general theme emerging from the conceptions of a rural/urban person is that the former is inferior to the latter in terms of education, manners and knowledge, as well as living conditions. Even some of my friends from the university who might be expected to see the world in a wider perspective hold negative stereotypical images of rural people, and they put them into words on many occasions. For example, once when I was getting on the bus with a friend, she complained about the crowd trying to get on the bus by pushing each other: "They are acting like peasants." The lower status attached to the village and rural people is noticeable in the city, and migrants are aware of this and seem to accept it. Many of the migrants in the study talked about the backwardness of the village and the ignorance of rural people, including those who consider themselves rural. There may be some truth in this claim about the backwardness of the village, since there is an uneven distribution of power, wealth and services in favor of the city in Turkey. The following are some examples of the conceptions held by the participants that imply the ignorance and backwardness of rural people:

FS: How can they know about birth control? After all, they are peasants.

HA: The people in this neighborhood did not take good care of the fountain. They damaged its pipes. After all, they are people who moved from the village.

ESM: What could we know about raising children when we first moved from the village? I didn't know how to feed my child, how to dress him properly. He was skinny, he was near death. Urbanites know a lot about how to raise healthy children, they help their children with their homework.

SED: My husband wants me to serve him. He is a peasant.

AJ: Peasant men do not know how to treat women; they treat us like animals.

FS: He is educated (a teacher). Why did he marry a woman from the village?

I heard a man who was selling vegetables on a truck in Greenville scolding some rural-looking women gathered around him, saying, "You are wasting water like peasants."

An elderly woman who has been living in the city for many years is concerned about the way her granddaughter living in the village talks and looks:

NZL: My granddaughter came from the village to visit me. In the village, she learned to speak vulgar like a villager. But, now she has been improving her tongue after she started staying with me and her skin has gotten rather white, since I wash her frequently here.

A man talks about the ignorance of villagers regarding family planning as follows:

MUS: I have eight children. I would have had more if I had continued living in the village. In the village, people are not concerned about how to raise their children. They do not care about family planning....I found out that I should practice birth control when a military officer in the village was concerned about the number of my children and warned me about it.

When some construction workers made insinuating remarks on our way to a visit, my keyperson, ZT, said to me, "They behave like curs. They must have

recently moved form the village. They don't know anything about civilized manners." ZT talked about the city/village as follows:

ZT: Those living in the city are more advanced than those living in the village. Villagers learn from them.... When you move from the city to Europe, you see that the way they live there is more advanced: they have comfort in their lives. Those who move to the city do not want to return to the village, and those who move from the city to Europe do not want to return to Turkey.

There is the view in society that migrants are ignorant of the proper ways of living in apartments, and this may even be shared by migrants themselves. A second-generation migrant girl once said, "Those migrants who move to apartments should be educated about how to live in an apartment."

In the eyes of many migrants, the village is not only backward, but it is also conservative. Women especially complain about this:

SON: In the village, you cannot dress or walk the way you do in the city. Otherwise, villagers make fun of you or they do not approve your presence there.

TU: (to another woman who was talking in favor of the village), Could you wear such tight skirts or those nylon stockings in the village? Could you wear your hair short?

The conception of villagers as tasteless people who enjoy colors that are too bright and designs that are too large, in contrast to "urban elites" who favor mild tones and small designs, which is part of the dominant ideology in the city, also prevails among migrants. When my roommate saw a woman dressed in bright colors, she said to me, "See this woman, she is a genuine peasant." (That woman had been living in the city since she was eight.) This may make migrants cautious about not giving to the outside world (i.e. urban society) the image that they lack taste and do

not know how to observe moderation in their outward appearances. A young woman said to her cousin, "Don't dress like a peasant. Take off that gypsy-blue vest." When a young woman put henna on her palms at the wedding of her sister, she said with regret, "I have too much henna on my hands. They are like those of peasants."

There is some connection between being rural and dirty in the ideology produced by the city. My roommate talks about about her older sister and her family who have distain for villagers:

SUN: When they used to go to the village, they would say that their stomach was turned by the smell of villagers. Of course, villagers smell of dung because of their close contacts with cows and sheep. My sister's family would feel reluctant to eat the food villagers made. They would feel disgusted. They would say, "Why should we eat anything that has touched the hands of this dirty old woman whose skirt touches the dirt."

Many migrants seem to accept that they are inferior to urbanites. Several participants mentioned with grief their "inability to get rid of" their rural accent. A man said with regret about this, "Unfortunately, we stayed rural."

On the other hand, there are some migrants who do not agree with the negative conceptions of the village and rural people:

BZ: The only thing the city has over the village is its good reputation. Some villagers are superior to you and me in the way they dress and behave.

FS: In my village, they don't like shalvars. I had to buy a silk blouse and a skirt to wear in the village in order not to be poorly dressed. There, they dress much better than we do here. There, they eat at the table; here, we eat while sitting on the floor.

CER: On my visit to the village this summer, villagers said that the dress I was wearing was out of fashion. They liked jean-skirts and drooping sleeves. I covered my hair, and they wore hairdos. They looked more modern than I did.

Yet, it is hard for migrants to keep themselves immune to the effects of the urban ideology:

ZU: Rural people are superior. Yet, still, I don't know, those of us who moved from the village see ourselves as less than others in the city.

Some migrants, particularly young leftist people, take a strong position against the inferior conceptions of rural people. They are careful not to look down upon them. They think of villagers as honest people who work hard to make a living; who support each other and help each other out; who live in harmony with nature (see, for example, SUN, p.275).

Conceptions of a Modern, Urban Person (sehirli)

Many migrants think of modern people as those who grew up in the city, who are well-educated, cultured and refined, who dress well and follow fashion, and who are well-off and live in upper class neighborhoods:

RZ: Let me tell you in a nutshell what a modern person is. Modern people are cultured. Then comes the way they are dressed, then the way they live and finally the area where they live. Modern people are concentrated in Cankaya, GOP, and Kavaklidere (upper-class districts).

HJ: Modern people are those who are cultured, who have high incomes, who are educated and enlightened. They pay attention to the way they are dressed, to their selves.

ZT: Modern people speak in a refined way. They are ahead of other people, educated, cultured and knowledgeable. They live in luxurious areas, such as GOP and Cankaya. They are wealthy, they have power. They own private cars, their children go to school by private bus service. Modern people travel in their own cars conveniently; their lives are very comfortable.

FAT: The one who grew up in the city, is well-educated, has good manners is a modern person. I know that much, despite the fact that I am not educated.

MK: Modern people are different from others with respect to their financial situation. The way they are dressed and speak are, of course, superior.

On the other hand, several migrants think of modern people as honest, modest, one who respects others:

BZ: Being modern means paying respect to other people's opinions. Modern people are those who get along with everyone, who fit into any society....I go to very luxurious places in the city, from outside they look perfect. Yet, when I enter inside, I find nothing modern with them.

MI: Most of all, humaneness is important: to be honest, to be clean. To observe moderation is the key here. I don't think, in order to be modern, it is necessary to belong to high-society.

YU: Modern people are open-minded, they respect others' opinions.

SK: In my opinion, modern people respect others' rights.

And several others think of modern people as those who do not (or should not) look down upon others:

KK: I call modern those who are kind, who like to help others, who know the environment well, who see the world with good eyes. But those who say, "I am educated, so I look down upon other people, I don't mix with anybody, I don't accept anybody as my equal" are not modern. Yet, if they are educated and still look at their environment with good eyes, are modest and do not look down upon other people, then I call them modern.

KI: In my opinion, modern people should be cultured and should have educated themselves. They should see people at the same level.

HS: Modern people are those who do not see themselves as above others, who do not look down upon people below them, who see themselves as in the middle.

CHAPTER FIVE

SELF-PRESENTATION OF MIGRANTS

Outward Appearances

The variety in the outward appearances of migrant women is striking. It ranges from very modern-looking[1] to very rural-looking.[2] Once I joined a women's party in Greenville to celebrate a wedding. Some of the women present at that party looked very rural in their shalvars,[3] covering their yemeni's[4] tightly over their hair, and some very modern in their fashionable dresses and stylish haircuts. The modern-looking women were mostly young. They were wearing pantihose, whereas others had either long stockings or pyjamas/shalvars under their dresses. In some cases, the mixture of modern and rural features on the same person was remarkable. I noticed a teenage girl dressed in a skirt and a T-shirt, covering her hair with a yemeni. She was wearing pyjamas under her skirt, and on her T-shirt, there were some words written in English.

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[1]They are dressed like Western people.

[2]They cover their hair with yemeni's and wear shalvars or long calico dresses with hand-knitted woolen vests or cardigans on top. In the conversations with both urbanites and migrants, I identified these aspects of clothing as signs of rurality. Also, women belonging to this group wear their hair long, done in simple knots or braids.

[3]The traditional full pants gathered at the ankles.

[4]Cheesecloth headcovering.

Comparing Female Gecekondu Residents to Those Living in Apartments

In general, there are more rural-looking women in the gecekondu area than in the apartment area. A woman who moved from a gecekondu to an apartment says that the gecekondu environment fails to motivate its residents to care for their appearances, since it is the same people with whom they spend all their time. This assertion holds true for many gecekondu women. On the other hand, it becomes irrelevant in the case of young women who hold urban identities and prefer to live in apartments (the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group, p.220), as well as in the case of the majority of young single women, regardless of whether they consider themselves urban or rural: They pay a lot of attention to their looks and are dressed in a modern fashion.

Many of those middle-aged women in this study who moved to apartments in the last few years seem to be concerned about their outward appearances. They dress in rather modern style and are informed about the fashion. They know where to find fashionable clothes of modest prices. At neighborly gatherings, they notice each other's outfits, commenting on them and getting information on where they have gotten them. The difference was amazing when three of these women posed for me, first as "urban women," wearing sunglasses, jackets and lipstick; and then as "modern rural women," covering their hair with yemeni, still wearing lipstick.

Also, there are some rural-looking women in the apartment area. They are conservative in their value orientations and mostly come from the southern and

southeastern parts of Turkey which share borders with Iran and Iraq, two countries where fundamentalist Islamic views prevail.

In brief, the gecekondu environment seems to be more conservative and more rural regarding the way of dressing of women, except for the case of single, young women who grew up in the city: They are tolerated by the gecekondu community if they do not take a stand against it. On the other hand, the apartment environment seems to motivate its residents to care for their outward appearances and to make changes in their looks to become closer to urbanites.

Young, Single Women and Teenage Girls

Young, single women and teenage girls, and this includes those living in apartments as well as those in gecekondus, those who consider themselves urban as well as those who consider themselves rural, are concerned very much about their outward appearances. They look modern, especially when they are out of their rural community. Many also dress in modern style when they are with their gecekondu neighbors or rural relatives. Some even wear stretch jeans or make-up in the gecekondu community. It is surprising to see young, modern-looking girls in an environment with small houses scattered around, dirt paths connecting them. I could not believe my eyes when I saw a young girl in stretch jeans and sneakers while boiling laundry in a cauldron in the garden of a gecekondu.

The only teenage girl in this study who looks rural is the one who grew up in the village and whose family is divided between the village and the city (SEV, p.229).

Elderly Women

Elderly women, regardless of living in gecekondus or apartments, look rural and keep their outward appearance the same inside and outside the house or the neighborhood. They cover their hair, wear long calico dresses with handmade woolen vests or jackets on top. Some dye their hair with henna which turns the white hair into bright red.

Migrant Women's Different Way of Dressing Inside and Outside

Migrant women, as a rule, dress differently when they are at home (or in the neighborhood in the case of gecekondu residents) and when they go out:

RZ: When I am at home, I put on an ordinary dress and do not care much about how I am dressed. At that time what I do is important. And when I go out, I feel the need to pay attention to the way I am dressed.

Many Greenville residents wear shalvars or pyjamas under their skirts and cover their hair with yemeni when they are in the neighborhood. (The conservative ones do this for religious purposes and others for convenience, as they say.) Some wear pyjamas even to the local grocery store, but always keep a skirt over them. When they go out of the neighborhood, those who are conservative replace yemeni with headscarves and those who are not uncover their hair. They wear dresses (conservative ones wearing long dresses with long sleeves) or skirts and blouses, taking off shalvars or pyjamas.

When getting ready for photos, the general tendency among the women was, for those wearing yemenis, to replace them with headscarves or to uncover their hair,

and for those wearing shalvars, to take them off, putting on dresses or skirts and blouses. The discrimination against shalvar, a clear sign of rurality, was even present in the case of children. At a meeting of relatives, a woman living in an apartment told her younger relative living in a gecekondu to take off her daughter's pyjamas, saying that they looked like shalvars on her.

I was surprised when some women turned into completely different women after they made changes in themselves to pose for me. Once a middle-aged rural-looking woman turned into a modern woman when her daughters made changes in her appearance. They said they wanted their mother look beautiful because they would send them to their father in jail. So they first removed her yemeni and untied her hair, spreading it from shoulder to shoulder. Then they put on make-up, coloring her eyelids and lips. She wore a blouse and a matching skirt. It was amazing how much she was changed at the end (see also the case of AJ, p.254).

Even elderly rural-looking woman made changes in their outward appearances while their photos were taken. For example, once when an elderly neighbor joined us while I was visiting a woman living close by to take photos, I suggested taking her photo. She liked the idea, yet did not want to be in the photo wearing her yemeni. She was pleased when the hostess offered her one of her headscarves. Another time the same woman posed for me in front of her door after she changed her clothes. She wore a green handmade blouse, a darker green handmade vest and a cotton skirt with prints of pink and blue roses on a black background. She covered her hair with a black scarf and stood there with her arms hanging down on both sides.

There are various explanations of the difference between the way many migrant women are dressed inside and outside the home or the gecekondu neighborhood, as well as while posing for photos. First of all, it is the need to be careful about their outward appearances when they share the same environment with urbanites in order to avoid offensive demeanor from them. A young woman says:

YA: One has to fit into the place where one lives. I live in the city, I go to banks, to government offices. I talk to important people. If I don't dress well, if I don't look proper when I go there, then I am in trouble. They will treat me less than human.

She gives a real life example on this issue:

YA: One day I was painting the walls of my house, paint stains all over me. My bad luck, on the very same day my son fell down and broke his leg. When I saw him lying on the floor, moaning in pain, I picked him up right away and took him to a hospital without changing into proper clothes. Do you know how the doctor treated me? He said, "You filthy woman, why didn't you take good care of your child?" I swear. The next day I went to the hospital again, this time dressed well. The doctor changed his attitude completely towards me when he saw me in nice clothes. He started turning around me, asking for my orders. But a day before, I was a filthy woman in his eyes. I mean, when you go anywhere in the city, you should always dress properly.

The children who want their parents approved by their peer group also ask them to dress "properly":

YA: Now we live in the atomic times. Today, children use computers. They are so particular about so many things that they even do not like the way their parents are dressed. My daughter asks me to dress well when I go to see her teacher. She says, "Mom, wear this dress when you come to my class, look nice. Otherwise my friends will make fun of you."

Urban society has its own values and norms regarding outward appearance. In Turkey, people with rural ways of dressing are usually looked down upon. A young woman in this study says about this, "If a woman covers herself more than

usual in the city, then she is treated as inferior."

On the other hand, many migrants cannot or do not want to change their outward appearances completely to become like urbanites. The social control of the migrant community as well as the habits migrants developed when they lived in the village and the religious concerns in the case of women are significant factors that make migrants preserve some aspects of their rural outward appearances.

Migrants guard one another against dressing "too modern," and this is particularly true in the case of gecekondu residents almost all of whom are rural migrants, some of whom moved recently from the village.

The changes recent migrant women make in their outward appearances become the center of attention. My neighbors in Greenville talked about a young newcomer as follows:

AJ: She is changed very much despite her brief time in the city. She has her hair permed. Those who grew up in the city are better than these newcomers.

AY: That is true. See SUN. She was raised and educated in the city. Still she looks modest.

AJ: (to her newcomer friend), You have also recently moved from the village, and you don't look different from the way you were in the village. You didn't cover your hair in the village (but she did, my note), and you don't cover it here. You just had your hair cut, and that is alright.

So, when they are in the gecekondu community, many gecekondu women dress to fit in, and this usually means dressing conservatively. And those migrant women who want to integrate into urban society without breaking their ties with the migrant community, in order to operate in this double standard (one established by the urban society and the other by the rural community), tend to dress in more modern

style in urban society and in more rural style in the migrant community.

On the other hand, those migrants who tend to reject their rural connections dress in modern style all the time, even when they visit the village. They do not want to be a part of the migrant or the gecekondu community, and they manifest this desire in their modern looks.

There is the issue of habit in the case of first-generation migrants who are used to wearing shalvars while in the village. These women feel free to wear shalvars in gecekondu areas, not feeling the need to dress differently from the way they were dressed in the village when they are with people of similar background.

Dressing the right way in the right place is not easy for migrants. They have to take into consideration many factors in order to decide how to dress. A young gecekondu woman talks about her concerns while choosing what to wear on her way to the open farmer's market in the neighborhood:

AJ: I have to dress well, since I may meet people from my village, and I want to give them the impression that my life here is fine. I want them to think that my family is doing well in the city. Yet, if I go there in nice clothes, then, salesmen at the market, those curs, start disturbing me by their looks, by their words.

She was also concerned about wearing her best clothes to the market place, since they might get dirty in the mud.

Comparing Migrant Men to Migrant Women

It is much easier for a migrant man to look like an urbanite than a migrant woman. In some villages, as a male participant pointed out, the way men are dressed

is not much different from the way they are dressed in the city. Even in the cases when it is different, it is not a problem for the migrant man to change into urban outfit. On the other hand, women are dressed conservatively in the village, covering their hair, arms and legs, and when they move to the city, they are expected to preserve, to a certain extent, this way of dressing. So, migrant women tend to comply in order to prove to their villagers that they have not turned into "bimbos" in the city. In Turkey, although this is changing with differing degrees in different social groups, there is social control over women in general. Society dominated by males feels responsible to check on its females, and the role of the Islamic religion in it cannot be denied. Therefore, while migrant men can easily fit into urban society in their outward appearances and are not expected to dress differently when they are in the village or in the city, when inside the rural community or outside of it, women (particularly first-generation migrant women) are expected to preserve their conservative looks to some extent. And, in order not to be rejected by the rural community, they usually feel the need to make changes in their outward appearances when they go to the village or when they are inside the migrant community (particularly inside the gecekondu community). One point to mention here: In the last decade, the modern images and values borrowed from the West have bombarded the society more than ever, particularly through TV, and this can be expected to affect a rural community, be it in the village or in the city.

In some cases, the difference between the husband and the wife in the way they look is astounding. This is true in the case of young couples living in the

gecekondu area with modern-looking conservative husbands working at luxurious hotels or restaurants and their rural-looking wives who spend all their time in the gecekondu area.

Other Aspects of Self-Presentation

The way people sit, eat and talk are all other aspects of self-presentation. In the case of migrants, these, too, reflect the mixture of rural and urban features seen in the way they are dressed. They tend to bring forward urban features while posing for photos and reserve rural features for their daily lives. Many sit on the couch, their feet under their bodies. They abandon this position when their photos are taken. Crossing legs while posing for the photo is highly common among migrants, particularly among young women. Many are also comfortable sitting on the floor, now and then gathering around a table set on the floor. Throughout the study, I saw people eating while sitting on the floor. This was particularly convenient in situations where there were too many people to sit at the table (for example, when we visited a sick woman to wish her well, or when women gathered in a house to celebrate a wedding). Several of whom I saw eating on the floor were apologetic about it. One of them, while inviting me to join, said that her family would usually eat at the table, but since they were crowded in the house at that time (her daughter with her husband and children had come from Germany for a visit), they preferred to dine on the floor.

The way and the place where they eat differ, depending on their rural/urban orientations and whether they are with people to whom they are close ("inside") or

with whom they are formal ("outside"). On a visit to an upwardly mobile migrant woman with my keyperson, I noticed the hostess eating with a knife and a fork, while my keyperson was telling me that it was alright to eat the pastry by hand. On that visit, my key person wanted to sit at the table in the guest room instead of the one in the kitchen when it was time for the hostess to serve pastries and tea. She said it was the appropriate way to go, since I was going to take photos.

Also, the way they address each other differs, depending on whether they are inside their community or with people outside of it. When they are inside their community, and that means, when they are with their relatives, close migrant friends, people from their village and gecekondu neighbors (this also included me, especially as the time I spent with them increased), women tend to call each other "kari" (the old woman; the dictionary says it is derogatory). Yet, when they are with people of higher social standing, they start calling each other "hanim" (Ms/Mrs).

Another aspect of self-presentation applies to giving information about where one lives. Among themselves migrants call their neighborhoods by their exact names, such as Blueville or Greenville. On the other hand, when they are with people whom they see for the first time and who seem to give importance to people's social positions in society, Blueville turns into Whiteville and Greenville into GOP, the upper-class districts close to their neighborhoods.

Furniture

In general, migrants give importance to the furniture they have at home. This

is particularly true in the case of women. They want to own fashionable furniture and kitchenware in the market and are inclined to spend money on them as long as they can afford it. It becomes an immediate focus of attention when someone buys a new piece of furniture.

Living in a gecekondu settlement does not prevent its residents from buying new furniture. There are several people in Greenville who say that they will buy new furniture when they move to apartments or when they own their places. (A gecekondu tenant mentioned that she had problems getting the furniture into her gecekondu because the doors were not wide enough: Many gecekondus do not conform to building codes and standards.) On the other hand, many others tend to buy furniture sets while they still live in gecekondus. They usually put them into the best room of their gecekondus and cover them in order to protect them from dust and dirt, saving them for special guests and occasions. Some say they save them for apartments. In Greenville one can see furniture sets, glittering chandelliers hanging from the ceiling, color TV sets with remote control, music sets and ornate curtains on windows. One can also see houses furnished with a few divans (backless seat) and a light bulb casting a dim light to the place.

When they move to apartments, they usually bring with them the furniture sets they bought when they lived in the gecekondu. Those who lack good furniture sets tend to buy them following their move to apartments. Many of them make new curtains (lavishly sewn), and those who are better-off, purchase new cabinets for the kitchen.

In general, interiors of apartments reflect the pride their residents have in them. Many of the apartments I have been in were well-furnished, clean and neat.

Their preferences for where they stand or sit while posing for photos reveals how important some particular pieces of furniture are to them. Throughout the research, many of my participants posed in front of their wooden cabinets (a piece of their dining-room sets). For example, a woman who was proud of her children wanted me to take their pictures while standing in front of the cabinet where there were a TV set and a radio along with porcelain cups, vases and pictures of Ali, the Alevi leader. Pieces of embroidery were placed on some of the objects of display and on shelves. Another woman who was proud of the improvements made in her house posed in the bathroom next to the bathtub, and in the living room in front of the cabinet where many copper objects were displayed. A better-off woman who has never lived in a gecekondu posed with her husband in front of the American bar which had whisky bottles in it. (American bars are not common even among better-off established urbanites.)

What Migrants Serve Their Guests

Many people in this study served something when I visited them, sometimes going to extremes, such as, fixing a whole lunch or breakfast. Even when my keyperson and I stopped by without notice, they would offer us something to eat or drink, at least a cup of tea. I believe it was the high value given to guests in the village (or in the migrant community in the city) that generated it.

To have both rural and urban aspects at the same time, which becomes quite striking in the way migrants are dressed, is also an issue in the case of what they serve their guests. Since some of the husbands work abroad, their wives serve nescafe (a symbol of status in Turkey, a practice once limited to high-society) together with salads made from the vegetables in their gardens.

Many migrants had at their disposal the food they brought from the village. On those visits without arrangements made in advance, they offered us various kinds of food, all brought from the village, including fruits, walnuts, dried mushrooms, dried meat and "village bread" (made at home usually in outdoor earth ovens). In the case of paying pre-arranged visits, many offered us pastries made from "village flour," salads made from "village yogurt" and patties made from cracked wheat or lentil.[5] Among the people who offered us food brought from the village (or food whose ingredients brought from the village), were both apartment and gecekondu residents.

Apartment residents tend to serve more variety and more urban kind of food (homemade pastries, cakes and cookies) at the gatherings planned in advance. This may be considered a costly practice because of the kind and number of ingredients used and since an oven is required to cook them. On the other hand, gecekondu residents tend to limit the food they serve their guests to the food brought from the village or whose ingredients brought from the village, sometimes extending it to

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[5]Both cracked wheat and lentil are found in most of the houses, since many of the people in the study moved from Eastern Anatolia where these two grains are plentiful.

crackers and biscuits bought at the local grocery store, usually on credit (some do not have ovens at home). To some, this is a luxury practiced rarely. Some also serve vegetables they grow in their gardens. Yet, some gecekondu women, usually those who want to be a part of urban society and who live in gecekondus because they do not have any other choice, tend to serve their guests urban kind of food (e.g. chocolate cakes, cheese pastries).

What people serve their guests may be considered a part of their self-presentations, particularly when pre-planned visits are paid. In the apartment area, there are more of these visits, including women's monthly reception days and women's gatherings at which the same group of women come together in each other's houses on particular days. New neighbors are present at these gatherings, and this increases the significance of what to serve. On the other hand, although there are a few gecekondu women who participate in those gatherings through their relatives or previous neighbors now living in apartment areas, no such gatherings are held among gecekondu neighbors, and most of the visits are done informally. Thus, what the hostess serves her guests gains more significance in the apartment area than in the gecekondu area. In the gecekondu area, as is the case with outward appearances, women tend not to care a lot about the food they serve their neighbors, since they are in the same community all the time. Yet, in the case of those gecekondu women who give a lot of importance to their looks, what they serve their guests is also important: It indicates to themselves as well as to the outside world who they are or who they would like to be.

One point to stress here is that what migrants offer to their guests depends on their knowledge about the kinds of foods and ingredients available in the market, their knowledge of how to make those foods (recipes), the availability of these foods and ingredients to them, as well as on their budgets. Some migrants, including those living in the gecekondu area, are interested in learning new recipes. Whether or not they can make them depends on whether they can find the ingredients at the local grocery store and whether they can afford them. In general, those living in apartments are better-off than those living in gecekondus.

CHAPTER SIX

THE APARTMENT AND THE GECEKONDU

Life in a Gecekondu Neighborhood: Greenville

Relations Among Neighbors:

Mutual Help and Support; Gossip and Fights

Living in a gecekondu area means spending a lot of time with neighbors, especially if you are a woman.[1] Gecekondu women, especially housewives, easily gather outside or in each other's houses. When these women sit outside, usually other women join them. As a rule, they knit or sew, even while standing.

ZT: When I lived in Greenville, neighbors would gather in front of my grocery store, laying down rugs and placing pillows on them. We would make tea. I would give them biscuits. Somebody would make potato salad or kisir (a kind of salad of crashed wheat). We would tease each other, taking away each other's biscuits or salads.

Sometimes they picnic. Once I joined such a picnic under the trees in the garden of a neighbor. It was a communal effort, and we spent money only on the bread.[2]

Meeting in each other's houses replaces outdoor gatherings as winter takes its course. In wintertime, they gather in a house everyday, occasionally moving from one to the other as the day goes by. These are informal visits without arrangements

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[1]Men usually meet out in coffee houses.

[2]We picked fresh green onions, parsley and tomatoes from the neighbor's garden with which we made a big bowl of salad. A woman brought boiled potatoes and another various kinds of home-made jam. We bought bread from the local grocery. We made ayran (yogurt drink). Then we sat on the cushions placed on the ground, eating, talking, joking, and telling stories.

made in advance. Still, gathering indoors is not as spontaneous as gathering outdoors. Some women may not feel comfortable going to the houses of people who have not visited them, while this is not a problem for gathering outdoors:

GS: Now I sit outside with neighbors, so I am not bored. I do not know how I will spend my time in the winter (a recent migrant woman).

Talking to neighbors is a focal activity for many gecekondu women. When they do not see anyone sitting outside (this is rare if the weather is warm), they tend to go from house to house, looking for someone to talk. Many tend to share their personal problems with their neighbors.

Spending a lot of time together makes neighbors close to one another. As they share their days, they share their secrets, their food, their possessions. They easily ask each other for help or for the things they need. I noticed a woman who had a sewing machine stopping watching TV when her neighbor came to ask her to make a pillow case. For the gathering in my house, my neighbors lent me plates and tea cups. When a woman's TV set was broken, a neighbor's son (an electrician) took care of it, refusing any payment for the work.

One never feels lonely or neglected in a gecekondu community if one gets along well with neighbors. When I lived in Greenville, my neighbors brought me food. When a neighbor whose husband worked abroad got sick, neighbors took care of her, bringing food and waiting beside her bed.

Proximity plays a significant role in the formation of close neighborly relations. In the case of its disappearance (e.g. when someone moves out of the neighborhood), her relationship with her previous neighbors usually weakens,

especially when she lacks kinship ties. She fails to visit her previous neighbors and her previous neighbors to visit her, since they tend to stay in the neighborhood because of social norms and/or economic constraints as well as, sometimes, because of their small children. I was surprised to find out that the young women who once rented gecekondus next to each other and spent a lot of time together had not visited each other in six months after one of them had moved out to another area.

Spending a lot of time together and getting to know about each other's personal lives brings interference and fights. Social control operates in the gecekondu community. Everybody notices each other's actions. The physical layout of Greenville helps this. Greenville is located on the two sides of a valley, so those standing in front of their houses up the hill can see the area down the valley and that on the other side. I was frequently surprised to find out how much my neighbors knew about each other's lives. When they gathered outside, they would notice anybody coming to the neighborhood. If it was somebody they did not know, they would speculate about whom that might be, later checking their guesswork. One day a woman living on the other side of the valley asked me if I was alright. She was concerned when she saw my light on until two in the morning. Another day, while I was on my way home from the bus stop, at least three neighbors as well as several excited children told me that somebody had moved to my house. (It was SUN, the young woman with whom I shared my place from that day on.) It was impossible for me to reach the bus stop without drawing the attention of a neighbor who would ask me where I would be going.

They would also notice a piece of clothing, jewelery, furniture or kitchenware that was new. At gatherings I would hear women talking about a neighbor's new fully automatic washing machine or her color TV set. They would check on the cleanliness of each other's houses. Greenville residents, like some other Turkish people, have the habit of taking their shoes off outside the house, leaving them in front of the door. Occasionally this became a means of social control among neighbors, informing them about who was at home, who was out and who had guests. I often heard my next door neighbor saying, "See, that old woman has gone out again, her shoes are not in front of the door."

Since it was quiet in Greenville away from the traffic noise of the city, neighbors could hear each other's voices, particularly of those who were outdoors or inside shouting. In the silence of the neighborhood, one could easily notice a car passing. I saw women looking out of the window right away when they heard the noise of a car or people passing by. It was easy to spread news in Greenville, since most of the women spent a lot of time in the neighborhood and saw each other frequently. When one met another, she mentioned an incident, then the other woman told a third woman, and so on. This happened when I was locked in--my roommate had locked the door on me without being aware of it, taking the keys with her. By passing the news from one person to the other, soon everybody in the neighborhood knew about it. We even knew about a young woman's making love to her husband early in the morning when a neighbor told us about it.

A young woman who fights with her neighbors (DZ) was the center of

attention. They especially teased her about her claim that she did not belong to Greenville and deserved an apartment. My next door neighbor once said, "Look, she says she deserves apartments. Yet, she throws her daughter's shit out in the open." When she fought with her husband or with a neighbor, this was talked about over and over for days.

Another woman who became the center of attention was a kuma (illegal second wife). She had moved from the village only because she might give birth to a child by a much older man who was not her legal husband, when the man's first wife had failed to do so. Her situation brought many sex-related remarks by neighbors.

The way people talk, dress and act as well as what they eat and possess become subjects of gossip, and they may cause fights. I heard woman talking about the thick accent of a neighbor ("She couldn't improve her tongue, she still talks the rural way"), the "too unconservative" way of dressing of some newly married women ("Sometimes I see her hair covered and sometimes dressed in short sleeves. That is strange."), the lack of furniture sets or color TVs, the lack of knowledge of certain kinds of food of some newcomers ("She is so backward, she doesn't even know about stuffed peppers"). DZ often used her color TV, furniture sets or her home ownership to agitate neighbors. She once said to her daughter wandering in front of a neighbor's house, "Why do you watch her black and white TV? Come home and watch our color TV." Another time, DZ said to the same neighbor, "Why do you wear those iron pieces on your wrist (referring to her golden bracelets)? Sell them and buy yourself a house." Once when my neighbors and I were visiting a woman

living on the other side of the valley, my neighbors dressed in their everyday clothes (some had pyjamas under their dresses with yemenis on their hair), a young woman with arrogant manners (YA; see pp. 222,223) created tension in the group. The next day when my neighbors gathered, they started talking about that woman:

AJ: She was high-society. She was wearing layers of eye shades, blue and pink. We went there in our everyday clothes, thinking that we were visiting a neighbor. When she saw us in those clothes, she thought, "Look at those peasants, those uncivilized people." Yet, the skirt she was wearing is not good enough for me. I wouldn't wear it anywhere. I have much better clothes to wear.

AY: I know that woman's mother-in-law. She was my neighbor. They are not as wealthy as she tried to prove.

AJ: I would like to go to her house to find out how she lives.

AY: The houses in the village are better than hers.

Not having a defined place to dispose of garbage causes fights among neighbors. A couple of times my next door neighbor went to my neighbors upstairs, asking them not to dispose of garbage in her backyard. They rejected the accusation, saying that it must have been the other neighbor.

The same subject brought about a big fight when the girl who had come from the village for a wedding threw out garbage close to DZ's door. Many of the neighbors, including myself, were gathered in the bride's house for a women's party. DZ, whose house faced the house, was not invited. We saw her coming over to the house. She was furious and started shouting. Her modern-looking sister (DR) was with her. The bride's relatives who lived in an apartment area were the ones who talked back to DZ. When DZ went inside and the fight was over, the women started

talking about it:

AY: DZ's sister shouted that she belonged to GOP, to Cankaya (prestigious districts), not to this gecekondu area. But she lives in a gecekondu. She doesn't have anything to boast about. She has been wearing the same jeans for over a year.

AJ: When DZ told me that I was jealous of her, I responded, "For what would I be jealous of you? For your brand new car? For your luxurious mansion?"

AY: My husband told her that we couldn't lower ourselves to her level.

FS: DZ regards her house as the same of AY's. She says they are both gecekondus. But AY's is reinforced concrete. She challenges asks AY about her furniture. Yet, the only pieces which DZ has and AY does not are a couple of puf's (a small, round seat) of the bedroom set.

As seen in DZ's fights with her neighbors, some gecekondu residents tend to separate themselves from the rest. During the research, I saw attempts made by my neighbors to separate themselves from the rest of the gecekondu community, placing themselves in a higher position. Their houses, furniture, as well as their backgrounds, all become means to achieve this. ("This is not a gecekondu, it is a free-standing, reinforced concrete house"; "My house has three stories"; "I have a color TV set"; "I have a bed-room set"; "I am from the Aegean region.")

Not all women enjoy fights. A young woman criticizes fights that are usually started by DZ:

SON: She even tries to fight with me. What will she gain by fighting with her neighbors? Why doesn't she try to get along? Yunus Emre (a 14th century popular poet of Ottoman times) says, "Let's love and be loved." I love this verse very much.

Despite the eagerness of some women to fight, they are careful not to fight with their neighbors with whom they spend their days and on whom they rely. For

their fights they pick on the ones who take a stand against the gecekondu community.

Sharing of electricity and running water by residents of multi-occupancy gecekondus creates disagreements and fights when it comes to paying bills. Those who share bills tend to keep an eye on each other's electric/water consumptions, some even making a list of the electrical appliances others have:

ZU: My tenant downstairs made pies in the electric oven all year long, using sacks of flour. We both have washing machines, refrigerators and vacuum cleaners. But I don't use them any longer since DND (the second wife) does the cleaning and laundry. When we share the electric bill fifty-fifty, she still complains about it.

Near the end of my stay in Greenville, I started using an electric stove, turning it on for a few hours during the day when I was alone at home. (My roommate and I lit the coal stove at nights.) The tenants living upstairs became highly concerned about it. We had decided to share the electric costs fifty-fifty. Several times I saw the woman checking on us to see if the stove was on. One night when the fuse went off, they told us it was our electric stove that caused it. (It was not on that night.) The problem was solved when they saw that the bill was not more than usual.

The same problem exists when it comes to sharing water bills. Many Greenville residents complain that if people share bills they tend to use more water.

Helping a neighbor may have unpleasant consequences. My neighbor upstairs, who was wise enough to take precautions against the possibility of water freezing, had provided nine households with water when their water pipes were frozen. It rocked the whole community when the bill came, and they had trouble agreeing about who would pay how much.

Animals (cows, turkeys, chickens) wandering in the neighborhood unattended is another source of fighting. Several times cows entered a garden, eating the vegetables.

Use of the Outdoors in Greenville

As mentioned in the section above, Greenville residents, especially women, tend to use the outdoors frequently, gathering in groups or by themselves in front of houses. The smallness of some gecekondus and/or the humidity and lack of sunlight inside them increases the tendency to spend time outdoors. Women tend to do housework outdoors, washing laundry, trimming vegetables, preparing food, and even squeezing tomatoes to make paste. These women also use exterior spaces for various other purposes, such as puffing up mattresses and drying vegetables and fruits. Some women often sweep the pathway in front of their houses. In this way they keep themselves busy as well as give neighbors the message that they are decent women who care for their neighborhood.

The conservative approach in gender relations seems to have created gender differences in the use of the outdoors in the gecekondu environment, women usually spending time outside and men inside. Throughout the research, I did not see many men sitting outside in the neighborhood. I usually saw them going in and out of their houses, sometimes greeting women and sometimes keeping their heads down, pretending that they did not exist. My neighbor upstairs, a retired man, did not even

sit on his balcony so as not to disturb women by his presence.[3] I did not see men working in the garden in Greenville, although I heard that men usually enjoyed it. This may be due to the small sizes of gardens and the proximity of houses to each other, jeopardizing privacy. I found out that, when men wanted to picnic in the area, they would choose places away from houses, which meant away from women. When ZT was talking about the good days in Greenville, she said, "When I lived in Greenville, we (she and her female neighbors) used to gather together outside every evening, sitting on a carpet and drinking tea. Our husbands stayed inside, playing cards." Several times, I met my next door neighbor's husband sitting outside the house or on the balcony with his children when he was back from Saudi Arabia on his vacation. I also saw another man on his vacation from Libya sitting outside with his wife and niece. In the case of these two men, working abroad may have relaxed the norms. There was one other middle-aged man whom I saw sitting alone on a blanket some distance away from a group of women. The house in front of which he was sitting was facing an uninhabited area, so he was not in a position to disturb his female neighbors. Men's limited use of the outdoors in the gecekondu area seems to disappear in the case of elderly men. I met several old men sitting together with women.

Many gecekondus in Greenville have gardens, most of them small, and they

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[3]Not every man in the neighborhood was that sensitive. I heard complaints from women about a man who was in jail during the research: He used to sit in front of his window, watching women.

grow various vegetables and fruits there. In this way, they have fresh fruits and vegetables for free. They are familiar with this type of activity, since they used to work in the fields when they lived in the village, and planting a small garden, as they say, is a simple job for them. A woman who has a big garden told me that she sold cherries to her neighbors.

A few kept animals: The owner of a two-story gecekondu had a goat, several had chickens and turkeys, and one household who lived farther away from my place had cows. It is common in Greenville to see turkeys wandering around. Several times they entered my garden. They created a sharp contrast when they grouped together next to a brand new car.

Outdoor spaces in a gecekondu area are also used for group entertainment. In Greenville wedding celebrations often take place outdoors during which drums and pipes are played and folk dances are performed by the attendances, both women and men. Many gecekondu dwellers think of it as a big advantage gecekondu areas have over apartment areas:

MC: Here, there is outdoor space, so we can dance to the music of the drum and pipe. You cannot do this in apartment areas.

Yet, the noise made during these outdoor wedding celebrations may cause fights among neighbors, especially if there is sickness or death next door. My neighbors mentioned a fight among two families living next to each other when one of them failed to cancel their wedding celebration on a last minute notice from their neighbor who informed them about her elderly mother's sickness.

Infrastructure, Services, Safety, and Health Issues

As a small and familiar community somewhat shutting out strangers, Greenville gives the first impression that it is a safe place to live. I saw neighbors leaving their windows open all day long (usually to fight against humidity inside the house). Yet, many windows have iron bars on them. A couple of times I heard people worrying about a possible robbery. A woman said that she would keep the pieces of wood she had been saving in a bag inside the house, since she was worried that somebody might steal them. During my move to Greenville, ZT told me not to leave any furniture outdoors after dark. My next door neighbor asked a neighbor's brother to sleep in her house when she was away visiting the village. She was concerned about a robbery, since break-ins increased during summer months when many households were away in the village. Yet, nobody took away the laundry when I forgot it hanging in the backyard all night long.

My next door neighbor whose husband worked abroad, keeps a big dog in her garden. She was scared one night when she heard the dog barking which indicated the presence of strangers around. Some other women also told me that they felt nervous staying at home on nights when their husbands were away. Yet, they did not hesitate to visit their neighbors in the dark.

When I lived there I did not particularly feel nervous visiting my neighbors in the dark. Yet, I had to be careful not to fall into a hole or hit against a rock. This forms a serious threat, since the paths in the neighborhood are uneven and ill-lit or dark (some neighbors keep their porch light on in order to shed some light to the path

in front), and one has occasionally to climb up and down a rather steep slope. During my stay in Greenville, a neighbor fell down and injured her ankle when she was coming home at night. In the wintertime, there are many accidents, people falling down and breaking their legs or arms. Last winter, my roommate fell down on a pile of garbage while she was going down the steep path, the shortcut to the asphalt road, and a can in the garbage cut her hand.

The gecekondu environment may be dangerous for children in terms of its uneven paths, its garbage in the open and its steep slopes. My next door neighbor told me that her son had fallen into the septic hole when their gecekondu was under construction. Young children may fall down a slope when walking unescorted, hurting themselves. Yet, the gecekondu environment provides a good playing ground for children with its nature and vacant lots. Boys often play football in the open space down the hill. Children create games, using mud or stones. The familiarity with the environment and neighbors creates a sense of security for parents who allow their children (including girls) to play outside.

The asphalt road on which the traffic runs is another danger in the area; it is a threat to children and animals, especially poultry. Children go to the elementary school by walking along this road, and its sidewalks disappear as one walks away from the neighborhood toward the school. Mothers mentioned their worries about this. Several times a chicken or a turkey was killed by a car on that road.[4]

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[4]Some kind of barrier along the road as well as proper sidewalks and cross walk might be useful.

Humidity inside the house is another serious threat to health. Many of my neighbors suffer from rheumatism or cronic headaches, mostly from sinus headaches. Last year my next door neighbor spent two months in bed when she caught cold.

Winter is most disliked by Greenville residents, since it means sickness, cold, more humidity inside the home, more expenses (mostly heating costs) as well as confinement to the house with their children and the boredom and stress that comes with it. Children often get sick throughout the winter. They face many other problems in the winter, such as problems with transportation: Buses, taxis and trucks selling fruits fail to climb up the asphalt road to reach Greenville.

In order to reduce heating expenses, many Greenville residents tend to light their stoves as late in the year as possible, usually waiting until late October or November. Before they light the stoves, they stay under blankets, dress in layers and drink hot tea in order to cope with the cold. Lighting stoves in the early Fall was a sign of wealth and a cause of envy among my neighbors who noticed each other's chimneys with or without smoke coming up. During this time sickness in the neighborhood increases.

Taking a bath is not easy in Greenville. Many houses do not have separate bathrooms. They use their toilet spaces for baths. There are several houses with showers. I also saw a house with a bathtub. There are a few houses (shanties) with toilets outside the house. In this case, people wash themselves in a leğen (a large shallow tub) placed in one of the rooms.

Disposal of waste matters in the open, sewage water running in the open or

dirty water from toilets mixing with the running water in the kitchen because of bad connection, all cause serious diseases in Greenville. People who live or once lived in a gecekondu area are careful when they walk outside. A woman who once lived in a gecekondu area warned me while we were passing a muddy spot in Greenville that sewage might be running there. She said, "It is so dangerous. We step on sewage water and then carry it inside our houses." Hepatitis is a common epidemic. When I stayed there, a man became sick of hepatitis. (His wife tried to keep it a secret.) After I moved out, my next door neighbor's daughter also got it. My roommate once told me that her older sister who died of cancer had gotten hepatitis when she lived in our place some years ago.

The lack of a sewage system and poor roads within the neighborhood are of much concern to my neighbors. When I told them that I would go to see some city officials, they asked me to tell them about these problems in Greenville.

Garbage is another problem in the neighborhood. Although I saw garbage bins distributed by the city along the asphalt road, I did not see a garbage truck in the area. A neighbor told me that the muhtar (the head man) came to Greenville before the local elections, promising to place garbage bins inside the neighborhood, yet he was not seen again after he was re-elected. Greenville residents dispose of their garbage in the open at a particular, yet not well-defined, area. I noticed my keyperson burning the garbage and throwing away what was left (mostly plastic bottles) in that area. Some other women mentioned their habit of putting the garbage on fire right away after they threw it into the garbage area. Yet, this may prove to be

a dangerous pursuit. One day a woman seriously burnt her hand while trying to burn the garbage.

Shopping in Greenville

Shopping at the stores in the neighborhood is common among Greenville residents. There they can get, on credit, goods ranging from furniture and TV sets to bread, paying for them monthly as they get their salaries. There are trucks and tractors coming to Greenville, selling fresh vegetables and fruits of the season or potatoes and onions. It is common to hear some men talking on a speaker from a truck, informing people about what they are selling and at what price.

There are other salesmen (they are all men) visiting the neighborhood. Once I saw two men walking in the neighborhood, selling baked sheep's heads, legs and tripe, and calling out that people would finally have the chance to eat meat.

There are also those who sell sweatpants, stockings or blankets on credit. Women are inclined to buy from them, especially those women who are limited in their interaction with the city. Buying from them is also convenient in terms of the easy circumstances of payment. Yet, the presence of these salemen may disturb the peace in the neighborhood. Once a young woman who had bought sweatpants from a saleman became annoyed when she heard from her neighbor that the salesman had told her how sweet the first woman was and that he liked her very much: That woman had offered him a glass of water when she bought from him. The same salesman had made remarks while a group of my neighbors and I were on our way to

a visit, saying, "The hostess must have prepared your whisky by now."

The brother of a neighbor sold stockings and socks, carrying them with him in a basket. Since he knew the people in Greenville, he let them pay when they had the money.

When an open market was established in 1989, it affected the lives of Greenville residents, especially those of women and children. Many women started going to the market place every Thursday. (The market was set up once a week on Thursdays.) This brought about unplanned expenses: Children started asking for sweets or plastic toys which they saw at the market place; women wanted to buy dresses or shoes for themselves as well as for their children.[5] A competition began among mothers to buy the newest toys for their children. All this meant more money to spend and angry husbands. Husbands started complaining about the market costing them too much--they had enjoyed the responsibility of shopping being taken away at the beginning. Some women started saving money to spend at the market place, keeping it a secret from their husbands. Some gave up going to the market every week.

Some husbands did not like their wives going to the market place without them, not only because their wives tended to spend a lot of money, but also because of the males present there. A young woman talked about this as follows:

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[5]Nowadays weekly open markets, which can also be called "farmer's markets," are not limited to selling fresh fruits and vegetables. There is an increasing tendency to sell also inexpensive clothing, shoes, kitchen ware (usually plastic) as well as toys and stationery.

FS: Those sellers at the market place are all Kurds. They once molested a woman. My husband does not want me to go there. He says, "Shop at the local grocery store and do not care about the higher prices there."

Life in a Lower-Middle Income Neighborhood; in Transition From a Gecekondu Into an Apartment Area: Blueville

Problems Facing Blueville: Haphazard Nature of Development, Infrastructure Under Construction, Buildings Left Unfinished

Living in a neighborhood where gecekondus are in the process of being replaced by apartment blocks means hardship on the part of its residents. The transformation of the area is done rather haphazardly. It starts when contractors buy gecekondus after the master plan of the area is completed, knocking them down and building apartment buildings in their places. Construction of infrastructure follows this, and by this I mean mostly the sewage system and proper roads, since many gecekondu areas have received electricity and running water inside houses. The unplanned nature of this transformation occasionally creates problems in the area. Electricity as well as running water were down several times on my visits to Blueville. On a visit to a newcomer to Blueville, we had to sit in the candle light when there was a sudden power failure. The woman told us that the electricity was on and off during the whole week. When I left her apartment, I faced the danger of falling down, trying to get down several flights of uneven steps in the dark and to find my way to the entrance of the building. The problems were not over when I

finally got out. The street was also dark, and it was rather dangerous to walk there: It was uneven with small holes and mounds (mass of earth piled up) here and there; traffic was running, but the sidewalks were not built yet.

During the Muslim Festival of Sacrifice ("Kurban Bayrami"), running water to the area was cut off for several days when water pipes were damaged during the construction of a building. This caused a lot of trouble and inconvenience for the residents who needed water badly, in addition to its usual consumption, to wash off blood after the sacrifice of sheep (in fact, the bad smell of dried blood soon covered the area), to prepare its meat and to serve guests who were paying short visits during the festival.

New constructions are potential dangers to the infrastructure. As we have seen above, the area may be deprived of running water when water pipes are damaged during these constructions. Another time, a part of the neighborhood was paralyzed when a deep foundation for a high-rise building was under construction.[6]

Roads in Blueville are under construction. Some have been asphalted, yet there are still some dirt ones. The dirt roads are in poor condition, particularly when they are used as parts of construction sites. When one walks in the section of Blueville where my keyperson lives, one is occasionally blocked by piles of bricks or

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[6]Buses could not go further because of the excavations blocking the road. Sewage water filled up the basements of the buildings around when they cut off the sewage pipes to dig for the foundation. An elderly woman whose apartment below the ground level was filled with sewage water complained about this, saying, "The man who is going to build this building here is the grocer. He owns two apartments in my building. Why would we suffer in order to make him wealthier?" She asked for my help to complain to city officials. And we did by phone.

bags of concrete left on the road. It becomes a real challenge to walk there, especially when it rains or snows, roads becoming muddy and slippery. The city government falls short in opening up new roads and asphalting the existing ones in an organized way. Once they enlarged the road in front of ZT's building, saying that buses would run on it. But they failed to carry on their project when the road reached two gecekondus in its path. They left the road unfinished with the old sidewalk some 70 cm above the unfinished road, making it almost impossible to step on it. The residents had to take the initiative, placing some stones on the road at several points to form steps to the sidewalk. Later on, the city started to asphalt some other roads, not paying attention to this one. ZT and her neighbors finally got their road asphalted by using their political connections with the city government through ZT's daughter who worked for the city and was politically active.

When the city fails to bring adequate infrastructure and services to the neighborhood, it is the residents themselves who take charge of action, as we have seen in the above example. The neighborhoods under transformation from gecekondu to apartments areas are usually inhabited by lower-middle income people, mostly by rural-to-urban migrants. The contractors here are of small size and the group they address, with limited budgets. So the construction quality of many buildings in Blueville is rather poor when compared to those in the established parts of the city. Some have uneven steps in their staircases. Apartment blocks usually have three stories from the entrance level, and in the case of those built on a steep slope, this means 6 or 7 stories without an elevator.

Small-scale contractors who are the major construction agents in Blueville may leave the building unfinished if they go bankrupt (or claim so). Then, it is again the residents themselves who convert the building into a livable place. This happened in the case of ZT's building. The contractor went bankrupt before the building was completed. The apartment residents moved in when the building was half-finished with no electricity, no running water and no dwelling permit. They finished the building one step at a time. Their previous experiences while building their gecekondus and improving their environments helped them. Yet, this was not an easy job. They brought electricity to the building from neighbors, and the power lines often broke. A couple of times I saw ZT's son climbing up an electric post, trying to repair the power lines (which is a very dangerous pursuit). Finally, they applied to the city, asking for the dwelling permit and got it. On the other hand, the building nextdoors, which was built by the same contractor and which was again left unfinished, does not have the permit, and the residents get water from ZT's building. I was surprised to hear a woman saying that she was not angry at the contractor and somewhat expected it, since he had sold the apartments so cheaply. It seems that there is a mutual agreement, an unwritten one, between the contractor who sells apartments cheaply and those who buy apartments from him. They expect to pay in other forms, such as in the form of their services.

Low-quality construction may even mean unsafe buildings. A building almost collapsed when its weakly laid foundation started to sink. It was recently completed but fully occupied. A woman told me about a similar incident. In the brand new

apartment where she had just moved, the beams had started to bend down, since they had spanned too much.

I noticed the concern of apartment residents in Blueville for their buildings. Inside of the buildings were kept clean, despite the mud and dust in the streets, reflecting the pride and care their residents took in them. It created a big contrast with the dirty and neglected nature of the streets. Several times I noticed women washing the staircases. In a building, I saw a notice posted at the entrance that listed ground rules about the use of the building, such as, "Do not chop wood in the coal storage space," "Do not pour water from the window," "Do not make noise," "Keep the building clean." Like in apartment buildings in other parts of the city, they hold monthly meetings when they discuss problems and prospects of the building. Each building has a manager, and he or she is responsible for its maintenance and for holding meetings. ZT's son was the manager during my research. He took his job seriously, making lists of what needed to be done and writing down their approximate costs. People at the meetings were supportive, except for the daughter of the owner of the gecekondu which was replaced by this building. (He got three apartments in each of the buildings.) That woman was the troublemaker in the building. She refused to pay maintenance fees, complained about everything and looked for every occasion to fight with her neighbors.[7]

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[7]She was better-off than others. She had a paid job and was divorced, living with her son. Once I came across a fight she had with a neighbor. She used profanity while shouting out of the window to a neighbor across her building. ZT closed her window, saying she was most ashamed of those words. That woman had also fought with other neighbors, including ZT. She had made fun of ZT's thick accent, telling her that she did

Relations Among Apartment Neighbors

Neighborliness is important in the lives of migrants in apartments. In Blueville, they visit each other, although not as often as in Greenville. There seems to be some kind of formality between apartment neighbors, whereas in Greenville you do not see it. Women come together at neighborly gatherings. Each woman reserves a particular day of the month in which she receives guests ("kabul günü"). Neighbors from various buildings in the neighborhood come to these gatherings. Different from the neighborly gatherings in Greenville, women pay some attention to their outward appearances and demeanor at these gatherings. This is particularly true at the first meetings when everybody is somewhat a stranger. Formality may be replaced by less formal relations as neighbors become closer.

It seems that formality increases as the migrant becomes more upwardly mobile and more oriented to urban society. My roommate talked about her older sister and her family (who isolated themselves from the rest of the family) as being very formal in their relationship with their apartment neighbors. On the other hand, no formality seems to exist in the case of relatives living in the same building.

It is not as easy to meet with neighbors in Blueville as it is in Greenville where newcomers are immediately noticed and neighbors stop by to say hello or they can easily join neighbors sitting outside. ZT says, "In Greenville, neighbors meet each other while sitting in front of their doors. There, women gather together, sitting

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not belong to apartments. She had accused ZT's relative of checking on her, of peeping through the door. (They told me that she often had male guests who stayed overnight.)

outside. Here (in Blueville), neighbors spend time by themselves." In apartment areas, if other units in the building are inhabited, you wait for them to make an arrangement to visit you. If you move to a recently completed building where residents are still in the process of moving in, you may feel awkward about the "right way to go" to get to know your neighbors. This happened to a woman who moved from Greenville to her new apartment in Blueville. She said when I visited her, "I don't know anybody in this building. They are still moving in. Neither have they come to visit me nor have I visited them. I don't know how neighborliness in this building will start."

Occasions, such as cleaning the building together, create opportunities for neighbors to get to know each other. This happened in the case of a young woman: Her neighbors invited her to have tea with them after they cleaned the building together, saying that she was tired and deserved a strong cup of tea. Also, common friends help neighbors meet each other. This is a common practice in Blueville, since many migrants move to that area.

The community spirit of gecekondu areas and the help and support it entails, prevail in Blueville to some extent. For example, a woman felt responsible for her young neighbor, saying, "She is alone. I have to take care of her. I will go to help her make pickles today." Many are inclined to help each other out. Their previous lives in gecekondus, the hardship they have faced in the city, their values that favor sharing, all support mutual help. When a young single woman living with her sister got sick late at night, it was ZT who took her to the hospital in a taxi.

On the other hand, these people are not free from the influences of the increasingly money-oriented society and its values that favor individual success that is replacing more and more of the traditional values of sharing and community life. They tend to compete with each other about their apartments, furniture and possessions. At neighborly gatherings they notice each other's new clothes, asking about their prices. They boast about their expensive tiles, brand new furniture or kitchen cupboards.

In Blueville, the social control that exists in gecekondu areas relaxes somewhat. The higher density and heterogeneity in the area, not all residents knowing each other, the relatively limited use of outdoor spaces for purposes other than movement, more formal relations among neighbors, are among the reasons. Yet, in the cases when migrants from the same village concentrate in the same area, social control still exists. A young woman who wants to move to a distant area complains about this social control as follows:

HY: I don't have relatives here, but our villagers in this area are enough to disturb my life. They are jealous people. They interfere with everything I do. When I go out, they ask me, "Where do you go so often?" If someone visits me, they peep through their doors to see who that person is. I don't like it. So I want to move out.

The need to compensate for the disadvantages of a lower-income developing area makes residents rely on each other, for example receiving electricity or water from neighbors.[8] On the other hand, it may create problems and fights, as in the

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[8]ZT got to know several of her neighbors this way: When her family first moved into their apartment, they did not have electricity. So ZT went out to houses around (some were gecekondus waiting for their turn to be replaced by apartment blocks), asking

case of women taking turns cleaning buildings without a kapici. A relative of ZT living in her building complained about her neighbors while she was washing the building with ZT, saying, "Others do not take turns, ever. They consider themselves ladies." ZT responded, "But most of them work."

Use of the Outdoors in Blueville

Some of the Blueville residents continue the habits they acquired in their gecekondu neighborhoods. During her first year in her apartment, a woman occasionally went out, sitting in the frontyard of her building. Later on, as she formed relations with neighbors, she gave up this practice and instead started visiting them in their apartments. The same woman also attempted to grow plants in the front yard of her apartment building, marking a small area and planting string beans, radish and some flowers. Yet, other residents in the building objected to it, saying that it would be more appropriate to have lawn there instead.

On several occasions I saw women puff up woolen pillows or mattresses outdoors (a practice highly common among rural migrants who use handmade woolen or cotton beds) and men chopping wood. The availability of empty lots which will soon be filled with buildings enables this kind of use of the outdoor space for the Blueville residents.

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for permission to connect a cable from the house to her apartment. The people in a gecekondu were cooperative. For over a year, ZT's family used electricity from that house, sharing bills. That family is now among ZT's closest friends.

Perceptions of the Gecekondu vs. the Apartment

The Perception of Gecekondu Environments as "Permissive" and Apartment Environments as "Restrictive"

Living in a Single-Family House as Opposed to Sharing a Building With Others

This is the most frequently mentioned aspect in favor of gecekondus and against apartments. Many people in this study say that residents are in charge of their actions in gecekondus, whereas they have to be careful about their actions in apartment buildings in order not to disturb neighbors. They add that living in an apartment becomes highly disturbing if residents fail to pay attention to the restrictions of apartment life. Disturbance by noise is particularly seen as a real problem. The perception of apartment environments as fight-inducing is highy common among gecekondu residents who say that fights occur in apartment buildings, since many families live under one roof ("too close for comfort") and now and then they have to act collectively.

On the other hand, many gecekondu residents describe gecekondus as quiet and peaceful places "where one can rest after a hard day's work."

Living in an Environment of Scattered Free-Standing Houses as Opposed to Living in an Environment of Apartment Blocks Along Streets

Many of the female gecekondu residents who spend most of their time in the gecekondu community talk about apartment environments as restricting the behavior of residents not only inside the house, but also in the neighborhood: One can sit

outside freely in a gecekondu area, whereas she cannot do it in an apartment area. Thus, "apartments are the jails of today." On the other hand, very few apartment residents complain about this aspect of apartments.

Living in an Environment That Has Green Areas as Opposed to Living in an Environment Dominated by Concrete Buildings

Many gecekondu residents mention gecekondu areas as environments that enable close contacts with nature. Some apartment residents complain about "the domination of the gray concrete apartment blocks over the scarse green traces of nature" in their neighborhood. Also, while some apartment residents complain about air pollution in their area, some gecekondu residents talk about the clean air in their settlement.

The Perception of Gecekondu Areas as Places for Rural-to-Urban Migrants and Apartment Areas as Places for Urbanites

Many participants have the perception of gecekondu areas as environments for rural migrants. This makes some, and they are almost exclusively gecekondu residents, prefer gecekondus. They say gecekondu areas respond to the way of life of migrants, whereas "apartments are for high-society people." They add that gecekondu areas enable migrants to carry out rural kind of tasks, such as baking bread in outdoor ovens, and rural kind of activities, such as keeping livestock or growing vegetables and holding rural kinds of wedding celebrations at home during

which drums and pipes are played and folk dances are performed. On the other, it makes some others, and this includes both gecekondu and apartment residents, dislike gecekondu areas: They regard gecekondu areas as places for the "uneducated" and the "ill-mannered," for the "ignorant people from rural areas."

Among both gecekondu and apartment residents, the positive perception of apartment areas as places for the "cultured," "educated," and "better-off urbanites" is common. Especially young female gecekondu residents who prefer apartments emphasize this point.

The Perception of Gecekondu Areas as Environments for Intimate Social Relations and Community Support and Apartment Areas as Environments for Formal Social Relations and Individual Privacy

The perception of apartment areas as environments for formal and gecekondu areas for informal neighborly relations is shared by many people in this study, by both gecekondu and apartment residents. Except for a few female apartment residents who prefer gecekondus, apartment residents regard formal relations among neighbors as desirable and complain about the "too intimate" neighborly relations in the gecekondu community, whereas many gecekondu residents talk positively about the frequent and informal visits among neighbors. They emphasize the "community spirit" in the gecekondu neighborhood which means mutual help and sharing. On the other hand, some young gecekondu women complain about the gossip and fights in the gecekondu community. They find the gecekondu environment as repressive and

say that they cannot behave as they would like to because of the control exercised by neighbors.

The Perception of Gecekondu Areas With Poor Services and Infrastructure and Apartment Areas With Good Services and Infrastructure

Many participants regard gecekondu areas as environments without adequate services and infrastructure and apartment areas as environments adequately served. Gecekondu residents complain about the lack of a sewage system and the poor conditions of roads in the settlement. Some say they would live in an apartment area because of their services and infrastructure.

Many apartment residents also mention this aspect as one of the reasons for their apartment preferences. Although some of the roads in Blueville are unasphalted today, and there is frequent power failure and water cut, the residents are hopeful that infrastructure and services will improve in the near future, as the area develops more.

The Perception of Gecekondus as Poorly-Built, Unhealthy Places That are Difficult to Keep Clean and Apartments as Clean, Well-Built and Comfortable Places Equipped With Modern Appliances

This is the most frequently mentioned aspect in favor of apartments and against gecekondus. Many apartment residents say they are happy to live in apartments, because apartments are clean and well built; they are easily heated and easy to take care of. Many of those gecekondu residents who prefer apartments want

to live in them because they believe that their lives will be much more comfortable and their homes much cleaner and warmer. Both gecekondu and apartment residents mention the threat to health in some gecekondus, especially if there is dampness inside the house.

Experience of Building a Gecekondu and the First Years of Residence in it

Finding the land, materials and the money to buy them, as well as building the gecekondu (or participating in its construction) are not for just anybody. Many participants mentioned the hardship and sufferings they experienced while building their gecekondus. In order to find the money, women sold their golden jewelery given to them as wedding gifts, some families sold the land and/or livestock they owned in the village. Women started getting paid jobs to pay their debts. When men were timid about building gecekondus because of their limited financial situations, it was their wives who encouraged and sometimes forced them:

ZT: When I suggested to my husband to buy some land to build a gecekondu, he didn't like the idea. He said, "We cannot afford to build a house. You are unrealistic." I insisted, "We can borrow money, we can pay for the land by monthly installments. Let's build a house and stop paying rent." He started fighting with me. One day, I went out, looking for land to buy. When I found it, I said to my husband, "We can buy that land if we have some relatives as partners; we can afford it if they share the price." So we built gecekondus, three families, on the same plot.

Finding the Land

At the early stages of the gecekondu phenomenon, it was a common practice

to build gecekondus on the land which they did not own, usually on public land and sometimes on private land, claiming ownership. Different from the squatter building practices in Latin America organized on a community level, this was usually done individually, sometimes several relatives acting together. Sometimes owners of private land had to give in when they failed to protect their land from the invasion of gecekondu people:

ES: At that time, there was not one house in this area. While I was building my gecekondu, others started building theirs. This area was all vineyard then, and everybody seized some land and built a gecekondu. When the owner of the land realized that he could not knock down all the 60 houses built on his land, he decided to sell us the land (built his gecekondu in 1963 on private land).

As years passed and gecekondu development became a widespread practice, it became "organized" in the hands of some men who called themselves "real estate agents" and who are referred today as "the gecekondu mob." These men started enclosing unoccupied land, usually that owned by the State, selling it to people after they divided it into plots. They sometimes provided buyers with titles when they obtained them through their connections with the city government (this usually meant bribery), and sometimes failed to do so. When the latter was the case, they usually asked for less money:

BU: We bought this land cheaply 10 years ago, but we don't have the title to it. At that time some men who were inclined to take advantage of every opportunity to make money had enclosed the land, selling it to those who wanted to build gecekondus.

DM: 13 years ago some crooked and cunning men who had enclosed the unhabited cultivated land here were selling it to people like us. We bought it cheaply. But, we don't have the title to the land.

As seen in the above quotations, people resent the fact that they have no

choice but to pay money for the land to a group of men who are not the owners of the land but are "crooked and cunning" men, gecekondu bullies, forcing their own laws on others.

Today, buying the gecekondu land through a real estate agent is a common practice, particularly in gecekondu areas established some years ago. On the other hand, the practice of seizing the land (or buying it from a so-called real-estate agent who has already seized the land) and building the gecekondu on it is still common in newly developing gecekondu areas.

As the gecekondu phenomenon ages, the number of those who buy their houses from gecekondu owners increases. In this study, several people bought their houses.

Finding Construction Materials

Those with a limited budget, and that covers the majority of those who want to build gecekondus, prefer second-hand materials which they may obtain from the remains of buildings under demolition in established parts of the city. ZT's husband obtained the doors of his gecekondu very cheaply from such a building when he saw the building on his way to work. Another man was proud of the doors of his gecekondu which he obtained, again, from a building under demolition.

Today, there are places that sell second-hand construction materials for prospective gecekondu owners. These places developed in response to the gecekondu formation when the construction of gecekondus was institutionalized. One can still

obtain cheaper materials at these places when compared to the regular stores in the city. Yet, the person who wants to build a gecekondu has to pay more for the materials today than he or she would be paying at the beginning of the gecekondu phenomenon when the gecekondu phenomenon was not institutionalized yet.

Not only finding cheap construction materials but also bringing them to the construction site may be a problem. Several people mentioned the difficulty they had when trucks loaded with sand, stones or bricks, failed to climb up the steep dirt roads of the gecekondu settlement.

Building a Gecekondu

Building a gecekondu is another difficult and challenging step towards homeownership:[9]

ZT: We built our gecekondus in Greenville in three months, working day and night. Children and women, we all worked in the construction. We carried water in buckets from the fountain on our shoulders; we carried bricks and sand bags all night. Our shoulders got hurt. At that time, I was working. I had to rush to work early in the morning after a hard night's work at the construction.

MS: When my husband and I moved here, it was a remote place. There was no water, no electricity. We had to carry water from the well. There were many people building houses. So there would be little water left in the well soon. Then we would have to bring water from another area on our shoulders, climbing up and down that steep slope. At that time, I slept very little. When I came back from work, I drew water from the well in the moonlight. We suffered very much. In order to pay our debts, I worked for other people. We had to walk to the places we worked. It was almost midnight when we returned home. Then we would sleep briefly and then start walking to work

[9]The majority of the participants built their gecekondus in order to get rid of paying rents; they did not have profit-oriented interests.

again. We didn't have money to take a bus (laughing) (ZT's former landlady).

While building a gecekondu, the general trend is to hire a foreman and to contribute labor under his supervision. Usually women, men and children in the household as well as relatives, friends and neighbors participate in the construction:

MM: I cannot say I built the house by myself. My friends and relatives helped me. Of course, I hired a foreman to build the main body of the construction (a man).

TU: We offered our labor to build the house. In fact, we built the house ourselves. We carried water on our shoulders, we laid bricks. Our relative who was a foreman helped us, charging less than his usual wages (a woman).

HA: I built the walls myself. I hired a plasterer (a man).

If the person cannot afford to hire a foreman, or if he himself is a foreman, then he builds the house, usually with the help of his family and relatives:

KG: My husband built the house himself. We were short of money. Relatives helped us.

AT: My husband is a foreman, so he built the house himself. We (wife and children) helped him.

If the person is better-off, he hires a small contractor who builds the house with his own crew. This may even be true for those who lack titles to the land. The two- and three-story reinforced concrete gecekondus were built by contractors.

Many women, in addition to participating in the construction, shoulder the responsibility of accomodating workers:

AY: My husband wanted me to serve meals and tea for the workers everyday. So I had to carry food to the construction site and empty dishes back to my house, climbing up and down this steep slope. I also helped with the construction. A neighbor who saw me working so hard said to my husband, "This house belongs to AY. She has been working so much in its construction."

Her neighbor says:

AJ: When I met AY while her gecekondu was under construction, she was skinny. Her back was arched.

Threat of Demolition

The threat of demolition is always there while building a gecekondu:

MM: I was scared that city officials would demolish my gecekondu while I was building it. That fear is really something. You get into debt, you work hard to build the house. You bring the construction to a certain level. And in a minute, all your efforts are wasted. When demolishers knock down the house, you cannot make up for your loses for years. You sure get very upset.

There is a precaution gecekondu people often take to prevent a possible demolition while building a gecekondu:

HJ: If you put curtains on the windows right after the rough construction is over, it gives the impression that someone lives there.[10]

Yet, there may not be an escape from demolition, even after living in it for years. A woman talks in a grief-laden voice about the attempts to demolish her gecekondu and her continuing fears about it:

MS: Demolishers came to knock down the house. We had put curtains on the windows to prevent demolition, but it didn't help. Only two rooms escaped demolition. They ruined the rest. The concrete blocks were all broken into pieces, wooden beams were all destroyed. Then we built the house again, working only at nights to escape from the sight of demolishers. Under those conditions, we could not build the house properly. Later on, because of our continuous fears of demolition, we could not dare to improve it.

This incident, which took place in the early 1960s, has been followed by

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[10]There is a law in Turkey that requires permission from the Court to demolish a house once it is inhabited.

others. My next door neighbor also experienced a demolition which happened in 1984:

AY: We had title to the land. Still city officials knocked down the house, saying that we didn't have the building permit. I told them, "We are tired of paying rents. We have three children. We want to build our own house. Don't knock it down." But they didn't listen to me and began to tear down its walls. I started crying. My husband said to me, "Don't worry. We'll build it again."

This did not stop AY's family from building another gecekondu:

AY: We didn't give up and started building it, this time slowly, completing the first floor in one year and the second floor in the following year. After that demolition, our house could not be as good as it was when we built it the first time. We finished the house with great difficulty. Only my husband had a paid job. My children were in school. My daughter in high school failed her exams that year when she had to help us with the construction.

As seen in the above examples, the demolition of a gecekondu is usually followed by the construction of another. Yet, the new gecekondu usually happens to be "not as good as the first one" because of the anxieties gecekondu builders have about another demolition.

Gecekondu owners may be forced to move out of their gecekondus if they fail to secure titles to the land. The general practice by the City is to pay some money to the gecekondu owner as the cost of the construction materials of his or her gecekondu and to ask to move out. This threat makes those who lack titles nervous:

ESM: I tried hard to bring my house to this condition. I lived without electricity, without running water. I went through hardship. But, thank God, my life is okay now. We have electricity and water at home. We even have our telephone. Although we still lack a sewage system and proper roads, I believe, we will get them soon. What really worries me is that I don't have title to the land. If the government takes away the house, we will be on the street. Then, all our efforts and sufferings will mean nothing. But, if the government gives us the title, then we can build an apartment building in the

place of this house, one apartment for each of my children. But, I don't know, I am really worried.

Demolition decreases as the gecekondu settlement becomes more established, and it is directed to individual gecekondus that lack titles to the land and those under construction.

Solidarity and Competition in the Process of Building a Gecekondu

Solidarity and cooperation is often experienced while building a gecekondu. The hardship they face draws people together:

GUE: There were 25 families building their gecekondus while we were building ours. The men of these 25 families worked together. I enjoyed that spirit very much.

Gecekondu residents form a strong community in the face of a threat of demolition. This is even true when the demolition happens to another person's gecekondu. I heard people talking about how they had tried to stand against the demolition of AY's gecekondu, begging officers and trying to explain them why they should not knock down the house.[11]

Yet, this cooperation and solidarity may now and then be replaced by competition and fights. In this study, there were people who woke up earlier than others in order to use the limited water of the well. Some sold this water to their neighbors. There were fights among gecekondu residents while waiting on line for

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[11]I read many times in the newspaper about the solidarity of gecekondu residents against demolition when women, men and children fought with the police to save their houses.

the fountain, accusing each other of using too much water or keeping others waiting.[12]

First Years in a Newly Developing Gecekondu Area

Hardship prevails during the first years in a newly developing gecekondu area --no water, no electricity, no roads:

RU: We were renting a gecekondu. It was a nasty place, it was unhealthy to live there. So, when we found this land, we started building a gecekondu on it right away. We were not thinking about how to get electricity and running water in the house. Only after we moved into the house, we started worrying about them. We had to carry water in buckets and bring electricity by hooking cables to electric posts, and this was against the law.

ZT describes her first years in her gecekondu in Greenville as follows:

ZT: We lived for seven years without electricity and water at home. We carried water from the fountain, filling up the buckets to save more trips. We even grew flowers in the garden and filled our pond with this water....Those days when I came home from work, first I would carry water from the fountain, then prepare dinner and then wash dishes in the gaslight. My in-laws lived with us then, so I had to wash their laundry and cook for them as well. I would feel exhausted and ready to go to bed after I was done with the dishes. At that point, my husband would say, "Let's have tea. It is time to relax now." And early in the morning, I would begin another tiring day.

Residents tend to use their skills and/or connections to bring water or electricity to their houses. A man who works at the Municipality brought water to his gecekondu through the plastic pipes which he had obtained from his workplace. Another man who works at the State Water Works again obtained pipes from his

[12]Also, fights regarding the boundaries of the gecekondu land may arise. I heard about this from my respondents while doing other pieces of research. Yet, none of the participants in this research mentioned it.

workplace, laying them and bringing home running water. Also, many people hooked cables to electric posts, bringing home electricity.

A newly developing gecekondu area lacks roads and transportation means to connect it to the rest of the city, making residents walk for miles to reach a bus-stop.

Also, there is the fear of living in an unpopulated area:

KG: In those days there were very few houses around. We were afraid of going out in the dark. We kept a dog.

ST: I was scared when I stayed at home at night alone with my children, thinking that wolves might come down from the surrounding hills, looking for food.

The Feelings and Experiences of Gecekondu Residents Regarding the Transformation of Their Neighborhood Into a Planned Apartment Area and the Problems Faced in the Process

Many gecekondu owners prefer to sell their gecekondus to a contractor in return for several apartments in the buildings to replace gecekondus. This means apartment ownership for themselves as well as for their children and/or additional income from rents:

ESM: If we give this gecekondu to a contractor, we can have three or four apartments in return, one apartment for each of my children.

EM: Although I like to live in my gecekondu, I am thinking of selling it to a contractor, so that my children can own an apartment.

The process of the transformation of a gecekondu area into a planned apartment area is painful and often confusing, even before it starts. When there is rumor that the master plan of their area is under way, gecekondu owners are confused

about whether to improve/build their gecekondus or to stop spending money on them:

LT: My husband was planning to add a second story to this house. But now he says, "Now that the master plan of this area is ready, I will not do anything but wait to sell it to a contractor."

When the master plan is finally completed, many gecekondu owners end up with shared titles. This creates disputes among those who share the same plot and delays the sale of the plot:

HK: Three people share the same plot with me. I want to have an apartment building built on it. But, now this project is at stake. We have disagreements among the partners.

NF: The master plan ruined everything. I share title with three other people. Either you will come to an agreement with them or sell your share. Yet, if you sell your share, both you and your partners lose, and the one who buys it gains, since he buys it so cheap.

Relations of gecekondu owners with city officials during the preparation of a gecekondu area's master plan are part of the process. Those who are powerful try to influence city officials to come up with a plan which serves their best interests (applying to bribery when necessary), while those who lack contacts with city officials feel nervous about not knowing what decisions are being made that will affect the rest of their lives. In the end, some lose part of their land to roads and public spaces ("When the master plan was done, we lost half of our land. A city official stole 70 m2"). And some totally lose their land if they do not have a title to it. There is confusion among gecekondu people about what will happen to those without titles to their land:

ES: After their houses are demolished, they have to look for another place (a male gecekondu owner).

MS: I think the State will do something about it. They have been living there for 19 years. They have been paying taxes. I don't think they will be thrown out of their houses. The State will show them a place to live (his wife).

When an agreement is reached between people sharing titles to the same plot and between them and the contractor, the next step is to move out of gecekondus. The common practice is to rent apartments temporarily in an area close by until the apartment buildings replacing their gecekondus are built.

Some gecekondu owners do not want to sell their gecekondus to a contractor. They do not want it for economic reasons:

HY: I heard that the city would take away 40% of my plot to be used for public spaces. My land makes one plot with three other pieces of land. I don't want to sell my share to a contractor, since my land is small. On the other hand, if I keep my gecekondu, I can add another story to it in the near future, renting it out. I hope my partners are well-off so that they won't need to sell their shares to a contractor. I just finished my house.

Or because of their attachments to their neighborhood:

RU: I would be miserable if I had to move out. They say the city is preparing the master plan of this area. I don't want to move out, even if that means living in an apartment, because I love my house, I love my neighborhood, my neighbors.

And to their gecekondus:

FDK: How can I leave my house? I enjoy living in it very much. It has a garden with fruit trees. You cannot even see the leaves of my cherry tree when it blossoms.

There is an elderly couple who love their gecekondu neighborhood and who have been living there for 25 years. Today, this family faces the prospect of moving out. The master plan of the area has been completed, and many residents have already sold their gecekondus to contractors. ES says he will be the last one to move

out. On my visit to his neighborhood in 1990, I noticed ES's gecekondu standing all alone among the apartment buildings under construction.

Some others feel the obligation to sell their gecekondus:

CU: In my opinion, gecekondus are better. Yet, if all of the gecekondus here are replaced by apartment buildings, I will also have to sell my plot to a contractor to have an apartment building built in the place of my gecekondu.

Also, owners of the two- or three-story well-built gecekondus want to keep them:

ZH: This is a free-standing house, not a gecekondu. I don't want to sell it to a contractor.

AA: My house is like an apartment. Why would I sell it to a contractor?

NA: In the master plan there is a road in the place of my garden. Forget about the garden, I will still be pleased if I can keep the house.

In addition to the gecekondu owners who want to keep their gecekondus, gecekondu tenants do not want gecekondus to be replaced by apartment blocks, since that means moving out of their present houses and looking for other gecekondus to rent which usually requires more money to spend on rent in the face of continuous increases.

Transformation of a gecekondu area into an apartment area may further mean ruining the existing network among neighbors. Those who do not have titles to the land are forced out of their houses; those who hold shared titles are sometimes given apartments in buildings in a different neighborhood; and those who own apartments in the buildings built on the land of their gecekondus, as well as those who keep their gecekondus, have to live in an unfamiliar environment crowded with apartment

buildings and their new residents (usually with better financial situations).

Meaning of Moving From Gecekondus to Apartments

Moving to apartments is a sign of differentiation in the migrant community which now has people who have been better-off in the city and who have not, those who can afford apartments and who cannot. It means higher social status for the migrant. It is a sign of success, of making it in the city. It is a chance of "integrating" into urban society. Those who move to apartments consider it progress in their lives and are proud of it.[13] Now and then they may have problems with their apartments (e.g. regarding noise, outdoor use, relations with neighbors); they may even miss their previous lives in gecekondus. Still, they feel happy about moving to apartments. On the other hand, many of those who continue to live in gecekondus feel its burden when they think of their previous neighbors and relatives living in apartments now. They complain about these people for not visiting them often enough, now and then implying that they may have changed too much to visit a gecekondu area. When ZT took me to Greenville to her previous neighbors living on the other side of the valley, it was two years since ZT had visited them. They thought that ZT was highly changed in two years. They said, "After you moved down (meaning Blueville), you have become a lady." Some complained about ZT's delayed visit, saying, "After you moved down, you forgot us."

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[13]Interiors of apartments reflect this pride. The ones I have been were well-furnished, clean and neat, creating a big contrast with the dirty and neglected nature of the streets.

Some gecekondu residents criticize migrants living in apartments as follows:

SON: When a migrant buys an apartment, he becomes conceited. He begins to look down upon gecekondu people. I don't mean everyone is like this. But when villagers migrate to the city, live in gecekondus for a while and then move to apartments, they become spoiled. They make a society without manners. This is the truth.

Many of those who moved to apartments and who do not want to turn their backs on those living in gecekondus feel the need to be modest about this change in their lives in order not to offend gecekondu residents who may be highly sensitive on this issue:

FA: I never think of myself as different because of living in an apartment now. I am still the same rural person.

Yet, they tend to imply this success of theirs in their talks.

The once-gecekondu resident who has moved to an apartment expects her previous neighbors to visit her. Yet, gecekondu neighbors may be inclined to delay that visit, probably as a hidden protest (and may be a not-self-admitted one). Once my neighbors in Greenville and I visited a young woman who had moved to an apartment when her family bought it (SER). It was interesting to observe the interaction between her and her previous neighbors, SER trying to prove to her neighbors her better situation and the neighbors trying not to be less than equals to her (see Appendix A. p.400, A visit to a woman who recently moved to an apartment).

There is a tendency for those who have moved to apartments to bring their close relatives living in gecekondus to their apartment area. Those who live in gecekondus also want this: Many want to move to apartments, among other reasons,

in order to be near their relatives. The inclination of people to have their relatives living close to themselves stems, among other things, from the loneliness some feel after moving to apartments. For example, a housewife who spent most of her time at home felt lonely after she moved to her apartment. Her relative who had moved to that area before her and who complained about the lack of "real neighborliness" in apartment areas ("You just say, "hello" when you see your neighbors. That is it.") was of much help to her, lessening her loneliness.

The move of gecekondu residents to apartments affects those left behind in gecekondus also in other ways: It damages existing social networks. In Greenville, the number of tenants is increasing as more gecekondu owners move to the apartments they buy, and this is changing the general atmosphere of the neighborhood. Before, those living in Greenville were predominantly owners who usually built their houses close to their relatives. They lived in groups with people with whom they had close relations (usually kin-based), spending days together, supporting each other, sharing responsibilities as well as possesions. Also, sharing the experience of building a gecekondu pulled these people together. Today, as more tenants move to the area, this closely-knit network is disappearing. Tenants who come from various parts of the country may be ignorant of the traditions of people coming from other regions, acting as a barrier for sharing:[14]

MK: I was closer to my previous neighbors. They were all my relatives, people

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[14]Although it was not mentioned by the participants, there may be positive outcomes. People coming from various regions increase the diversity in the neighborhood, enabling people to learn from each other.

from my village. Today, I cannot have the same closeness with my new neighbors--they are all from different parts of the country. Now, when I think back and remember the good old times, those times when we made jokes and spent hours, chatting, I get nostalgic.

ZT: When you are with your own people (relatives, villagers), you feel better. They remember your time in the village, they know you. They know about your childhood, your marriage. You can share many things with them. On the other hand, if you tell about your life to a person from Sivas or Corum, she wouldn't understand you, and you wouldn't understand her, because she doesn't know your past. When I used to live in Greenville close to my relatives, everyday we would gather in each other's houses. There were times when we would sit on the balcony until three in the morning. We felt free to play jokes on each other. If you played that kind of jokes on other people, they would get angry at you.

On the other hand, moving to apartments may give those who do not prefer to live close to this closely-knit network of relatives distance themselves somewhat from it.

Conceptions of Gecekondu Residents

There is an inferior image of gecekondu residents among the better-off and more established people of the city. When I brought up this subject at a women's gathering in my mother's apartment, the women present talked about gecekondu residents as ignorant people from the village who did not know how to live properly and fought occasionally. When I first started living in Greenville, my mother was concerned about me, saying that there might be fights, even murders, "in that kind of areas." My aunt became nervous when she saw me itching on my visit home from Greenville, saying I might have gotten flees. A neighbor of my parents talked about gecekondu residents as dirty people who were dressed poorly and who did not take

enough care of themselves to participate in society.

Long-term urban dwellers living in established parts of the city, in general, seem uninterested in finding out about gecekondu areas and tend to avoid them and their residents. A friend of my mother who was present at that gathering said that she would never come close to a gecekondu area, although she lived in the upper-income district next to Greenville. Many of my mother's friends were surprised when my mother came to visit me in Greenville. So, they end up being ignorant about gecekondu residents and become very surprised when they meet someone living in a gecekondu who does not fit to their stereotypical image of a gecekondu resident. This is particularly true in the case of young modern-looking gecekondu women.

This inferior image of gecekondu people is occasionally shared by gecekondu residents themselves. Many admire urban people, define themselves with the criteria of urbanites and end up feeling as inferior. They sometimes say it openly and sometimes imply it:

MS: Since we live in a gecekondu area, we are inferior. We are backward in terms of manners and everything else. After all, we cannot catch up with those living in Cankaya.

AY: In Cankaya, when fathers come back from work, they read newspapers or books. Here, mothers sit in the sun all day long, knitting. Children learn from their parents.

GUE: In my manners, I can rise to the level of those living in apartments or come down to the level of those living here (a young woman).

HKD: My husband has been living in apartments all his life, at places superior to mine in terms of culture (started living in an apartment after she got married).

DR: There is a lot of gossip here. After all, it is a gecekondu area.

NEB: In gecekondus, ignorant people from rural areas live (recently moved to an apartment).

In contrast to those gecekondu residents who think of urbanites in apartment districts as superior to them and who accept this as a fact, there are others (usually young people) who resent this. They say gecekondu residents are treated as "third class citizens" and are discriminated against.

In addition to their inferior positions in the city, several others point to their disadvantageous situations and their poverty as gecekondu residents:

AJ: (Talking to a man selling socks and stockings in a basket when she thought the prices high), You cannot sell those stockings here. Poor people live in this area. Go and sell them in apartment districts.

AY: (Talking about the truck which brought vegetables and fruits to sell in Greenville), I bet the truck is loaded only with onions and potatoes, this is a gecekondu area.

Grocer:This is a gecekondu area. You cannot buy lettuce here (i.e. gecekondu residents do not spend money on lettuce; they usually grow their own lettuce).

FS: This is a gecekondu area. Here, store owners try to cheat us. They believe that we cannot shop elsewhere in the city.

AYN: This is a gecekondu area. Nobody pays attention to its problems.

A woman talked about her modern-looking husband as follows:

AJ: He bought a new sweater. People seeing him wearing it will say, "What is this elegant man doing in a gecekondu settlement? He doesn't belong there."

FINDINGS. SECTION II

DIFFERENT GROUPS AMONG RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRANTS

Introduction

In this second section, I have attempted to categorize migrants with respect to their relationship with the migrant community and the urban society outside of it. While doing so, I considered the responses of participants to the interview questions; I looked at how they presented themselves in terms of the way they were dressed and behaved, as well as in terms of the furniture they had at home; I used my observations of their daily lives, their interactions with the city and with their neighborhood, as well as with the people in those places, including relatives, neighbors and established urbanites. I also took into consideration their attitudes towards me.

I named each category for the sake of easy rememberance and reference. I attempted to reflect the feelings and thoughts of the participants in the titles, mentioned directly in their responses, such as "urban-by-determination" and "apartment-proud," or not mentioned directly but which I came up by interpreting the data on their experiences, such as "integration-by-rejection" and "gecekondu-rooted." By doing so, I grouped migrants and named these groups from their experiences, feelings and thoughts, and not from the point of view of an outsider. I am content about the final outcome: They are the best names I could find which reflect who these groups of migrants are in regard to their relationship with the migrant community and the society outside of it.

In some cases, I felt the need to develop a new group when there were some people who, despite their small number, were distinctive in their differences from the already existing groups. For example, I grouped SUN and SON as a separate category under the title "socially-conscious: integration-through-radical-social change."

Some categories are large while others are much smaller. This is both because of the number of people in the category and the amount of the information I have on them. The number of participants is given for each category. This is done to give an idea about the size of the group from which the generalizations were drawn. Since random sampling was not an issue in selecting participants, one must be cautious not to interpret these numbers as data indicating the sizes of categories in real life.

In the titles of the categories, the terms "gecekondu" and "apartment" are used symbolically--apartment as the symbol of the society outside the gecekondu community and gecekondu as the symbol of the gecekondu community, almost exclusively migrants.

People who live in the gecekondu area, like those who live in the apartment area, are affected by urban society; they are not isolated from the rest of the society. Yet, their approach to urban society shows variations. Some are more oriented to the gecekondu community, some more to the society outside the gecekondu community, and some others both to the gecekondu community and the society outside of it. I call the first group "gecekondu-rooted; integration: out-of-the-question," the second group, "gecekondu-by-necessity; urban-by-determination; integration: a strong

desire," and the third group, "apartments: no problem, gecekondus: fine, too; integration: a possibility?" There are also several socially conscious women who live in the gecekondu area. I call this fourth and last group of gecekondu residents, "socially conscious; integration-through-radical-social-change."

Since the terms "apartment" and "gecekondu" are used symbolically, to the "apartments: no problem; gecekondus: fine, too" group, are included those who prefer gecekondus, not any gecekondu but their present ones which they own, because "they are like apartments," and those girls who say they prefer gecekondus under their present conditions yet who look modern and are very interested in the world outside the gecekondu community. I called the "gecekondu-rooted" group "integration-out-of-the-question," since they want to continue living in gecekondus and they spend most of their time in the gecekondu settlement. The reality of today's Turkey is that integration into urban society cannot go together with such embeddedness into the gecekondu settlement which is mainly inhabited by migrants and avoided by established urbanites. A point to clarify here is that integration into urban society is neither a necessarily positive outcome or an essential destiny. Rather, what that integration means should be questioned.

Among migrants who live in apartments, there are many who are proud of living in apartments and a few who are frustrated about their lives in apartments. Again, there are many who want to integrate into urban society without rejecting their relations with the migrant community, a few who reject the migrant community in order to be a part of urban society, and a few who seem not to be interested in urban

society. I call these groups among the apartment residents as "integration-without-rejection; apartment-proud," "integration-without-rejection; apartment-frustrated," "integration-by-rejection; urban-bourgeois-by-choice, exclusively-apartments," and "no-integration, no-problem; migrant-community-rooted, apartment-proud," respectively. I further categorize migrants in these groups as those with stronger rural community orientation, with stronger urban society orientation and ambivalent rural/urban community orientation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FEMALE GECEKONDU RESIDENTS

Gecekondu-by-Necessity, Urban-by-Determination

Integration: A Strong Desire[1]

Among migrants who live in the gecekondu settlement, there is a group of young, modern-looking women who have conflicts with the gecekondu community and do not fit in. In this group, there are both second-generation migrants and newcomers to the city. They are mostly newlyweds; there are a few with small children. None of the married women work outside the home. Several are single women. (One of whom got married during the research.) One of the single women lives with her sister and supports her family as a babysitter and a part-time kapici (building maintenance person), while others live with their parents and do not work at paying jobs. They are all tenants, except for a woman from a small town whose husband (a police officer) built a gecekondu against her will. They have moderate incomes, except for the single woman supporting herself who is poor. As a rule, these women look modern and are highly noticeable in the neighborhood. For example, DR attracted my attention when I first saw her passing by my door in her tight jeans and high-heeled shoes with a lot of make-up on her face, her dark permed hair hanging loosely on her shoulders. She immediately attracted the attention of my neighbors who were leaving my place. They started commenting about her, criticizing her make-up, the way she walked and the like. An elderly woman said

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[1]There are 9 women in this group.

that she looked like a slut.

These women care a great deal for their outward appearances. They use make-up and fix their hair. They usually sit crossing their legs. When I visited YE in her gecekondu which she rented, I found her in a run-down room with a little old furniture around, blowdrying her hair in front of a broken mirror. That scene struck me with its contrast between a well-dressed young woman with well-cared-for looks and the poverty of the place. It reflected the efforts she made to dress well and to look good, despite her severe financial problems.

When I was taking their photos, the women in this group were concerned about minor details about the way they looked, asking me to wait until everything was set properly. For example, DR did not want me to take her photo the first time I asked, saying that her hair was not clean, although it looked fine to me. And when I took her photos in her new place after she got married, she spent a lot of time in front of the mirror, fixing her hair and make-up, occasionally asking me if she looked good. When I took their photos, these women usually sat in an arm-chair, crossing their legs, sometimes with a cigarette in their hands, smiling. (Particularly YA's photos attracted the attention of my mother's friends who asked me who that woman was.)

They tend to fight occasionally with their neighbors. DZ is one of them. She lives in the gecekondu facing the five gecekondus lined up in a row, in one of which I rented the first floor. Just like her gecekondu standing opposite to the five gecekondus, DZ herself has a stand against her neighbors and vice versa. She does

not socialize with them, and when she talks to them, this is usually for a fight. In the fights with her neighbors, I heard her shouting that she did not belong to that gecekondu area; she deserved an apartment. When I visited her, she complained about her neighbors who were "uneducated and uncultured." She said this was normal--her neighborhood was a gecekondu settlement after all. Her neighbors were spending all their time gossiping. She would not do that herself--she had a family to take care.

On the other hand, some may not fight with their neighbors, but rather they may keep themselves distant. For example, when I met YE at a gathering where she had come with her older sister, she looked different from the rest. Her outward appearance carried the impression that she paid a lot of attention to it: Her hair was fixed well, she was wearing eye shadow and lipstick, and her orange T-shirt matched the orange flowers in her green skirt. She also paid attention to her posture and sat crossing her legs most of the time. She kept silent most of the time. Despite the fact that she was the youngest at the gathering, she did not help with the serving of food.

They like to draw the attention of their neighbors and seem to enjoy their criticism. Once I met a woman (YA) at a gathering when a group of my neighbors visited a woman living on the other side of the valley. It was a surprise to them when YA joined us--they did not know her; the hostess (YT) had invited her. She was very different in her behavior and looks from the other women present on that visit: Her hair was dyed yellow, her lips were colored intense red, and her eye lids had blue and purple eye shadow. She often sat crossing her legs and talked with a

cigarette in her hand. Her presence changed the whole atmosphere, making my neighbors nervous and defensive (see YA, pp. 171,172). At that gathering, YA made it very clear that she hated the village, and she did not hesitate to talk strongly against it. She seemed to be enjoying the reaction of her neighbors.

The reactions this group of women received from the gecekondu community made my approach to them rather difficult. I had to be tactful not to offend my neighbors when I paid a visit to a woman in this group. For example, it proved to be rather difficult to form a relationship with DZ, my proximate neighbor who fought with her neighbors every time she found the occasion. During my stay in Greenville, my neighbors kept talking negatively about DZ and did not want to socialize with her. So, although I was interested in talking with DZ in person rather than just hearing about her, I was hesitant to show my eagerness to get into a relationship with her: I was concerned that I might offend my other neighbors. I waited for several weeks, trying to find the right time to talk to her. Meanwhile, I noticed her becoming interested in me. Finally, one day she came up to the next house when there was nobody around except for the kuma, the illegal second wife, who was not totally accepted into the community of my neighbors, and she began talking to her. I was sitting on my front porch and greeted her. She invited me to her house, so I went. I did not try to keep my visit to DZ a secret from my neighbors. I did not talk to them about this visit either. My neighbors seemed not to mind my relationship with DZ, saying that I was doing my research. Yet, now and then they teased me about becoming her friend, saying, for example, "You tell us when DZ's sister is getting

married. You must know this, since you talk to DZ."

While it was not easy for me to approach them because of my concern not to offend other women, these women were eager to meet me: They invited me to their places, sometimes insisting that I visited them. They served the kind of food offered by better-off, established urbanites to their guests. For example, when I met LK in a neighbor's house, she insisted that we (my next door neighbor and I) stopped by her house on our way back. She again insisted that she would make us a cake (this is not common in the gecekondu settlement, since it is rather costly and many people do not have ovens), and she did (but we could not eat it, since there was a power failure when the cake was still in the electric oven). And when I visited DZ, she served me homemade cookies and a piece of chocolate cake, unusual in the gecekondu area.

These women prefer to maintain a distance from their relatives. For example, there were no relatives of DR at her wedding ceremony: This was what she wanted.

They are unhappy about living in a gecekondu area. They say they definitely want to live in apartments:

YG: My dream has been about apartments, not about gecekondus. I hope one day my dream will come true. Of course, in the course of time, not at this very moment. I am hopeful about it (laughing). Apartments are better in everyway. Before I got married, my husband promised me that we would live in an apartment. I hope he will keep his promise.

A couple of them prefer duplex houses, and if not duplex houses, then apartments. They are concerned about disturbing or being disturbed by others because of living so close to each other in apartment buildings:

GUE: I want to live in a duplex house the most, like the ones built for the members of the National Assembly. (She once worked for a National Assembly

member.) If you live in an apartment, the noise from upstairs disturbs you, and the noise you make disturbs people downstairs. The one advantage living in an apartment has is that you have the chance to get to know many people. Here, you get to know one family, there 17, 18 families. You live under the same roof with them.

GUL: Duplex houses are good. Apartments are good, too. But I am a noisy person; I like to sing and dance. I would fight with people if I lived in an apartment.

The women in the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group hold strong feelings against gecekondus and gecekondu areas. They stress the superiority of apartment areas in terms of the quality of their residents and praise these people as cultured, educated and well-off urbanites, while they criticize their gecekondu neighbors as uncultured, backward and too fond of gossip:

YE: I want to live in an apartment (laughing shyly). People living in apartments are different from those living here, the way they behave; they have good manners, are more developed, everything about them is perfect. I would never live in a gecekondu. But poverty determines where I live.

DZ: My neighbors are ignorant and uneducated people without manners. After all, this is a gecekondu area. The only thing they do is gossip.

LK: Decent people do not make noise disturbing other people (responding to a neighbor who was talking about the problem of noise in apartments).

They complain about the fights and social control in the gecekondu community:

DR: I hate to live in a gecekondu area. There is a lot of gossip and fight. I want to live in an apartment away from all these. I want to get rid of the control they want to have over me.

They regard apartment environments as the right place for raising children:

YA: I prefer apartments for my children--to raise them well in terms of education, knowledge, manners.

LK: A luxurious apartment is nice. I don't like gecekondu areas. I don't like this house, this neighborhood. Children who are raised in apartment areas are much better when compared to those raised in gecekondu areas, the way they talk and behave.

Some also mention the cleanliness and comfort in apartments:

YA: I also prefer apartments for their cleanliness and orderliness. If I lived in an apartment, my house would stay clean and my furniture well-kept. In gecekondus, it doesn't matter how much you clean the house, it still has dust all over.

This desire to live in an apartment delayed DR's marriage: She wanted to live in an apartment, but they could not find one which they could afford to rent. Finally she had to be content with the upper-floor of a rather big gecekondu close to her sister's. This amused my neighbors who were angry at DR's comments that she belonged in an apartment.

They also do not like the village and try to avoid visiting it. They say they do not fit in when they stay in the village and become tired of the attention and criticisms they receive from villagers.

In contrast to the majority of migrants in this study, they say they definitely think of themselves as urban. Those who were born in the city mention this fact as well as their lack of attachment to the village. They also stress the significance of the determination and desire of a person to become urban:

DR: I was born in the city. I definitely see myself as urban. However, it is not only where the person is born that makes him or her urban. It is the desire and determination of the person to become urban that counts. Some people are born in the village, move to the city and fit in, whereas some others live in the city all their lives, yet cannot fit in--they live under the influence of their families (a second-generation migrant).

YG: Up to this age, I lived in the village, because I didn't have any other choice, I didn't live there of my free will. My desire has always been for the city. I never consider myself rural, I am urban. Becoming urban needs the will to be so (a newcomer)..

Being a recent migrant in the city or living in a gecekondu settlement does not prevent these women from considering themselves urban:

YE: I think of myself as urban. Since I now live in the city, never mind the fact that I live in a gecekondu, never mind the fact that I have recently moved from the village, I consider myself urban (a newcomer).

They look up to the city people and want to be a part of modern, urban society. They tend to define a modern person in such a way as to include themselves, although they may not openly say they are modern. They stress the desire and effort of the person to become modern:

YG: Anybody can be modern. This is possible if the person has a desire for it. I mean, if you want to be modern, you can, it is up to you. Yet, if you look back all the time, you cannot become modern. You stay the same, you stay oriented backward. You cannot become open-minded and progressive. If I didn't want to be modern and instead wanted to live a rural life even while living in the city, I would stay the same. But I want to be modern, so I work for that end and try to make things happen for me.

YE who cares a lot about her looks in spite of her poverty stresses this aspect as well as family background and wealth in her definition of a modern person:

YE: Modern people are well-dressed....The more they pay attention to their appearances, the more they become modern. Those who live in gecekondus, you see, are not modern. I call modern those who are tidy, whose families are proper, I mean, who pay attention to their nails, their lipstick, their make-up, their hair, their clothing....Those who have money in hand, to me, are modern people.

While I was showing her the photos I had taken of her, she liked the most the one in which she had a smile on her face, saying, "In that photo, I look modern,

because I am smiling. In my village, people don't smile when their photos are taken. They think they should look serious and solemn."

These women hold modern opinions about gender relations which are not usually shared by their families. For example, DR who is a junior high graduate, wants to get a job, but her husband does not permit it. YE's opinions about marriage are far from being traditional:

YE: In order to marry someone, I need to really like him. I am very particular about men (laughing). It should be someone whom I love and who loves back. If I get married, I don't want to stop working. I don't want to feel as a burden on my husband. Also, if I stop working, I will have to do the housekeeping all by myself. Yet, I want to share it with my husband.

They try hard to look and dress like urbanites. Those who are not married or are newlyweds are hopeful about their futures. Those who have been married for some years seem to be rather bitter about their lives, particularly about still living in gecekondus. Yet, they keep hoping.

In general, the houses of these women are furnished with living- and dining-room sets, chandeliers hanging from the ceiling. They usually have color TV sets placed on a shelf in cabinets covering one whole wall. Some even have modern kitchen appliances, such as a fully automatic washing machine. This is particularly true in the case of newlyweds. On the other hand, the houses of those who have been married for some years are usually modestly furnished.

Gecekondu-Rooted; Integration: Out-of-the-Question[2]

There is a group of women in the gecekondu settlement who have close contacts with the gecekondu community. They have limited interaction with the wider society. They do not have paid jobs and spend most of their time in the gecekondu settlement. In this group, there are young women with small children who have never worked outside the home. These women stay in the neighborhood all day long because of their conservative husbands and/or their small children, and, as a rule, they go out out of the neighborhood only when they are accompanied by their husbands or by an older female. In this group, there are also older women some of whom used to work, usually as cleaning women or as kapici (building maintenance person), but do not work any more. There are a few elderly who once interacted with the city rather extensively, especially when they had paid jobs. Yet, they either cannot do it any more because of their poor health, or they do not prefer it: Rather they prefer to spend time in the neighborhood with the people they know. There are some other elderly women who have never travelled by themselves in the city. They are timid and, after all this time, are incapable of going out of their gecekondu neighborhood by themselves. This is particularly true in the case of those who became full-time city dwellers in their old age when they could not live by themselves in the village any more.

There is also a girl in this group who lives with her parents (SEV). She is 14 years old, grew up in the village and has part of her family living in the village and

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[2]There are 31 women in this group.

part of it in the city.[3] She likes to spend time in the village and goes there several times a year and stays for months. She says getting bored in the village is out of the question for her--she joins girls gathering in each other's houses. She is an elementary school graduate: Her parents, despite her wish, did not send her to school beyond elementary school; instead they sent her to Koran and embroidery courses. She spends almost all her time in the neighborhood and gets along with the gecekondu community.

As in the case of the "urban-by-determination" group, the amount of time spent in the city is not a common factor in this group: There are those who grew up in the city or who moved to the city many years ago, as well as those who moved to the city recently. SAF is an example of the newcomers to the city. She is a strong and healthy-looking woman. Her husband is very patriarchial. He does not allow her to go out of the house.[4] SAF goes to the village every year and stays there through the summer until schools open. She works on the land and makes winter provisions, bringing back various kinds of food. She wears shalvars and covers her hair with a white yemeni (cheesecloth headcovering). Inside her house, there are a couple of divans covered with a cotton fabric of flower designs in bright colors. Part of the house is allocated for the storage of the stock brought from the village, sacks and

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[3]The difference between her and her younger sister is striking. The younger sister who grew up in the city and goes to elementary school in the city gets bored in the village. She prefers to live in an apartment.

[4]Despite this, SAF goes out of the neighborhood by herself when she needs to, for example to take her children to the health clinic for a check-up. (Her husband neglects his family.)

cans piled on top of each other. One feels like one is in a village house.

On the other hand, GL, who is an example of those who grew up in the city, used to travel in the city before she got married. She moved to her present gecekondu from the gecekondu of her parents when she got married and started spending all her time in the neighborhood. During the time I lived in Greenville she was pregnant and spent almost all of her time in the neighborhood, knitting while sitting in front of her door, or watching TV inside the house. Her husband did not want to take her with him to the city, since she was "that pregnant." At the beginning of their marriage, he would take her to the amusement park in Ulus. Not much changed when she gave birth to a son. Again she stayed in the neighborhood, this time taking care of the child.

Some of the women in the "gecekondu-rooted" group visit the village and some do not. Different from the "urban-by-determination" women who dislike the village, some of these women enjoy being in the village and some do not. For example, MC enjoys her time in the village, going to the fields with her mother. On the other hand, FS does not like to visit the village. She was the one who wanted to move to the city after she got married: She was not happy living with her in-laws. She says she does not mind working on the land. What she does mind is gossip in the village. When many of my neighbors went to their villages for the religious festival right after my move to Greenville, she was one of the few who stayed in the city.

Many of these women spend a lot of time with each other. They gather inside

or in front of houses, talking. Some of them are very active, going from one house to another, carrying local news. On the other hand, there are others who spend time, sitting by themselves in front of their doors, staying inside their houses or working in their gardens. EM is one of the latter. She attracted my attention by her involvement in her garden, spending most of her time there. She was not one of my neighbors who occasionally gathered outside in groups. Rather, she preferred to spend time either by herself working in the garden or with her daughter-in-law living next door. She had a big garden extending down to the asphalt road, a line of poplar trees separating it from the road. She had vegetables and fruit trees of various kinds in the garden. Every day she would work there, hoeing the soil, watering the plants, picking vegetables and fruits. Also, she kept chickens and turkeys which she occasionally fed or guided into the vacant land nearby her house.

The "gecekondu-rooted" women have rural appearances. Many wear shalvars or pyjamas under their dresses. Some have their hair dyed with henna, particularly elderly women. They usually keep their hair covered with white yemeni. For many, it is out of the question to wear their hair uncovered. For example, FS says, although her husband, a young, modern-looking man working as a bartender at a fancy Chinese restaurant, is not against her wearing her hair uncovered, she cannot do it, since she is not used to it. Once she decided to take off her yemeni while I was getting ready to take her photo. She had short hair and looked nice. Then she changed her mind and put it back on despite my encouragement not to do so. When she goes out of the neighborhood, she wears a long light overcoat in the summer and a long coat in the

winter, covering her whole body down to the ankles. On the other hand, I once saw her wearing a pink sweatsuit in the neighborhood with words written in English on the shirt that said, "Jogging, the spirit of life." She had a skirt over the pants.

Many women in this group have rural type of furniture in their homes, usually several divans with cotton covers of bright flower prints, and no furniture sets. In some cases, it is the family's financial situation (particularly in the case of young women) and in others the family's preference for that kind of furniture which creates a rural atmosphere.

They consider themselves rural (except for a few young women who consider themselves "hybrids", see p.239):

IF: We cannot lose our origin, we are villagers, and this does not change wherever we live. Whether or not I was born in the city is irrelevant, I am still registered in the village, my ID papers are there. That is the bottom line.

DB: We are villagers. We were born in the village, grew up and lived there many years until we moved to the city.

The women in the "gecekondu-rooted" group definitely want to live in gecekondus. Many talk strongly in favor of them. For these women whose actions are highly restricted to their immediate environment, it is that aspect of gecekondus which enables women to use outdoors, sitting in front of their doors or joining their neighbors sitting outside that makes gecekondus indispensable. This is true for young and middle-aged housewives as well as elderly women:

FS: Apartments are like jails to me. You stay inside all day long. Here, you get out and sit outside. The houses here are scattered here and there, they are not built along streets. So you can sit in the open without being disturbed by the traffic or by strangers (a young woman).

MS: Since we grew up in the village, we are used to using outdoors often, we are used to sitting outside. If we start living in an apartment, this will give us trouble (a middle-aged woman).

NZL: Apartments are modern jails. I would feel like a prisoner if I lived in an apartment. Here, I go outside and sit in front of my door any time. Soon my neighbors join me. I enjoy it very much (an elderly woman).

They enjoy wedding celebrations outdoors in the gecekondu settlement:

MC: Here, we have traditional wedding celebrations with drums and pipes played, it is so nice.

They also like free action inside gecekondus without worrying about disturbing neighbors:

GL: In apartments, you have to keep it down when you listen to the radio or watch TV. If you don't, neighbors start complaining. But this doesn't happen in gecekondus (a young woman).

MC: You cannot act freely in apartments, you cannot make noise. When you start moving inside your apartment, neighbors start shouting, "Don't make noise, keep quiet" (a middle-aged woman).

IF: In apartments, you cannot beat a rug or do anything like that, it is impossible. Here, you are free in your actions--you can shout, sing or dance (an older woman).

Many emphasize the social dimension, that is, the kind of relations among neighbors. They like the close and informal relations in the gecekondu community:

MC: Here, it is very nice. When I get bored, I go to a neighbor or call to a neighbor from my window, inviting her in.

These women enjoy the "gecekondu spirit" built on sharing and cooperation. A woman who has been living in the same gecekondu settlement for 25 years says:

MS: Here, we share what we have. I get an onion from my neighbor, and she gets something else from me. In this way, instead of having one dish on the table, we have two or three. If I run out of black olives for breakfast, I get them from a neighbor, and that neighbor gets cheese from me. This is how we live

here. I don't think this can happen in apartment buildings. I have a neighbor who has moved to an apartment. She says she calls before she visits her neighbors. Here, when I wake up in the morning and see that nobody is at home, I go to a neighbor if I feel like it and have breakfast there.

The gecekondu community supports their self-esteem: they feel they are respected and loved:

MS: My son doesn't come with me to the market. Yet, I don't remember myself carrying my bags on my way back. Anybody who sees me with the bags takes them from me and carries them for me. I don't know whether it is the respect I have for them or the respect they have for me that makes them treat me so well. They really like me very much. I have never beaten my rugs. When my neighbors see my rugs outside, they come, take the rugs away and beat them for me. God bless my neighbors.

The close and informal relations among neighbors prevent older women from feeling isolated and unwanted elderly people:

IF: I prefer gecekondus. Why? Because it is very nice to sit like this with neighbors and friends. We make jokes, enjoy ourselves and have a good time.

This is particularly important for those women who live by themselves. EBE, the elderly woman who rented the one-room place next to me after her husband's death, is one of them. After her move to her new place, EBE became one of the regulars of my group of neighbors. She started spending almost all of her time in the neighborhood, usually outside if the weather permitted. She would walk around in the neighborhood with a yemeni covering her hair, usually dressed in shalvars and a handmade blouse with a handmade woolen vest on top. (She would wear that vest even on hot days.) She would go out and sit under the electric post in front of her house, lying her back against it and staring down the valley. Usually she would soon

be surrounded by children[5] or joined by other women. If there were women around, she would at once join them. If she saw a woman going to a neighbor's house, she would follow her.

The resemblance between the gecekondu area and the village is another aspect in favor of gecekondus in the case of elderly women. They say gecekondu areas are the right place for them:

FZ: I am not bored in gecekondu areas. Here, it is like living in the village--you can use outside freely. One of my sons lives in an apartment. I get bored when I stay there.

This is also true in the case of the woman who has part of her family living in the village and part of it in the city and who travels between the two. She mentions the compatibility of gecekondus for those who have moved from the village:

GLS: Gecekondus are for people like us who moved from the village, apartments for the high-society.

On the other hand, none of the young women mention the resemblance between gecekondu areas and villages.

In general, "gecekondu-rooted" women seem happy with the gecekondu community and with living in the gecekondu area. (This does not mean that they like living in low standard houses and housing environments.) They tend to spend time with people like themselves and maintain, to some extent, the values they brought from the village, such as community-orientedness, sharing and informal social

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[5]Once I took her picture was when she was sitting under the post with the daughter of her landlady (10 years old) lying on the ground with her head in EBE's lap. They looked so full of affection for each other that I did not want to miss that scene.

relations. So, they actively create their own lives and networks that do not have to fit into the mainstream ideology of the city.

Yet, these women are not immune to the influences of the society outside the gecekondu community. They tend to possess consumer goods and now and then use them as a means to gain higher status in their community. For example, FS, a young woman who rents a shanty and does not have running water inside the house, once told me, "First we bought a color TV set, then a VCR, then a music set, and then a complete set of steel pots and pans." Many make changes in their outward appearances when they go to the established parts of the city (this is rare), replacing yemeni with scarves and pyjamas with thick stockings. Many are aware of how better-off urbanites live. I was surprised when I heard an elderly woman telling her granddaughters about the latest fashion among upper-class youngsters. They have clear ideas about what modern persons are. To many, they are those who grow up in the city, are wealthy, have good manners, live in apartments and own good furniture. They say they definitely do not consider themselves modern:

MS: Modern people are those who live in apartments. We live in gecekondus, so we cannot be modern. Those in apartments have good manners, their homes are well-built.

AT: Don't they call modern those who grew up in the city, those who are, I don't know, arrogant? I guess so....Are you kidding? (laughing), how can I think of myself as modern? We moved here from the village.

EG: Modern people are those who go places and enjoy themselves. They live well. We cannot be modern at this time.

These women do not question the dominant ideology and its values. Rather they accept their positions in society, sometimes resentfully:

MS: Since we live in gecekondus, of course, we are lesser to them--we stay backward here in terms of manners and everything else. For example, can our gecekondu be the same as an apartment in Cankaya? Would Cankaya residents keep this furniture in their homes? They would throw them in the garbage right away.

FC: We cannot even go to a seaside on our vacation, how can we be modern?

Particularly those young women who grew up in the city feel bitter in the face of their poor living conditions and the reality that assigns them lower status. They speak of external conditions as preventing them from living like an urbanite and from feeling themselves to be urban. They say in a rather resentful voice:

SG: I cannot think of myself as urban, not the least. We don't live here like urbanites.

EB: I think of myself as rural. I don't know, in order to be urban, I must live like an urbanite in every way. I don't eat out or go places, I don't go to movies or plays. First of all, I don't have the money to do these things. You've got to have money to enjoy your life in the city.

AS: I cannot think of myself as urban. I cannot live like urban people. I cannot speak like urban people.

One of these women is AS. She grew up in the city, mostly in an upper-class district where her father worked as a gardener and a kapici. She does not visit the village despite its proximity to Ankara. She says she does not like spending time there. When ZT and I met her on our visit to Greenville, she teased ZT about abandoning her neighbors behind.

On the other hand, those young women who are relatively recent comers to the city or those who are at the beginning of a new phase in their lives, such as newlyweds, seem not to be as bitter as the previous group. Rather, they try to prove that they are not so much different from urban people. These young women consider

themselves "hybrids," that is, from both the village and the city:

FS: Definitely I am not an urbanite. To me an urban person is someone who doesn't know about the village life and who is born and raised in the city. Since I moved from the village, I say, "I am neither a villager nor an urbanite but a hybrid." One end of me is in the village and the other end in the city.

They define a modern person in such a way as not to exclude themselves:

GK: Everything starts with humaneness. To me modern people are those who are good to others.

FS: Those who are neat, those who care for their outfits and for their houses are modern. They pay attention to their appearances, they keep their houses clean....My village is developed and there are modern people there.

The women in the "gecekondu-rooted" group are usually sensitive to the outside world and reserved in the presence of outsiders, particularly if outsiders are established urbanites. When I first met FS, a young woman who moved to the city in 1983, at a women's gathering in Greenville, she was reserved and talked little. Later I found out that it was my presence that inhibited FS from speaking; in general she enjoyed talking. The next time when I saw her a year later, she was more comfortable with me. By then I had moved to Greenville. After that we started spending a lot of time together, visiting each other in our homes or meeting outside. As time advanced, I became aware how easily she could get offended: She was particularly sensitive about the issues regarding social standing. Her closest neighbor once told me that FS had a nervous breakdown.

It took time to become friends with AS, a young woman who grew up in the city. At the beginning, she would only greet me on my way to the bus stop. After she became used to my presence in the neighborhood, she started talking to me: We

would start a long conversation, standing for minutes while keeping an eye on the asphalt road, checking on the bus to come.

This was also true in the case EM, a middle-aged woman who has been living in the city for many years. I had the chance to meet EM when I needed somebody to paint my house. ZT sent me to EM's husband, saying that he did housepainting in his time off. At that time, although I was interested in her place, I could not see it, since she seemed reluctant to invite me in. Subsequently, we kept meeting each other on my way home from a visit and vice versa--I usually took the shortcut to the asphalt road that passed by her garden. When she saw me, she would ask me where I was going to or coming from, sometimes commenting jokingly that I travelled too much. Meanwhile I became friends with her youngest son when I took his photos with his friends in a circumcision celebration and gave him the photos as a gift. Finally, EM told me to stop by her house in my free time. So one day I went to her house, bringing my camera with me. She did not want to have her photo taken but was happy when I suggested to take her granddaughter's photo instead.

Those who once interacted with the city but became restricted to the gecekondu settlement as their situation changed (e.g. advanced age) may be more under the influence of the wider society than the rest. For example, NZL, an elderly woman who worked at different jobs, including as a cleaning women and a receptionist for a dentist, and lived in various parts of the city, gave me the impression that she had a low image of the village and an inclination to look up to city people. She complained about her granddaughter's thick accent and her dark skin

when the granddaughter came to stay with her. She was very interested in me, and the reason, I believe, was my urban background--several times she told me that I looked like the girl she raised when she was babysitting for a better-off, urban family.

Apartments: No Problem, Gecekondus: Fine, Too

Integration: A Possibility?[6]

The women in this group are oriented both to the gecekondu community and the wider society outside of it. They are more affected by and interested in urban society than the "gecekondu-rooted" group. On the other hand, unlike the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group, they seem to get along with their neighbors. There are three sub-groups. The first sub-group consists mostly of middle-aged, long-term migrants, with a few young women who grew up in the city; the second sub-group, of young and relatively recent migrants; and the third sub-group, of second-generation migrant girls who live with their parents.

Migrant Women With Years Spent in the City[7]

Many of the women in this sub-group are in their mid 30's to mid 40's and moved to the city between the mid 1960's and the early 1970's and one of them in 1979. They are all married. They have been living in gecekondus for years. They own their present gecekondus.

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[6]There are 32 women in this group.

[7]There are 15 women in this sub-group.

These middle-aged women with many years spent in the city are more open to the society outside the gecekondu community in physical, social and psychological terms than the "gecekondu-rooted" women. Some work outside the home mostly as cleaning ladies or at service-related jobs, such as a teamaker in a company, a beauty parlor employee, and a cook in an Embassy. There is also a woman who is employed by the State. These women who work outside the home, unlike the "gecekondu-rooted" group, usually interact with the city on a daily basis and spend time out of the neighborhood, socializing with people at their workplaces. They are familiar with various parts of the city.

In this group, some of those women who do not have jobs also travel often in the city, visiting friends (mostly relatives) or shopping. Their families may be open-minded. For example, BU goes anywhere in the city by herself. She says, among her neighbors, she is the one who travels the most. Hearing this, her neighbor responded, "That's okay. You only visit your relatives. There is nothing wrong with this." BU likes Cankaya the most, a prestigious, upper-class district. She is Alevi, and her family seems to be rather liberal. I saw her photos taken in a swimsuit when I was looking at her photo album. Also, the improvements in her family's financial situation, I believe, are making it possible for BU to open herself up to the society outside the gecekondu community. Her husband joked about BU, saying, "She was a peasant before. After she became urban, she started objecting to cleaning the barn." (They closed the barn, selling the cows.) BU responded, "Now I am not fit to do those kinds of tasks. I have become a lady."

Also, when husbands work abroad, this increases women's interactions with the world outside the gecekondu settlement ("mothers-in-command"). For example, AY whose husband has been working in Saudi Arabia for three years, goes out of the neighborhood by herself, usually to pay bills (they were taken care of by her husband before he worked abroad), to draw money from the bank sent by her husband or to go to her children's school to talk to their teachers. Also, her husband, who is a modern man in many aspects, seems to influence AY, opening her up to Western values.

The opposite may also be true, that is, commitment to a more rural (less urban) way of life because of the husband may make the woman decrease her degree of interaction with the wider society and her orientation to urban society. For example, GN, who recently married a villager whom she met on her visit to the village, orients herself more to the rural community than her sister (GUE) and cousin (GUL), both of whom are in the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group. Both GUE and GUL consider themselves urban and prefer apartments. On the other hand, GN says she is rural (yet, she was born and grew up in the city) and that it does not matter whether she lives in an apartment or a gecekondu. Her place, unlike those of many other newlyweds, is modestly furnished. There are no brand new furniture sets or high-tech products. When she posed for me, she was as careful about her looks as her older sister and cousin. She put on lipstick, wearing her long hair untied, reaching almost her waist.

When they are in the neighborhood, the women in the "apartments: no problem, gecekondus: fine, too" group tend to socialize with their neighbors. On the

other hand, unlike the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group, they do not take a strong stand against their neighbors and do not tend to fight with them, although they may tend to look down on them, not considering them their equals. This is true in the case of ESM, one of the few state employees in the gecekondu settlement. When I visited her one Sunday, she said, pointing to a group of her neighbors sitting in the shade in shalvars, "Poor women, they do not have anything more worthwhile other than wasting their time like this." On the other hand, many others in this group are modest in their relations with their neighbors.

They also tend to form relations with longer-term urban people when that is possible. For example, AY still calls the doctor and his wife whom she got to know when she took her son to hospital for his injured arm.

These women give more importance to their outward appearances than the "gecekondu-rooted" women. Although many look rural when they are inside the gecekondu community, they look rather modern when they go out of the neighborhood. Since they often interact with the world outside the gecekondu community, they feel obliged to care for their appearances. For example, when I lived in Greenville, ZU, who was working as a babysitter, would go to work in the morning dressed in a nice blouse and a skirt, with a scarf covering her hair. And when she came home late afternoon, she would at once change into more comfortable clothes, usually putting on pyjamas and tying a yemeni behind her neck. When she was invited to a relative's wedding ceremony, she took the occasion seriously. She went to a hairdresser (a rare practice among migrants). She wore a nice suit,

uncovering her hair. I was surprised how different she looked from her usual self in Greenville, especially from the time I first saw her sitting in the autumn sun in her shalvars, sewing.

Also, AY, who looks rather rural when she is in the neighborhood (she does not have a paid job), wearing shalvars and keeping her hair covered with a yemeni, is concerned about her outward appearance when she goes out of the neighborhood. She usually wears a two-piece suit and nylon stockings, replacing her yemeni with a scarf. I heard that AY had a bad experience regarding her outward appearance:

SAB: Once AY was called to school for a parents' meeting, and she went there, covering her hair with a yemeni. The following day, the teacher asked SY (AY's daughter) if her family was in need of financial help. Can you imagine? AY didn't look like a poor woman, I was with her. She was only covering her hair with a yemeni.

The women in this group may spend most of their time in the neighborhood, yet still be interested in the society outside the gecekondu community. FK is an example. I saw FK at a women's party in Greenville for the first time. She looked rural and wealthy. She was wearing a calico dress, covering her head with a yemeni. She had numerous (at least 7) gold bracelets on both of her arms, as well as golden earings. Several of her teeth were covered with gold. She was comfortable with the women at the party. She did not hesitate to join a group of women when they started folklore dancing. And unlike many "gecekondu-rooted" women who were reserved with me when I first met them, she was also comfortable with me: When I was introduced to FK as a neighbor doing research on gecekondus, she said she was the owner of "that red three-story house" and invited me at once. When I interviewed

her, she said she would have been living in the apartment her family owned if it had not been for her husband. Yet, she talked about the good aspects of gecekondus. To the question of rural/urban identity, she said her home was the city (implying urban identity). Yet, another day, she joined other women who said they considered themselves rural. FK is an enterprising woman. She established her business at home: She makes garments at her knitting-machine.[8] Her family is moved to Ankara in 1969 with limited money and little furniture. Now, after over 20 years spent in the city, they are one of the well-off families in Greenville. They own a shanty (they built it in 1971), a three-story gecekondu built on the same plot of the shanty, as well as an apartment in a middle-class district. They recently bought a car, replacing the one which they had sold a year ago.[9]

Some women in this "apartments: no problem, gecekondus: fine, too" group have close relatives who moved to apartments. This tended to increase their interests

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[8]FK started working as a cleaning woman after their move to the city, and she decided to buy a knitting-machine ten years ago with the money she had saved. She also sold her golden bracelets given to her on her wedding. She hired a woman to teach her how to run the machine. But when that woman disappeared after several sessions, FK, by trial and error, figured out how to operate the machine and started knitting and selling, making good money. Meanwhile, she rented a store to sell yarns.

[9]Once when I went to FK's house to return the photos, several neighbors joined us. FK offered us tea and quinces brought from the village. On our way home, one of the neighbors commented on FK's stinginess, saying, "All the way here, we ended up coming just for a few quinces." The other neighbor agreed with her, "She has always been very careful with her money. She doesn't spend it and saves it all the time." I remembered FK saying, while laughing, that she had sold the water she had carried on her shoulders from the fountain down the hill to people building gecekondus. She would not mind waking up at midnight for it. I believe this attitude of hers helped improve her financial situation.

in apartments and urban society. ZU is an example. She has established herself in the gecekondu community and often socializes with her neighbors. She enjoys high status in Greenville: She is better-off than many others, a longer-term migrant and a longer-term Greenville resident.[10] She started considering moving to an apartment when her two close relatives (ZT & TU) with whom they rented gecekondus close to each other for years and built their gecekondus on the same plot in Greenville, bought apartments in Blueville and moved there. I heard ZU talking in a rather resentful tone when she was with ZT:

ZU: At the beginning, my husband did not want to build a gecekondu. He was thinking of buying an apartment. When they (ZT & TU) said that single-family houses would be more comfortable and that we would be living together, we agreed to build our house on the same plot with them. Now they moved down to Blueville, leaving us behind. We are left behind.[11]

Despite their interest in apartment areas, the women in this group, unlike the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group, do not have strong preferences for apartments. Again, unlike the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group who fight with their neighbors, these women who get along with their neighbors do not emphasize the social dimension, that is, the kind of people and neighborly relations in gecekondu and

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[10]ZU's high status among her gecekondu neighbors disappears in the case of her relatives living in apartments. I heard these relatives talking about ZU as a woman who failed to improve herself in the city and who could not even change the way she pronounced certain words.

[11]ZT was aware of ZU's sensitivity and tried not to make her feel abandoned in Greenville. Several times, we met ZU after her working hours when ZT and I went to visit a relative and took her with us. ZU's sensitivity was also true in my case. For example, if I turned down her dinner invitation, she would think that I did it because I thought the food she made was not clean enough, and she would say so.

apartment areas. Instead, as the reasons for their apartment preferences, they emphasize the physical dimension, that is, the kind of housing in these two types of areas:

ZE: Apartments are much better places in terms of the comfort they provide. Here, you sweep and wipe the floor one day, and the next day it is dirty again. There, you sweep it one day and you don't bother for the next several days. It is much cleaner in apartments. They have running water, both cold and hot. Those heated by stoves are like one with a central heating system: once heated, they stay warm for a long time.

BU: I want to live a comfortable life in an apartment which is heated by a central heating system. Here, the house gets very cold in the winter; my hands freeze while I work in the kitchen. This road becomes icy and slippery--it gets very hard to operate the taxi. (Her husband is a taxi-driver.) Who wants to endure such a life?

Yet, this is different from the "gecekondu-rooted" group who would also like to live in a more comfortable environment with adequate infrastructure and services, but who prefer gecekondus because, to them, gecekondus have many advantages that compensate for those disadvantages.

These women, despite their preferences for apartments, mention positive aspects of gecekondus and/or negative aspects of apartments:

FK: I prefer apartments. Yet, houses here don't block each other's views. Neighbors are easily available. There, if you beat a rug, there will be a complaint at once. This house has every convenience in it.

BU: In the summer, one should spend time here, enjoying nature. And in the winter, one should have a well-built place to live. I like my neighbors here and the close relations I have with them. It is peaceful to live in this house, since it is a single-family house.

And unlike the "gecekondu-rooted" group, these women do not have strong preferences for gecekondus either, with few exceptions. The exceptions are those

whose gecekondus are multi-story or nice houses in large gardens. Those who prefer gecekondus, in addition to positive aspects of gecekondus and/or negative aspects of apartments, mention positive aspects of apartments and/or negative aspects of gecekondus:

AY: In apartment buildings, there is a fight everyday. The other day, a friend of mine living in an apartment complained about her life. She had been awakened 6 in the morning by the noise of her next door neighbor. She, too, had made noise in order to warn the neighbor. When the kapici in her building left, the residents had to clean the building themselves, taking turns. But some neighbors sneaked off, saying they had other things to do. So my friend washed only her floor, she lives on the third floor, leaving the rest dirty. We don't face such problems here....the roads in this neighborhood are not asphalt, and there is no sewage system. This bothers me a lot....There, you get off the bus in front of your building; you don't have mud everywhere. Who wouldn't want to live in an apartment?

DO: I prefer single-family houses. They usually have gardens. It is comfortable to live in them. But the house should be in a nice neighborhood to raise children. In this regard, apartment areas are better. You can raise children with good manners in apartment areas.

Like DO, a couple of other women talk about gecekondus regarding the social aspect. Yet, the criticism they bring is not about the kind of people or the kind of relations in the gecekondu community, as this is the case with the "gecekondu-by-necessity" women who do not get along with their neighbors. Rather, these women talk about the difficulty of raising children with good manners in gecekondu areas:

AY: Here, children spend a lot of time outside, playing. It is hard to keep them inside.

These women who prefer gecekondus, unlike the "gecekondu-rooted" group who are highly dependent on the gecekondu community physically, socially, and psychologically, do not emphasis the kind of neighborly relations in the gecekondu

settlement (close and informal).

The exceptions in this group who have strong preferences for gecekondus (their gecekondus are multi-story or nice houses in large gardens) say that they prefer to live in gecekondus, not in any gecekondu but in their present ones which they own, and as their reasons, they say:

NA: I don't want to live in an apartment. My house is like an apartment. I don't want to sell it to a contractor. (Her house is a two-story reinforced concrete building.)

ZH: This is a free-standing house, not a gecekondu. It is a well-built reinforced concrete house. It is comfortable to live here. I don't want to live in an apartment. (She owns a two-story house.)

RU: I like my house very much. This is my house, and I am attached to it. I worked hard to make it the way it is today. I am not willing to sell it to a contractor, even after the master plan of this neighborhood is completed. (This means a considerable increase in the value of the land.)

In general, their houses are well-built. Many have made improvements in the house over the years. In some of the houses, there are hot water heaters and showers in the bathroom, an uncommon practice in gecekondus, and the walls of the bathrooms are covered with ceramic tiles. BU's family who makes good money from the husband's taxi work even installed a bathtub (very rare in gecekondus).

The rooms are furnished by furniture sets, but usually not brand new ones. In FK's house, there is a music set and a color TV set with "USA" written on it. Pictures of Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, hang on one of the walls. In AY's house whose husband works in Saudi Arabia, there are products of high technology, such as a tape-recorder, a camera, a TV set, and a VCR, binoculars, all brought from Saudi Arabia by the husband. There are also whisky bottles placed in

the wall cabinet.

Interest in the society outside the gecekondu community does not make many of these women consider themselves other than rural:

RU: Let me tell you, I can never think of myself as urban. I am a rural person. I was born in the village, grew up in the village and migrated from the village. ...In my village we speak Kurdish, here we speak Turkish. Here, people are dressed better, and they live better lives....I cannot turn myself into an urban person by saying I am urban. I am rural. I cannot deny my village.

BU: I see myself as rural. Our habits and the way we speak and cook are different from those of urban people. An urbanite cannot cook gözleme (Turkish pancakes) the way I make it.

On the other hand, a couple of women in this group were ambivalent in their responses to the rural/urban identity question. They changed their answers: They first said they were urban:

FK: I think of here. There is nobody from us left in the village.

ZE: One can be urban by dressing well. Yet, despite the way I am dressed, I still consider myself urban. I don't like the village, I moved to the city on my free will (said this in a joking fashion).

And later they agreed with other women at the gathering when they said they considered themselves rural.

There is a woman in her 30's in this group who says she does not group people as rural or urban. She is a working woman and socializes frequently with her neighbors in her free time. Her family holds leftist views.

NZ: I don't make a distinction between rural and urban people. After all, we are all humans. For example, some say, "Look, she is from the village," and they look down upon her. I don't do this. We are all rural people. Is there anybody in the city without a rural origin? We all once moved from the village. No, I never discriminate against rural people.

Some of these women visit the village, but do not want to stay there for a long time (usually not more than a couple of weeks). Otherwise they say they get bored and miss their homes in the city. And some others do not visit the village. Their villages are distant and/or nobody/nothing is left there. Unlike the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group, these women do not hate the village.

Migrant Women With a Few Years Spent in the City[12]

The women in this sub-group of the "apartments: no problem; gecekondus: fine, too" group are in their early to mid 20's who are newly married or married for several years and have small children. They are relatively recent migrants who moved to the city between 1983 and 1988 when they got married. They are tenants. They can be considered rather poor: Some rent the ground floors converted from coal storage spaces; one lives in a shanty; and another lives for free in the mudbrick house mentioned by the neighborhood people as "the ugly house." (This family acts as a guard, protecting the house from unwanted occupation.) They do not have paid jobs.

At the present time, these women spend almost all their time in the gecekondu community and socialize almost exclusively with their gecekondu neighbors. They seem not to have a problem with this. At the same time, they are interested in the society outside the gecekondu community and want to know more about and interact more with it. Yet, different from the previous group of middle-aged women with

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[12]There are 7 women in this sub-group.

many years spent in the city, they cannot, for various reasons. Several of the reasons are conservative husbands who check on the changes these women want to make in themselves, the control of the gecekondu community, as well as their limited financial resources. So, they end up looking rather rural. Yet, they try to make some changes in themselves when this is possible. They are aware of the latest fashion and are inclined to buy new clothes. They do not wear make-up, since their husbands are against it. Yet, they may try it when their husbands are not around. One of these women is AJ. Her husband (ED) is conservative and does not permit AJ to go out of the neighborhood by herself, to uncover her hair or to wear make-up. Once they went to a wedding party in a wedding hall, AJ dressed up in her newest outfit. At that party, ED did not want to have a family photo taken by a professional male photographer, with AJ in the photo.[13]

I first saw AJ in a group of neighbors standing outside, chatting: She had returned from the village. She was wearing pyjamas and a yemeni on her hair, tied behind her neck. She looked rural. I had to wait for some time to find about AJ's modern side. At the birthday party of my next door neighbor, AJ, after singing a folkloric song, joined a group of teenage girls dancing to disco music in the dark in another room. This highly surprised me, since I did not expect a relatively recent migrant woman to be familiar with this kind of music and dance. That evening, when she was leaving, she said to me, in English, "good-bye."

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[13]There are pictures of AJ's husband and her daughters on the walls of the living room, but not a single picture of AJ. AJ's husband takes his daughters to the local photo lab to have their color pictures taken.

AJ again surprised me when she turned from a rural-looking woman into a modern one while I was taking her photos. She was very happy to have that opportunity. She said she would not pose for me if I were a man. First, she removed her yemeni, bringing out her long thick hair. Then, she took off her shalvars and put on a two-piece rather fancy dress. She even changed her stockings, replacing them with a pair of black pantyhose and her knitted footwear with leather slippers. She put on lipstick and colored her cheecks. She said her husband was against her wearing lipstick, yet keeping it a secret from him, she had bought one from a neighbor's husband who was back on vacation from Libya. The teenage girl of my nextdoor neighbor, a high school student, helped her with her make-up and gave her advice about what to wear, how to pose, where to sit or stand, and the like. First AJ thought of wearing golden jewelry (bracelets and necklaces), then gave it up, saying she would look like a rural person with them. It took a while for her to decide where to have her photos taken. She did not want it outside the house, saying the surroundings gave the impression of a village. On the other hand, her house was very small with little furniture in it. Finally, she said, "I don't have arm-chairs or couches to pose while sitting. So I will rather stand up here next to the TV set and have my photo taken."

It was hard for me to believe that it was the same woman when I saw AJ several days later in her shalvars while she was making bread on a low round wooden table, sitting on the floor, flour all over her arms and face.

AJ gives importance to the way she is dressed. Although she feels

comfortable wearing pyjamas under her skirt when she is with her neighbors in close proximity (especially in cold weather) she is careful to dress well when she goes out of the neighborhood. When she visited a woman living on the other side of the valley in her everyday clothes and met a well-dressed woman there, she felt very bad about this and accused the woman of being a high-society bitch (see YA, p.172). She is interested in the outside world and seems aware of many things. Once I heard her warning a pregnant woman about the dangers of smoking. She is open to novelty and wants to learn new things in the city. She was interested in my mother when my mother visited Greenville. (She immediately noticed the bracelet on my mother's wrist.) She also asked for the recipe of the dessert I served at my place. She is becoming familiar with Spanish names, since she does not miss any Latin American soap opera on TV.

Being new in the city and having financial restrictions may also prevent women from making changes in themselves and their lives towards becoming more of a part of urban society. One of them is GS. She looks rather modern, despite the brief time she has spent in the city. Her husband's financial situation is limited. She got married in September of 1988 and moved to Ankara in the same month, renting a small place converted from a coal storage space. I met GS in the Fall of 1988 when my keyperson took me to her house. The house was almost empty. There was a big carpet covering the whole floor. (GS had made it as a wedding gift to her husband.) On that visit, we sat on the floor, since there was nothing to sit on. GS looked modern in her jeans. She wore jeans also when she lived in the village. (She showed

me one of her photographs taken in the village--she was sitting in a red arm-chair, wearing jeans, legs crossed.) She moved to the other side of the valley a year later, renting a cheaper place in a more rural environment at the last bus stop. I visited her in her new place. The house had bare wooden ceilings and walls. GS looked even more modern with her new permed hair. It was a big contrast to see this modern-looking woman, sitting on the wooden floor, making spinach pies on a low and round wooden table and cooking them in a teflon frying pan (see Appendix A. p.398, "A visit to a migrant couple that reminded of village times").

When I met GS in a wedding hall, she looked modern in her jeans, the ones she was wearing before. Since she was living on a limited budget, I think, she couldn't afford new clothes.

YT is another modern-looking woman who moved to the city five years ago. Like other women in this group, she spends all her time in the neighborhood: She has two young children to look after. She is emotionally close to the village and her village is close to the city. Her relatives come often to stay in her house. She goes to the village every summer.

YT expresses strong feelings for the village as follows:

YT: When I wake up in the village, I breathe fresh air, drink a glass of fresh milk, eat fresh eggs and fresh butter. I never complained when I lived in the village. Our food was healthy and clean, our life was neat. Our village is developed. ...The hard work in the village does not intimidate me. Every summer when I go there, I put on shalvars and start working....Life in the village is better: you don't pay rents, electric and water bills. Everything is free there, eggs, milk, cheese, flour, lentil, everything. You produce them, you consume them.

Despite YT's strong stand for the village, I also heard her saying:

YT: In the village, I wake up at 5, and here I can sleep until 9 or 10. The family is crowded there and they expect you to serve them. It is okay to work in the fields for a couple of days. But I get exhausted after ten days....I am used to the comfort in the city.

YT is highly concerned about her outward appearance. When I first met her while I was visiting her landlady, she did not want me to take her photo, because "I am not properly dressed." She was wearing a jean skirt and a cotton blouse. She looked well-dressed to me. Her long straight black hair was tied loosely behind her neck. She was wearing colored eye-glasses in a golden covered frame. She did not look different from an urbanite. I was surprised to hear from this modern-looking young woman that she covered her hair and wore long-sleeves and long skirts when she visited the village. On that meeting she was rather reserved and talked a little. She spoke with an accent.

On the visit to her house, YT was happy with the way she looked. She was dressed in a nice outfit, since she expected me to take her photographs. She changed three times and posed for me like a model, sitting in an arm-chair, legs crossed, smiling, or standing in front of some green plants, sometimes her hair hanging loosely on her shoulders, sometimes tied behind. When I brought her the photos, she was not happy with most of her photos: She said she did not smile well in one photo, did not look properly in the other, and so on.

YT was well prepared for the occasion. She offered us cake (common among urban people) in porcelain plates with tea served in crystal-like teacups. She brought her steel teapot (a favorite piece of kitchenware) and poured us tea. When we were finished, YT, by using a small device, cleaned off the crumbs which the children had

made on the carpet.[14]

These women are in the process of change. This is especially obvious in the case of ZK. She is a newcomer to the city. I first met her when my keyperson took me to her house, a small place converted from a coal storage space. She had just moved from the village. She was wearing shalvars, her long hair pulled back and covered by a yemeni. She looked rural. Her house looked rural, too. There were a couple of divans and a cabinet where the yemenis ZK made were displayed. When I moved to Greenville a year later, renting the gecekondu next to hers, I noticed changes in her. Her hair was not long any more, she was wearing it short now. She would wear shalvars when she was in the neighborhood. Yet, when she went "down to the city," usually accompanied by her husband, usually to visit relatives, she would wear a two-piece suit and uncover her hair. She would sometimes wear a yemeni when she was in Greenville, saying that it helped keep her hair clean. She even started going to the local grocery store wearing a red blouse and a black cotton skirt, her hair uncovered. ZK did not wear shalvars in any of my photos. She either changed into dresses or did not have her photo taken, saying, "I look miserable in this, don't take my photo now."

These women, like the middle-aged, long-term migrant women in the previous group, do not take a strong position for or against gecekondus. Some prefer gecekondus and some apartments. Some, while preferring apartments, also mention

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[14]Porcelain plates, crystal-like teacups, steel teapots, devices to clean off crumbs are all prestigious consumer items among migrants.

positive aspects of gecekondus or negative aspects of apartments. Some prefer apartments for the advantages of raising children with good manners:

AJ: I prefer apartments, they are built well. Children are raised well in apartment environments--the way they talk and behave are better. Here, they grow up playing in the soil. It is a dream, but I would like to live in GOP (an upper-class district).

Yet, unlike the women in the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group, they do not talk negatively about their gecekondu neighbors or neighborly relations in the gecekondu settlement.

Some do not favor either gecekondus or apartments:

GS: This place (gecekondu) is nice. Apartments have their own qualities and gecekondus have their own. None of the two is superior to the other.

ZK, a newcomer woman changing rapidly, said different things at different times. She first said:

ZK: Gecekondus are more comfortable. You cannot behave like this in apartments.

Later on, while visiting her older sister living in an apartment, she said:

ZK: Apartments are better; they are clean. In the gecekondu area, you cannot leave your child alone outside, and you cannot keep her inside (she has a two-year-old daughter)--she wants to be with other kids. But she will stay with you inside when you live in an apartment.

Like the middle-aged women in the previous group, these young women consider themselves rural. But, unlike them, they have a tendency to emphasize their adaptation to the city. They say they are rural but also adapt to the city when they live there or that they are rural when they are in the village and urban when they are in the city:

AJ: My darling, we are villagers. When we go to the village, we change the way

> we speak, walk and behave, and fit in. You cannot avoid villagers and live isolated in a corner. When we come back, maybe we cannot adapt in every way, but we still adapt to the city.

They retain their relationship with the village. They do not hold negative feelings about the village, although sometimes one may hear them complaining about the hard work in the village. (They work on the land when they are in the village, not necessarily by preference but to fulfill their obligations as daughters-in-law and to provide economic support for their lives in the city.)

Second-Generation Migrant Girls Living With Their Parents[15]

In this sub-group of the "apartments: no problem; gecekondus: fine, too" group, there are girls, ages ranging from 14 to 19, who are not married and who live with their parents. Many were born in the city, and in a few cases, their parents moved to the city when they were babies or small children, and they grew up in the city.

The girls in this group are concerned about their outward appearances and are easily noticeable in the neighborhood by their modern looks that contrast with the rural scenery of the environment. Some even wear stretch jeans and fashionable pants. They often change their hair style. For example, GD attracted my attention at a women's party to celebrate a wedding in the neighborhood. She was wearing pants and her hair was permed. She did not participate in traditional dancing. Instead, she

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[15]There are 10 girls in this sub-group. I call this group of females "girls" instead of "young women" because, in Turkey, the term "woman" is traditionally reserved for those who are married.

sat next to her mother, a modest looking woman with a scarf covering her hair.

The gecekondu community seems to be permissive for these modern-looking girls as long as they spend time in the neighborhood and do not fool around with boys. Now and then, neighbors tease the girls about their looks but are not hostile to them.

In general, these girls, different from the young, modern-looking women in the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group, get along with their gecekondu neighbors. Yet, some of them seem to have hidden problems with the gecekondu community. The girls who left school in junior high and who do not have paid jobs seem to be more in harmony with the gecekondu community, probably more submissive to it, ("gecekondu: no problem") than others. The girls in the "gecekondu: no problem" category spend a lot of time in the neighborhood. They are also involved in activities outside the home, such as taking sewing courses at the local school or typing courses at an institute in a neighboring district.

Despite their noticeability, they are not often seen around. When they are in Greenville, they spend time inside their houses or in other houses, visiting neighbors with their mothers, or sitting in their gardens.

The two high school students who come from troubled families (AF & YZ) also seem to be in harmony with the gecekondu community ("gecekondu: no problem"). AF's father is in jail. AF is attached to her mother and is submissive to her father. She tries not to add to the existing problems in the family because of her alcoholic and neurotic father. YZ's father and mother have been on bad terms for a

long time. Her father lives in Germany with a German woman, two of his daughters and a son. YZ lives in Ankara with her mother, and her sister and two brothers. She is the youngest of seven. Her father does not fulfill his responsibility to his family and is not dependable in providing financial support. YZ, like AF, feels close to her mother and tries to support her mother and her family through her efforts to keep up the house and by working part-time in a tailor shop.

These girls in the "gecekondu: no problem" category prefer gecekondus. In the gecekondu environment, they are free in their actions inside the house as well as in the neighborhood--they can get out of the house and spend time outside with their friends; they can go and visit them in the neighborhood:

AF: I am used to living here. To me, apartments are like jails. Here, when I get out of the house, I at once meet someone. We are used to living a free life here.

Some others do not mind living in gecekondus, but prefer apartments on specific conditions. They are not strong in their preferences for apartments:

GD: It depends upon what kind of an apartment it is. These days apartments are too small. We cannot fit into them. We have more furniture down in the basement. I would prefer apartments if they were larger. (Her family owns a 2-story reinforced concrete gecekondu.)

Some of these girls say they are rural or have rural origins:

SS: Since we visit the village, I consider myself rural.

YZ: I am not urban. I have a rural origin. We have land in the village. Now and then we go there.

And some others imply that they are urban:

AF: I am not familiar with rural tasks. I have been living in Ankara all my life.

GD: I was born here. I prefer to live in the city.

These girls enjoyed posing for me, usually sitting in an arm-chair, crossing their legs, and smiling.

On the other hand, there are some high school students who seem to have problems with living in the gecekondu community, although they do not overtly stand in opposition to it ("gecekondu: not exactly okay"). These girls, too, do not consider themselves urban, yet they do not seem happy about it:

SY: For sure, I think of myself as someone with a rural origin. Of course, I don't think of myself as urban, because, for example, students at my school, those high-society urban people make me feel rural. Then I am a peasant, very clearly, I am a peasant. I am not different from them. But they see me different, make me feel different. Today the weather is so nice, but I cannot spend time with my friends, going to movies, pubs or discos. My mother wouldn't let me. So, I am rural, since I cannot keep up with people at my school....We are not in a position to define ourselves (in terms of rural or urban), because we are of lower strata. Other people do this definition for us. They look down upon us, after defining us rural.

HUL: I can neither say, "I am an urbanite," nor can I say, "I am a villager." My parents have relations with the village, we go there in the summer. So I cannot say I am an urbanite. Since I didn't grow up in the village, I cannot say I am a villager either.

Some tend not to define themselves in terms of rural/urban:

LEY: I don't make such distinctions (as rural and urban). I don't think in those terms.

They seem to have problems also with the society outside the gecekondu community, particularly with their better-off, established urban friends at school. They, too, spend a lot of time in the neighborhood, often socializing with their friends. They gather in each other's houses, now and then playing music and practicing dancing. At the birthday party of a neighbor's son, I had the chance to

find out how well some of these girls actually danced.

These girls in the "gecekondu: not exactly okay" category, like the girls in the "gecekondu: no problem" category, also prefer gecekondus, because they say they would be bored in apartments, staying inside all day long. Their parents do not like the idea of them spending time in an unfamiliar environment, whereas they feel comfortable letting their daughters spend time outside in the gecekondu neighborhood --the closely-knit community where people know each other.

SY: I prefer it here. If one lives in an apartment, one should live a busy life, spending a lot of time away. For example, if I had a busy working schedule, if I left home in the morning and came back in the evening, then I would prefer to live in an apartment. But, now I am at home all the time, except for the time I spend at school. I believe I would be bored if I lived in an apartment.

On another occasion, SY said she would buy a one-family luxurious house if she won money from the lottery.

Yet, these girls, different from the other category of girls, mention the disadvantages of gecekondus and gecekondu areas:

HUL: ...houses get dirty so quickly.

SY: ...air is clean here, it is not polluted. But, I don't know, it is like living out of the city. There are problems regarding roads and infrastructure....these roads (in the neighborhood) get very muddy. I am the only one in the class wearing muddy shoes.

These disadvantages of gecekondu areas become more emotion-laden when they are about the gecekondu community:

SY: Most important of all, people here are not cultured. I mean, they are not at my level. I cannot get along with them, I cannot communicate with them. I want to live in an apartment not because it is a modern place. I want it because people there are modern, they are cultured.

Some other girls in this "gecekondu: not exactly okay" category say they prefer to live in gecekondus, because they like the way they live at the present time. They hold themselves back from talking more about it. Yet, in spite of their stated preferences for gecekondus, I heard them complaining about living in a gecekondu area. On our way back from a park in an upper-class area, they said:

LEY: Look how different GOP (the upper-class area next to Greenville) is from our neighborhood. I feel awkward.
YAS: Heaven and hell (referring to GOP as heaven and Greenville as hell).

In brief, despite the problems they may have with the gecekondu community, the way they live today makes many of these girls prefer gecekondus. Yet, in the future this may change, particularly if they get paid jobs and spend most of their days outside the gecekondu settlement, making friends at their workplaces.

SY is an example of the "gecekondu: not exactly okay" category. Her father works in Saudi Arabia and SY's mother[16] assumes full responsibility for her children. She is concerned about possible gossip about her family, especially about SY, and this makes her set up strict rules for SY, not permitting her to go to movies or cafes with her friends. SY resents her situation. Yet, she is usually submissive to her mother: She tries to get along well with her and never talks back. She is in the last year of high school and will take the University Entrance Test this year. (She wants to be a art teacher.) Yet, she has the responsibility for housekeeping, doing

[16]She is her step-mother; her mother and father were divorced when SY was a child; SY has not seen her biological mother since then.

dishes, cleaning the house and taking care of her two younger siblings.[17] She does not have strict rules about the way she dresses or fixes her hair: I often saw her wearing stretch jeans. Once, she dyed the front part of her hair yellow.[18]

When these young women posed for me, they were very careful about what should go into the photo and what should not. For example, SY took away yolluk (handmade cotton rug), pulled an arm-chair in front of the cabinet where whisky bottles brought by her father as well as some books were displayed. She put on black pants with a striped T-shirt in matching colors, sat down in the arm-chair, and, crossing her legs, posed for me.[19] Another time, when I was taking outdoor photos of a group of girls, they were concerned about the surrounding and did not want an old mud-brick house (which they called "the ugly house") in their photo. SY was concerned about her friends at school who might think that she lived in a rural area if they saw that house. The girls changed their clothes for the photos. This time SY was dressed in stretch jeans and a sweater with a big belt around her hips. The other

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[17]SY was very upset when I met her in 1990. She had failed the University Entrance Test. In the same year, she started working as a salesperson in a furniture store. At the same time, she kept studying by herself, using the periodicals published to prepare students for the University Entrance Tests. She was also carrying out her housekeeping duties. She was tired and nervous.

[18]This caused her trouble at school. Her teachers reprimanded her for not acting up to the school codes. SY protested, saying that many of her classmates looked more or less the same, yet the teachers preferred to keep silent in order not to offend "those wealthy children."

[19]I had noticed SY's sensitivity about her outward appearance during my pilot study. She was wearing shalvars when she came to the house of a neighbor, where some neighbors were gathered, to get her mother. She had been studying at home. She hid her shalvars behind cushions when I took a photograph of the women.

girls were wearing mini-skirts.

In general, the girls in this "apartments: no problem, gecekondus: fine, too" group do not mind visiting the village on special occasions, or on vacations. A few, and they are those who left school and do not have paid jobs, stay there through the summer, and others do not want to stay there for weeks: They are used to the city and get bored after a week or two. When they are in the village, some of them do not make major changes in their outward appearances. Yet, some others, including SY, even wear shalvars, because they "try to dress to fit in."

Socially-Conscious; Integration-Through-Radical-Change

There are two young women (SUN & SON) living in the gecekondu settlement who are different from the rest in Greenville in their high degree of social consciousness. They were born in the village, came to the city when they were a few months old and grew up in the city. SUN's mother died when she was a child, and her father remarried. SUN suffered as a stepdaughter and as a child of a migrant family. She lived under constant financial difficulties; her father who ran a stationery stand went bankrupt twice. SUN sold stationery in the market during her school years. SON also suffered, this time as the daughter of a kapici (building maintenance person). She carried its burden throughout her years at school. She was vulnerable about the subject and resented it very much when other students called her "the kapici's daughter." Today, she says this sensitivity of hers seems meaningless to her.

Both are high school graduates. SON is married,[20] whereas SUN is single and lives by herself.[21] SUN is a civil servant, whereas SON does not have a paid job.

These two women have a critical approach to society. SUN, a leftist, stresses unequal distribution of power and wealth in society and criticizes the status quo from this perspective. She is particularly critical of her older sister (GULD) "who is trying to become a part of the urban bourgeois," sacrificing her relationship with her relatives and villagers for it. And SON, who is interested in women's issues and concerned about the unfair treatment of women, is critical of society in this regard. They do not take for granted society and its prevailing values and socio-economic system. They question it and want to change it. SUN, as a single and independent woman, feels free to work for this end, trying to arrange her life around it. On the other hand, SON, as a recently married woman who married right after her

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[20]SON got married to a police officer from her village whom she met on a visit to the village a couple years ago. She had graduated from high school that year. She did not continue her education after she got married.

[21]When the tension between SUN and her family increased as she became independent money-wise--her parents' wanted to control her salary as well as her actions, she asked for her transfer, moved to Ankara, and started living with her oldest sister (GULD) and her family. Yet, it did not take long for trouble to show up. SUN and her sister belonged to two very different worlds: While GULD was trying to be a part of the "urban bourgeois," SUN was highly critical of the bourgeois ideology and the people who adopted it. Soon SUN felt that she was not wanted in that house and she did not want to live with such people. So one day she walked out and moved in temporarily with ZT's family. (ZT's husband and SUN's father are brothers.) When ZT asked me if I would share my place in Greenville with her niece, I responded positively. So SUN moved in with me, and we started living together. When I left, she continued to live there by herself.

graduation from high school, feels impotent to make the changes she believes in. This frustrates her.

The following is what SUN said about what rural migrants experience in the city:

SUN: In the village, there is a structure built into people's lives that enables them to live close to nature. When they leave this unity with nature behind and move to the city where thousands of buildings and heavy traffic exist, they have adaptation problems. There is no support by the State and no guarantee that they will make it in the city.

She goes on talking about "improvements":

SUN: In the city, migrants replace their brooms with vacuum cleaners, they start washing with a washing machine instead of by hand. These bring some comfort to their lives. Yet, it gives the false image that the society is developing and they are part of that development. On the other hand, their peace of mind is gone; they have to worry about how to make ends meet everyday.

She talks about limited opportunities open to migrants:

SUN: Their educational opportunities are limited, since they are poor. They usually place their sons as apprentices, let's say, in a car repair shop. And it is most probable that the boy will work there for years facing poor treatment, cruelty, and suffering. I noticed young people collecting paper in the garbage. To what degree do you think these people who spend their days around garbage can be healthy? They work all day and are paid very little in return. I am telling you this to show you the gap between what people expect from the city before they migrate and what they actually get after they start living there.... The places where they can get a job are limited, and this stems from the distorted system of the society. They will either be a janitor, or a kapici, or a maid.

SUN criticizes the conservative attitudes of migrants:

SUN: There is a lot of difference between the way girls are dressed in the village and in the city. In the village, they have long hair and wear shalvars. Here, they wear mini-skirts, polish their nails, color their eyelids, dye their hair. To me there is nothing wrong with this. Yet, our community disapproves it. They say, "Look at X's daughter. She was a nice girl when she lived in the

village, and she became a bimbo in the city." When a girl starts dressing unconservatively, her turning into a slut, excuse my language, is at once spoken. These changes girls make in themselves are normal. Yet, it becomes dangerous in the hands of people who try to hold on to the past, on to the beliefs they had in the village when they are in a new environment that is not supportive of these beliefs.

SUN also criticizes society and its distorted housing, educational, health and transportation policies. On housing, she said the following:

SUN: There is a big gap between the established parts of the city and those occupied by migrants. For example, here where I live (Greenville) a clear boundary separates the duplex houses and high-rise buildings of the bourgeoise from the small houses which reflect the characteristics of the village.

On education:

SUN: The number of migrants who receive higher education is very small. Nowadays, private preparation courses are very popular, and many students enroll in these courses, paying large amounts of money in order to be successful at the university entrance tests. If the educational system were different, there would be no place for private schools. Public schools would be adequate in their quality and quantity, and we would have a healthy education.

On health issues:

SUN: In the village, a woman in labor has to travel over hills in order to arrive at the nearest health facility. So when that woman moves to the city and notices a health clinic nearby, she is happy. Yet, when she goes there, she gets frustrated--nobody pays attention to her; the nurse treats her like dirt, saying, "What the hell is that filty woman from the village doing here?" On the other hand, she pays a lot of attention to another woman, calling her "madam" and taking her immediately to the doctor's office. Meanwhile, our woman waits in line for hours until the doctor decides to see her.

On transportation:

SUN: Wealthy people travel in their private cars, while the rest of us travel on a bus like sardines in a can, sweat and bad odor all over the place. Who would bear this? Yet, we have to. The bus driver says, "Don't get on the bus if it is too crowded for you." Yet, we have to, no way, because our jobs are at stake, we shouldn't be late.

SUN's strong belief in the leftist ideology comes to play in her approach to other people, including her gecekondu neighbors. When she started making dresses for her neighbors to make some money to supplement her limited salary, she charged moderate amounts of money for her service, saying that her clients were gecekondu women with limited incomes.

On the other hand, SON is concerned about women and the difficulties they face. She feels resentful and bitter about women's oppression. She feels sorry for her mother who "had to work even when she carried me in her womb. She still works in her old age. This is women's suffering." The following is how she responded to the question on modern persons:

SON: They come from the village and, let me tell you, I don't like the way they live in the city. They lose the identity they had in the village, and when they try to adapt to the city, they make up a community without manners. There cannot be modern people living in it. It doesn't matter how much you are modern as an individual. What can you do as a single person? Nothing. Our society is undeveloped. You cannot become modern in this society. At first, the society should change.

SON is well aware of the limits placed on women:

SON: In the village, a bride cannot eat in the presence of her in-laws. This is too much. Yet, the husband behaves as he wishes. Men can do anything they want, but women cannot. Perhaps men think of themselves as modern in their own way, but, to me, they are not. Women do not have any rights. This kind of modernity, in my opinion, is nill. For example, as a woman, I cannot go anywhere by myself. To me, going out by myself is normal--everybody goes out, walks around, explores the environment, yes, but I cannot do this as a woman. I mean, the structure of the society should change in order to have modern people. Maybe I can call myself modern, but I cannot put into action my modernity, it stays only in my mind. But, the important thing is to live up to your beliefs. I want to change society, but it is impossible. Men always have their way. A woman cannot talk back to her husband. When she says a word, then her husband talks the worst of her family, of her past. She cannot behave as she likes to. Then, I cannot call modern this kind of society.

> Women do not absolutely have any rights. For example, if a young girl walks side by side with a young man, to me, this is normal, yet the girl's family gets furious. Regardless of how much you say you are modern, you cannot--your family prevents you, you cannot act upon what you believe in. I don't like our society, it is backward.

SUN looks urban and modern, yet in a modest way when compared to the group of young women who consider themselves urban "Look at SUN. She was raised and educated in the city. Still she looks modest." I have never seen her in shalvars or pyjamas under her dress. SON also looks modest and urban in her outward appearance. She does not wear stretch or fashionable pants. I often saw her wearing nice dresses or T-shirts, some with English words on them.

SUN and SON have different kinds of relations with the gecekondu community. SUN does not keep herself away from her gecekondu neighbors and frequently socializes with them. Yet, she does not try to fit in. She does not hesitate to present her opinions, and it does not matter if they conflict with the majority's. She finds many of her neighbors ignorant and tries to motivate them to improve themselves. She feels free to criticize them, especially when they "gossip." The fact that she is a high school graduate and a civil servant increase her credibility.

Although she does not feel obliged to live with the rules of the gecekondu community, she once told me that, as a young single woman living by herself, she felt the need to be careful with her actions in order not to offend the gecekondu community or provoke hostility towards herself. SUN is comfortable in the presence of men and addresses them as brothers or fathers. She greets men when she sees them; she goes into houses where men are present. Once, after I moved out, she was

bold enough to invite to her place a young single man she was dating and thought she might marry.[22]

SUN is socially active in the neighborhood. She helps out her neighbors when she has the opportunity. Once she helped a woman carry coal to the storage space when she saw her putting away the coal all by herself. She helps students with their school work. She brings new activities to the lives of her neighbors. One Sunday morning, she took a group of young girls jogging; another Sunday, she took them to a play in a state theater (that means cheaper tickets); and another time to a concert in a stadium organized by the city.

SUN is also politically active in the neighborhood. SUN's presence in Greenville has been a consciousness-raising process for the neighbors. When I lived in Greenville, there was a shortage of bus services during rush hours. To solve this problem, SUN collected signatures from Greenville residents, asking for the empty buses waiting at the bus stop of the upper-class district next to Greenville to be given to Greenville during rush hours.[23]

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[22]That man decided not to marry SUN, thinking that she was too much for him--she was more educated, more socially conscious, more active, and more idealistic.

[23]SUN made door-to-door calls, and I encouraged people to sign the petition. Also, while she was at the bus stop, she would start talking, explaining the problem and the proposed solution regarding Greenville's public transportation, and asking them to sign the sheet. Soon SUN became a known figure in buses: Some young boys offered her their seats; many people smiled at her when they met her at the bus stop. At the end, a total of 250 signatures were collected and sent to the city officials. By the time I left Greenville, there had not been any response to the petition and my feeling at this point is that there never will be.

On the other hand, SON isolates herself from her gecekondu neighbors, usually spending time by herself inside the house, listening to music, reading or doing housework. She avoids fighting with her neighbors. She goes out of the neighborhood on her husband's arm to visit relatives when her husband is off duty. This usually becomes something to gossip about for my neighbors who say SON wanders around too much and puts on air. SON does not get much help from her neighbors, since she keeps a reserved attitude towards them. Several times I saw her carrying a big garbage can to the garbage disposal place when she was pregnant and was suffering from kidney problems. Still, when they heard that she was sick, neighbors took her food.

SUN holds a positive view of gecekondus:

SUN: To me those who live in gecekondus are more comfortable. They have the chance to live in peace and quiet. They plant flowers or keep animals if they want to. On the other hand, when those who live in apartments want to do the same thing, but their neighbors complain, sometimes directly to the police.

She criticizes apartments as homes of individualistic people:

SUN: Apartments create the kind of people who do not speak for themselves, whose presence is not noticed. On the other hand, those who live in gecekondus continue their joyful lives in the city, they are in a state of being together. While doing so, they enrich their lives--they gather together, remembering their past days in the village.

On the other hand, the other young woman, SON, prefers to live in an apartment, and she emphasizes the social aspect of apartments, namely, the kind of people living in apartments and talks positively about apartment residents as cultured and educated:

SON: Apartments are really better. I prefer to raise my children in an apartment

> area. Cultured people, wealthy people live there. Isn't it true that, in order to afford living in an apartment, one must be at least an engineer, an architect or a doctor? This means educated people live in apartments. On the other hand, in the gecekondu area, while children are growing up, there is everything bad around--cursing, fighting, everything.

When I visited Greenville in 1990, my neighbors told me that SON had moved out of Greenville to an apartment.

SUN seems to feel close to the village not so much for emotional or physical connections, but for ideological reasons--she seems to like the village not for what it is, but for what it represents for her:

> SUN: There is sharing in the village that you cannot find in the city. In the village, people are so close to nature that nature and humans become one, they are enclosed within each other. There is no alienation. In the village, relations are warm. First of all, there is honesty and respect. In the city, nobody knows others, nobody asks how you are doing. This is because of the economic system--people have to work hard all day long to make a living and, they get too tired or short of time to see each other. On the other hand, in the village, they work together in the fields, they help each other out.

SUN visited the village for the first time in her late teenage years when she wanted to know about the village life and about people who knew her family. She was welcomed in the village. Yet, she also had a few bad experiences: A woman accused her of coming to the village to find a husband; SUN could not get along with her cousins whose jokes she found too physical and with whom she did not find anything to share; she was also disturbed by fleas.

On the other hand, SON does not like the village. She says villagers make fun of her if she walks or talks properly. She adds, "So you try to become one of them and end up being vulgar and rude."

SUN considers herself someone with a rural origin:

SUN: My parents grew up in the village. Although I did not live in the village, I lived a similar life in the city--my family brought rural culture with them to the city, and I was raised in that culture.

Also, the other woman, SON, does not consider herself urban. Yet, different from SUN, she does not consider herself rural either:

SON: I am not familiar with rural tasks. So I cannot say I am rural. Yet, I cannot say I am urban either. I grew up in the city. But, however hard I try, I cannot become an urbanite, not in the fullest sense. I didn't grow up in the village, yet I still carry the character of the village. I have learned its tradition from my parents. My environment is the village, those people who moved from the village, those who grew up in the village. You are influenced by them. On the other hand, you read a little, form other relations, learn from your friends in the city.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FEMALE APARTMENT RESIDENTS

Integration-Without-Rejection; Apartment-Proud[1]

Among female apartment residents, there is a group of women who would like to integrate into established urban society without breaking their ties with their rural origins. Many moved between 1984 and 1989 from the gecekondus they owned to the apartments they bought. There are a few who have never lived in a gecekondu. Their economic situations are better than the majority of those living in gecekondus. In general, they look more modern (less rural) than those living in gecekondus, with the exception of the young, modern-looking women in the gecekondu settlement.

Those who bought and moved to apartments from gecekondus regard this move as progress in their lives. In this way, "We have moved closer to the city." They are proud of their apartments. Apartment residence seems to have given them hope to improve their social status and to be a part of established urban society. They now live in apartments where they can invite people who might refuse to visit them in gecekondus. At the present time, many socialize mainly with migrants, be this neighbors or relatives. On the other hand, I noticed some of these women using every chance to form relations with more established city people. For example, ZT, my keyperson, makes efforts to expand her social circle beyond her relatives. Her grocery-store helps her. She became friends with several women through her store. She is also interested in making friends out of her neighborhood. She invited my

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[1]There are 27 women in this group.

mother to her apartment.

The willingness of migrants to make friends with urbanites may disappear if they get frustrated with their attempts. This is the case of KI who has previous experiences in an upper-class district where her family rented an apartment before they bought their present apartment in Blueville.[2] KI has a negative conception of her previous neighbors living in that luxurious district:

KI: They were formal. They would keep themselves distant; they would not mix with you. They would look down on you; they would despise you. Yet, they themselves were not cultured. They didn't read papers or books. The only thing they did was to dress up and go out. To me, they are nothing.

So, she prefers to live in Blueville "among people like myself; those of same origin, at my level."[3]

In this group, there are middle-aged women (in mid 40's to early 50's) who have been living in the city for many years and young women (in 20's to mid 30's) who moved to the city when they got married or those who grew up in the city.

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[2]When KI's family moved to the city, they first rented a gecekondu and stayed there for four years before they rented the apartment in the upper-class district. KI's husband has become wealthy--he runs a supermarket in an upper-class district.

[3]I met KI when ZT took me to her apartment. She was wearing a cotton dress and had a yemeni covering her head when she opened the door for us. She was changed very much when she changed her dress, this time wearing a blue silk blouse and a black skirt, her hair uncovered. She looked shy and reserved while answering my questions. She became more comfortable with me after the first visit. When I visited her on the occasion of a neighborly gathering in her place, she was not that shy woman any more. She took me to her kitchen which was completely renovated after they moved in--new wooden cabinets were put in along a whole wall. She showed me her bedroom, posing while sitting on her bed with a yemeni tied around her face, saying, "Now take a rural picture of me."

Middle-Aged, Long-Term, First-Generation Migrant Women[4]

Women in this group migrated to the city between 1964 and 1978, most in 1971. Except for two women who have never lived in a gecekondu, these women bought apartments starting in the mid-1980's and moved there from the gecekondus they owned. They have moderate incomes, and most of their husbands work as state employees or are retired from these jobs. There are several husbands who run their own business (supermarket owners, a small restaurant owner, a travel agency owner): They are better-off than the state employees. Some of these women have never had paid jobs. Yet, some others worked as cleaning women but do not work any more. Two women still work--one runs a grocery store, and the other works as a cleaning woman in a state department.

These "apartment-proud" women definitely prefer apartments to gecekondus. For their reasons, they point to the superiority of apartments and apartment areas to gecekondus and gecekondu settlements in physical terms:

SH: Life in an apartment is comfortable. I prefer apartments because it is clean and healthy to live there. In gecekondus, naturally there is dampness.

ZT: In Greenville, the roads are muddy. Here, although they are still under construction, they will get better once they are finished....In my apartment the rooms are larger and well-built.

TU: We moved down (from the gecekondu area up the hill to the apartment area) in order to live closer to the facilities, especially to schools.

KI: I prefer apartment areas because of the poor infrastructure and roads in gecekondu areas.

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[4]There are 15 women in this sub-group.

They do not talk about the problems of apartments in general, and when a few do, it is usually about the lack of nature, disturbance by noise, or restriction in action. They end up saying that they are happy to live in apartments because of their many other positive aspects.

On the other hand, these women are not opposed to gecekondu settlements and their residents, although, as we have seen in the above quotations, now and then they mention some negative aspects of gecekondus, mostly about the physical dimension. They retain their relationship with the gecekondu community. Different from the gecekondu residents who prefer gecekondus, these women talk in favor of, or at least not against, the kind of neighborly relations in apartment environments, that is, formal relations among neighbors:

MI: Relations among neighbors in this building is formal, and this is good. Formality is better--visiting each other with arrangements made in advance, accepting a neighbor's invitation if it suits you.

Preference for this formal kind of neighborly relations increases as the time spent in apartments increases. RZ is a good example. When I first interviewed her less than a year after she moved to her apartment, she was bored and missed her gecekondu neighbors:

RZ: I miss my neighbors there. It was less difficult for me to forget my people back in the village than to forget my neighbors. We spent everyday, every hour together. When I got bored, I would go out, close the door behind, sit down and have a conversation with neighbors gathering around. Here, I don't know many people. Still, yesterday several of us in this building came together and sat outside.

When I visited her a year later, she had formed relations with her neighbors. This time she said instead:

RZ: In gecekondu areas, humanness is easily lost. Since you spend a lot of time together with your neighbors, you can easily be pulled into their troubles. As soon as the sun rises, you start facing your neighbors, and if you don't get along well with them, then, your life is like hell. You have to share what you cook with your neighbors. Some people pretend not to see you while they cook outside. I could not do it. When I set my saç (iron plate) in the backyard and started frying gözleme (Turkish pancakes), I could do nothing but give some to my neighbors around. This is what I learned from my family, this is how I was raised. But everytime you cook something, you give some to other people, and soon it becomes too much.

These middle-aged long-term migrant women who want to integrate into established urban society without breaking their ties with their rural origins consider themselves rural (or at the most in-between rural and urban, as in the case of the "stronger urban society orientation" group, or neither rural nor urban, as in the case of the "ambivalent rural/urban orientation" group, which are discussed further below in this section):

RZ: We are originally villagers. I would never turn my back on to my past life. I would never forget it, never deny it. I am not selfish or conceited because of the fact that I live in the city. I don't belittle people whose situations are not good. I thank God for deeming me worthy of my good life here.

FA: I think of myself as a villager, never as urban.
(me): But you have been living in the city for many years.
FA: That is true. But my origin, my ancestry is the village. I was born and raised there. I don't think of myself as different after I moved to an apartment. I am still the same villager.

On the other hand, the woman who is frustrated with her previous life in an upper-class district (KI) says she does not think of herself in rural/urban terms. Instead, she thinks of herself as a human:

KI: I don't think in those terms. I don't group people as rural and urban. I try to improve myself. I read newspapers. When I find a book, I read it. To become urban does not mean to change one's way of dressing and start wearing make-up. What you have inside your head is important as well as

your effort to adapt to the society you live in....Those who are established in the city also once moved from the village. At those times Ankara was smaller than each of its districts.

Some of these women have emotional attachments to the village and like to visit it; some do not mind visiting the village, but get bored there and miss their homes in the city if they stay for a long time; and some others do not like to stay in the village at all. Some want to visit the village, but cannot find the time.

In general, they have a positive view of modern people. Some regard them as superior to themselves in their manners, ways of speaking, education, and living conditions. They do not consider themselves modern:

HJ: I don't think of myself as very modern. In order for me to be modern, I should have a very good financial situation, I should be able to follow fashion, I should go to a hair dresser at least once a week. I am an average citizen.

ZT: No, I don't think of myself as modern, not at all. I am an ordinary person.

On the other hand, they point to the changes they have made in themselves:

RZ: I am not much of a modern person, yet I don't think I am much of a vulgar person either (laugh). I see myself in-between because I moved to the city late.

HJ: ...On the other hand, I don't think I have remained the same as I was when I lived in the village, when I first moved to the city. I am aware of many more things now. Despite my advancing age, I still have the desire to read and learn. I want to renew myself, to improve myself.

Some others do not define modern persons as a separate group superior to them. Instead, they point to such qualities as respect, honesty, moderation, and modesty as requisites for someone to be modern. These women moved to the city when they were young and have been living in apartments for many years. (Those who have never lived in a gecekondu are in this group.) The woman who was

frustrated with her neighbors when she lived in an upper-class district (KI) is in this group.

These middle-aged, long-term, first-generation migrant women in the "apartment-proud" group are interested in the city and in what is going on around them. They know a great deal about the city in general as well as about the district where they live. ZT is a good example. She is city-smart. She knows her area well and often uses short-cuts, since she prefers to walk instead of taking a bus in order to save transportation costs.[5] She is active in her area. Once we stopped by a fancy carpet store in the upper-class district next to Blueville, asking about the prices. Another time we went into several buildings under construction, pretending that we were potential buyers, looking around and asking about payment arrangements. Yet, another time we walked into a store where a sewing class would soon be held to find out more about it. ZT uses the information which she gets by exploring her environment to do something with her life. She came up with the idea of establishing a small business in carpets when she found out about the high prices of carpets sold in that upper-class carpet store.[6] ZT's other project was a small-scale daycare center

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[5]Once we went to an open market using shortcuts (dirt paths) that went through a gecekondu area, climbing up and down hills. Another time, we walked for hours to visit a relative. When we were passing by a park in an upper-class district not far from her place, she said how nice it would be to go in there and just sit on one of the benches for a while; she had never found time to do so.

[6]In ZT's village, women made carpets, and ZT as well as many of her relatives in the city knew how to weave them. ZT thought of starting her business in one of the rooms in her apartment, later renting a separate place where there would be several looms. She would hire some of her female relatives.

for the working women in her area. She liked children, noticed the increasing demand for affordable daycare services by lower-middle income families, and thought of it as a good idea to rent the ground floor of her building as a daycare facility. ZT helps people around her. She finds them jobs.[7] She not only acts as an employment agent but also as a welfare agent. She would ask the better-off people whom she knew to give away clothes or food which she would take to the poor people in her area. Through her, I gave away some clothes.

ZT is a proud woman and never wants to feel an obligation to anybody. She is particularly sensitive when she is with people of higher social rank.[8] Her dignity is noticeable when she is with her relatives. Her family was highly respected in the village. She has a wide circle of relatives in the city with whom she frequently socializes. Once I heard her son teasing her, saying that she and her relatives lived as a big clan in the city.

In this group of middle-aged first-generation migrant women, some are oriented more to the rural community, some more to established urban society, and some have ambivalent rural/urban community orientations.

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[7]She was the one who found YE her present jobs as a babysitter and a part-time kapici. She was again the one who placed CER into a job as a cleaning woman.

[8]When ZT and I visited my professor's family whose son ZT had brought up, she brought a notebook and a pencil from her grocery store for the boy and a pair of gloves for the daughter made by her mother living in the village. ZT wanted to pay me for the photos which I had been giving her for free and insisted that she would pay at least for some of them. She gave me a pair of handmade stockings as a gift. She sent me a nice letter to New York which I appreciated very much. It provided me the emotional support I needed at that time.

Stronger Rural Community Orientation

Women in this category look less modern than the other middle-aged first-generation migrant women in the "apartment proud" group. They usually wear long-sleeved long dresses with thick stockings. They use scarves when they go out. Some wear yemeni (cheesecloth headcovering) when they are at home. They do not use make-up. They talk with an accent. They like the village and talk about it with love and longing. Yet, they do not want to live there on a permanent basis. They enjoy working in the garden. Among these women, there are some who moved to the city in their late 30's. They explain the difficulty of making changes in themselves by this fact. One of these women in RZ. She moved to the city when she was 35. She covers her hair--she says it is a habit she would like very much to have given it up ("I went to Cyprus twice to visit my son. But I couldn't uncover my hair"). Another habit she wishes that she had abandoned is the way she addresses her husband. Instead of calling him by his first name, she addresses him "herif" (for its meaning, the dictionary writes: "fellow, always derogatory"). She likes to work on the land and to be close to nature if that is not a daily obligation. She talks with joy about the time she had in her gecekondu's garden before she moved to her apartment, planting vegetables and flowers. Once I saw her working in the front yard--she had planted onions and other vegetables. She said she enjoyed the activity very much.

On the other hand, RZ is open to the world outside her. She praises education. (Yet, her children are not college educated. She explains this fact by her family's late move to the city and her children's attending school in a gecekondu

settlement.) When I first told her about my research, she asked me if I would write a story like the one Gulten Dayioglu had just published about women and their lives. I was amazed that she knew about that female author whom I enjoyed reading. RZ liked to participate in the research. She talked at length about the issues in which I was interested and enjoyed it when I took her photographs. When I told her that I would not use her name to assure confidentiality, she said she would not mind it if I did. On the contrary, she would like some publicity.

Stronger Urban Society Orientation

These women look modern and pay attention to their outward appearances. They are relatively better-off and their family atmosphere seems less conservative than many others in this study. Some moved to the city young (17 to 19 years old) when they got married and have been living in the city since then. Among them, there is one who has never lived in a gecekondu. And others moved to the city with their families when their children were small.

These women continue their relationship with the village and visit it, usually to spend time with their parents. Yet, they do not seem to have strong emotional attachments to the village. They say they miss their homes in the city if they stay in the village for a long time. Among them, there are some who do not like the village. These women also like to go to the seaside on their vacation. They socialize mainly with migrants. They also have some more established, better-off people as their friends. They do not hold themselves back from those living in gecekondus and visit

their relatives in gecekondu settlements. This group of women who are more oriented to urban society than the rest, in addition to their emphasis on the physical dimension in their preferences for apartments, mention the social aspect, that is, the kind of residents and neighborly relations. On the other hand, they tend to use a milder tone when compared to the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group:

HJ: Apartment areas are better for raising children. Naturally better people live there. Of course those living in gecekondus are also good people, they are cultured in their own way. One cannot be ignorant just by living in a gecekondu.

These women also mention the opportunity to meet and mix with new people (including urbanites) in apartment areas from whom they can learn and improve themselves:

HJ: I am glad that I moved to this area. In the gecekondu area where I lived, there were many who had come from the village. When you live in the city, you want to learn from other people, you want to improve yourself. But I couldn't do this with them.

Thus, not only the cleanliness and better construction quality of apartments and the facilities in apartment areas, but also the kind of people who live in apartments and the opportunities apartment environments provide for migrants to integrate into the wider urban society make these women prefer apartments.

For their rural/urban identities, these women, different from the majority, either say they adapt both to the city and the village (they become rural when they are in the village and urban when they are in the city), or they are in-between rural and urban. They seem to emphasize their adaptations to the city without turning their backs on to the village. They do not say they are urban--this would mean breaking

up their ties with the rural community (both in the village and in the city). Yet, they do not see themselves exclusively as part of the rural community:

BZ: I moved from the village. I think of myself as rural. But this does not mean that I don't adapt to the city. For example, when there are very modern people in my environment here, I adapt to them, and I become modern. On the other hand, I cover my hair like villagers and wear shalvars when I go to the village. I try to adapt to them without feeling any inferiority complex.

HJ: I don't think of myself as a full urbanite. I have a rural origin. When I am in the village or with villagers in the city, I can speak rural dialect. And when I am with my friends and neighbors in the city, I try to speak properly as much as I have learned in the city, as much as I have educated myself, trying to change my dialect, to make proper sentences.

TU: We are in-between. We have changed in the city--the way we dress, the way we behave.

These women who are oriented more to urban society may be modest in their approach to the migrant community. This is the case of HJ who moved to her apartment from her gecekondu a couple of years ago. On the other hand, they may be rather arrogant towards the migrant community. This is the case of BZ who has been living in apartments all her life in the city. These two women were at my neighborly gathering in Greenville. HJ was modest: She sat without hesitation on the floor when she could not find an empty seat. On the other hand, BZ sat on the divan (a long backless seat) placed against the wall, with pillows to lean on. (It was the best seat I had in my place, since I did not have any arm-chairs or a couch.) She asked for a fork when I served pastries while others started eating with their fingers.

HJ, the modest one, like BZ, dresses well. She is refined in her manners. She was articulate in her answers when I interviewed her and careful to pick the right word or to form a proper sentence. She liked to have her photos taken and took the

trouble of changing her clothes several times when she posed for me.

HJ is interested in world events as well as in those that happen in her immediate environment. She exercises every morning. (This is a recent and modern concept in urban Turkey; her doctor recommended this.) She is proud of her children who are college-educated. Yet, she wishes they were taller, especially the boys (this admiration for tall people is a reflection of Western values).[9] She mentioned several times that she was familiar with "family planning." (This is a rather recent and modern concept in Turkey.)

HJ had a strong desire to live in the city since she was in elementary school. She wanted "to speak better, to speak in a civilized way"; she wanted "to educate myself the way I heard on the radio, read in books"; she wanted "my children to get an education in the city, even myself."

HJ's cousin, talks about HJ as "modern," even when she lived in the village. She would make dresses "like the one I am wearing now with gathered pockets"; when she wanted young women to help her with housework or with pulling out weeds, she would call to them, "Come here, if you help me, I will tell you stories like those told in the city. I will sing you city songs." As HJ herself says, the songs which she called city songs were those she heard on the radio.

When HJ married a man from her village who was living in Ankara and moved to the city, she was happy that she could reach her goals. In the free time she

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[9]When I asked her what I could bring from New York, she asked for some medicine or vitamins that would increase her children's heights.

had from her children, she tried to take advantage of the educational facilities in the city. She graduated from junior high by taking exams without attending the school. She took typing courses. She received a certificate from an art school after attending flower arrangement classes. She wanted to get a job. She had been contributing to the family budget through her needlework. And, she wanted to do more "in order to provide a better life for my children, in order to buy furniture." Yet, she couldn't because of her husband.[10]

HJ knows a lot about the city and travels around. She shops in lower and middle-income districts, depending on which one is more satisfying in terms of the merchandise available and their prices; she visits her friends and relatives in various parts of the city; she joins wedding ceremonies in gecekondu areas as well as those in wedding halls. She even once went to a cocktail lounge in the modern section of the city for the reception given by the political party of which she and her husband were members.

HJ goes to the village once in a while on her vacation or on special occasions. She says when she is there, she cannot live the old days again: Everything in the village as well as herself has changed since she left the village. Yet, she enjoys spending time with her mother and old friends there.

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[10]HJ applied for a job at the Ministry of Education. Her teacher from the art school helped her, and she almost got the job. But her husband changed his mind and told her that it would be better for her to stay at home with the children, since they were too young to stay all day without a mother with them. HJ agreed with her husband and went back to her needlework at home. After this, she did not attempt to work outside the home again.

HJ seems happy with her life and herself. She is happy to live in Blueville where, she says, "live decent people who have moved from the heart of the country."

The other highly modern, better-off woman, BZ, is arrogant when compared to HJ. ZT introduced BZ as one of her wealthiest relatives. Her apartment was well furnished with furniture sets, chandeliers and carpets. They even had an American bar with whisky and other liquor bottles in it. BZ and her husband posed for me in front of it. BZ's husband offered us a foreign brand of cigarettes. BZ mentioned that they owned a car. It was a red Ford. After this introduction into BZ's life, it was hard for me to believe that her family did not own but rented their apartment.

BZ's husband runs a travel agency and seems to be making good money.[11] BZ has never gotten a paid job. Her family has never lived in a gecekondu. This family is one of the most modern families in this research. BZ dyes her hair, now and then changing its color. She smokes--it is usual to see her with a cigarette in her hand. She is conscious about her weight--she went on a strict diet last year and lost 15 kilos. She is one of the few women who do not do needlework or knitting. Her daughter even applied to the music academy to become a ballerina (but, she started a regular junior high when she missed the exams of the academy).

BZ interacts with other migrants and visits her relatives in gecekondu

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[11]He once worked in Germany before he got married. In fact, BZ's family thought of it as a good idea to "give BZ," one of the most beautiful girls from one of the wealthiest families in the village, to this man when he showed up in his Mercedes on his visit to the village. BZ did not want the man at the beginning because of the age difference, yet, after some troubled years, she came to terms with it and accepted the fact that she would spend the rest of her life with him.

settlements. Yet, she is rather arrogant when she is with them. When she was at the wedding celebration held in a gecekondu neighborhood, she sat outside on a chair in her fashionable dress and watched people dancing on a vacant lot. She did not join them, although she had told me that she enjoyed dancing.

My impression of BZ as a rather arrogant woman strengthened when I joined BZ and HJ in the latter's apartment. They would have a birthday party for HJ's daughter that evening. BZ suggested that she would make a cake and forced HJ to buy whipped cream and a special kind of biscuit, two rather expensive ingredients of Western origin that are not available in every store. HJ was quite sure that they would not sell them in her neighborhood, and she was right. Then BZ told them how much the cake would cost, surprising everybody with its high cost.

BZ's family, despite their good income when compared to other people in this study, seems unable to make ends meet. During the research, they moved to another rental apartment when they failed to pay the rent. The new apartment was cheaper and heated by stove. Yet, BZ found a way to boast about it, saying that it had a big and fancy bathtub (a sign of luxury among rural migrants). BZ is extravagant.[12] She loves to shop, spending a lot of money on clothing. She eats out.[13] She hires a

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[12]When they were moving to their new place, she carried small pieces of furniture in a taxi. (She did not walk, although the two buildings were close.)

[13]After a women's gathering, BZ suggested to her sister-in-law who lives in a gecekondu (ZU) to go to a garden restaurant in an upper-class district and have some gözleme (Turkish pancakes). ZU hesitated, saying she did not want to spend money on something she could make at home. Yet, they ended up going there when BZ told ZU that she would pay for both of them.

cleaning woman twice a month.

BZ is a rather liberated woman. She often travels by herself or with her daughter in the city. (I never saw her husband accompanying her.) She says she knows Ankara well and there is no place in the city where she has not been, and she adds this includes both the places inside the city as well as around it. She likes Cankaya, GOP, and Whiteville the most (all upper-class districts), and after a pause, she adds the name of the district where she lives (it is not upper-class as the other districts). She seems more comfortable using upper-class parts of the city than many other participants. In the first place, she has money (or rather the willingness and freedom to spend money).

BZ goes to the village to visit her mother. She does not bring any food from the village except for apricots for which her region is famous. She says she can buy anything she needs in the city. Last year, she spent her vacation in a coastal town with her family (a practice rather exclusive to better-off urbanites). In the Fall of the same year, she went to the village to supervise her apricot orchards (not her husband's), spending a week there.

Despite her better living conditions, BZ is not happy: "I have everything. I love people, I love life, I love spending money. Yet, I am not happy. How come?"

Ambivalent Rural/Urban Community Orientation

The women in this group, like the women in the "stronger urban society orientation" category, moved to the city young and have been living there for many

years. And, like these women, their families are better-off. Yet, they are not as modern as the previous group. They mainly socialize within the migrant community. Their husbands are conservative, and this reflects to the way they are dressed. They cover their hair. On the other hand, like the "stronger urban society orientation" group, these women emphasize the social dimension in their preferences for apartments, namely, the chance to meet new people in the apartment environment:

MI: Of course I prefer this place (apartment), I mean it. There is a lot of difference between here and a gecekondu. Why? There, you don't see toplum ("society," meaning people, especially those who are influential shaping society), you don't meet new people. You spend all your time with the same people day after day. Here, you can meet new and diverse people, you can learn different things and get new ideas from each of them. Isn't that great?

Different from the rest, they say they are neither rural nor urban:

HS: I can neither say, "I am a villager" nor can I say "I am an urbanite." You cannot break up with the rural community. I mean, I am with rural people more than with anybody else here. I cannot break up with them, so I cannot say, "I have become a real urbanite." The neighborhood where we live is in the middle of the city. So, of course, I have also adapted to the city. I also like the city, but I cannot break up with the village. I see myself as an ordinary rural person because we like our village, our villagers, our relatives.

MI: I have been living in the city for many years. But we cannot break up with our habits, our traditions, and most of all, with our community. I am still in the same rural community. I am neither rural nor urban. I feel out-of-place, I am confused.

One of these women in HS. Her husband is one of the wealthiest among the participants. He runs a supermarket, and HS has never worked outside the home. Her family has never lived in a gecekondu. Today, they live in the apartment they own in Whiteville, the middle-class district of this study. (They bought it in 1972 when almost all of their relatives were living in gecekondus.)

HS's husband is not only one of the wealthiest, but he is also one of the most conservative men in his family. He expects his wife to cover her hair all the time.

HS does not visit the village any more. Villagers come to the city to visit her family.

When I met HS at a relatives' meeting, she spoke a little, keeping a smiling face. She was modestly dressed, wearing a blouse and a skirt and covering her hair with a scarf. Under the scarf, she was wearing her long hair in one big braid. While others present at the gathering mentioned her better economic situation or the success of her children at school, she sat modestly.

In brief, different from the young women in this "integration-without-rejection" group who grew up in the city, these first-generation, middle-aged migrants in the same group may have certain disadvantages regarding their "integration" into urban society. These disadvantages may result from not being able to get rid of the habits they had while growing up in the village, such as, the way they speak (their thick accent and the terminology they use specific to the village) and the way they look (covering hair, rural way of dressing), especially if they move to the city in their advanced age. This is the case of many women in the "stronger rural community orientation" group. They may also result from still having a rather limited financial situation, preventing them from spending money on themselves and/or on the facilities available in the city. This is the case of many migrants, including my keyperson ZT.

These disadvantages may disappear to some extent when the migrant moves to the city young and spends many years there. This is the case of HJ and BZ, two

women in the "stronger urban society orientation" group. They may also disappear when her family becomes well-off in the city, enabling her to take advantages of the city and to make changes in herself. However, becoming frustrated with their efforts to integrate into urban society may make them orient themselves more to the rural communtiy. This is the case of KI, the woman who once lived in an upper-class district. Yet, good financial situation is a requisite but not a determining factor: It only gives the migrant the possibility of living like an "urbanite"; it does not determine that the migrant will use this possibility. This is the case of HS whose husband is well-off and also very conservative.

Young Migrant Women[14]

Most of these women moved to the city with their parents when they were children (some as babies) and grew up in the city. There are also several who moved to the city when they got married. Many are married, living in their nuclear families, and some are single, living with their parents. Most of them live in the apartments they (rather their husbands) or their parents own, and four of them rent them.

They are better-off when compared to the majority of the participants. Some of the husbands run their own businesses, and others are employed in the public or private sector, sometimes at high paying jobs that require high credentials (civil engineer, civil servant). Some of these women work as government employees, an uncommon employment field among first-generation, middle-aged migrant women,

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[14]There are 12 women in this sub-group.

and others are housewives.

In this group of young women living in apartments who want to integrate into urban society without rejecting their connections with the rural community, there are those who have a wider social circle beyond their migrant relatives and neighbors ("urban-society-oriented") and those whose social environment consists exclusively of migrant relatives and neighbors ("migrant-community-centered").

Urban-Society-Oriented

Working as civil servants or secretaries in offices enables these women to make friends outside their immediate migrant circle. They grew up and were educated in the city. So, different from the many middle-aged women who moved to the city in their adult years, these second-generation young migrant women speak without an accent. They care for their outward appearances and look modern. They wear make-up. They are not identifiable to me as rural migrants.

On the other hand, they are integrated into the migrant community and socialize with their relatives and neighbors. They seem content with their social networks. Since they work outside the home, spending most of their time outside their migrant community, they are relatively free from the strict control of this community on a day-to-day basis. On the other hand, they make efforts to fit into both their migrant community and the urban society at large, and to meet their expectations. Their answers to the question on what a modern person is and whether they consider themselves modern reflect these efforts:

SD: Modern person, how can I put it, it (the definition of what a modern person is) changes from person to person; it is different in different ages....I dress in a modern fashion when it is appropriate. It depends on where I am. I dress differently when I am at home, and when I go out, I try to dress to fit in.

These women grew up in gecekondus. They moved to apartments in the last few years when they got married, or, in the case of single women, when their parents bought apartments. This group of modern women, different from the young, modern women in the gecekondu settlement ("gecekondu-by-necessity") display positive feelings about their previous gecekondus and talk about the good times they had when they lived there:

SD: My mother's house is very nice, it has a well in the garden. My mother used to grow flowers there before she got problems with her heart.

HKD: In my mother's gecekondu, we used to have breakfast in the garden, breathing fresh air. That fresh air sharpened our appetite.

They prefer to live in apartments. On the other hand, similar to the middle-aged women in the same group, yet different from the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group, they mention the physical aspect for their preferences:

SD: I prefer to live in an apartment. Apartments are clean; everything is orderly.

They also mention negative aspects of apartments:

SD: In apartments, you cannot act freely while doing housework, especially while cleaning the place--you have to be careful not to disturb your neighbor below. Also, you may be disturbed while your neighbor above cleans her apartment. At nights, you hear a lot of noise.

HKD: I would be very disturbed to live in an apartment if I had to stay at home all day long (she is out at work during the day)--there is a lot of noise. It is not easy to live with 17 other families under one roof. Whether you like it or not, you have to get along well with them, at least you have to say "hello." Otherwise, they will think of you as conceited.

Again different from the "gecekondu-by-necessity; urban-by-determination" group of young, modern-looking women, they consider themselves someone with a rural origin:

SD: I have a rural origin, because I lived my childhood in the village. I came to the city when I was seven.

HKD: I don't think of myself as urban. I was two when my parents moved to Ankara. When I was growing up, we socialized almost only with people from the village. Many of our villagers came to stay with us. During the times when my father came from Germany for a visit, you couldn't find a place to sit. I like crowds. I enjoyed the time when villagers came and stayed in our house.

Living in apartments and working in offices where more established urban people work may have relaxed the tension in the case of these women who may not feel the need to separate themselves psychologically from the rural community, whereas in the case of the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group, living in a gecekondu settlement which has a stigma attached to them and having their social environment restricted to rural migrants may be causing these young, modern-looking gecekondu residents to take a strong stand against gecekondus and their migrant residents.

HKD is one of these modern-looking women who grew up in the city. She was two when her family moved to Ankara. She graduated from high school. She was active, and following her graduation, she attended embroidery classes and meanwhile performed in a folk dance group. She also took typing courses and attended a university preparation class. Last year, she was employed as a civil servant. She says the way she presented herself in the interview: The way she spoke (her "proper pronunciation") and the way she handled the situation (her "solemn and

deferential manners") helped her a great deal get the job.

HKD married a son (MUT; a civil engineer) of a wealthy migrant family from her village. Her marriage, different from the majority of migrants, was not an arranged one--she dated her husband before they decided to get married.

As a reflection of her orientation both to the migrant and urban societies, HKD had both a traditional wedding celebration in her mother's gecekondu during which men and women danced outside to the music played by a drummer and a piper, and a wedding celebration in a wedding hall. In the traditional celebration, she was dressed in a black velvet dress, had her hair fixed in an elaborate knot and was wearing make-up. She attracted my immediate attention by her modern appearance. She was leading a line of women and men performing folk dances on a vacant lot surrounded by gecekondus with high-rise apartment buildings in the background. The contrast between her and her environment as well as between the gecekondus around and the high-rise buildings in the distance was striking.

At the present time, this couple rents an apartment in Blueville. Their place is well-furnished. It is one of the best of all the apartments I saw in my research in terms of the quality of furnishing. I visited her place when she invited me to a gathering of relatives and neighbors. I took her photos with her brand new furniture around.[15]

These young, working migrant women know the city well and use various

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[15]She posed for me, once in front of the cabinet where china was displayed, then in her kitchen while opening her brand new refrigerator's door, and then in the living room while sitting on the expensive couch with her mother-in-law.

parts of it, including upper-class districts. For example, when I met HKD at her lunch break in the main city center where she worked, she seemed familiar with the restaurants in the area and took me to a big hamburger place. She was confident while getting seats, ordering food and asking for the check. She insisted that she would pay, and she did.

Another young woman in this "integration-without-rejection" group is OZ. She is single and lives with her parents. Different from HKD, OZ is a status quo challenger. She is politically active and, being a leftist, is critical of the prevailing socio-economic system. At the time, she is employed as the executive secretary to an Undersecretary of a ministry. She graduated from high school and is now a student at the "Open Education Program."[16] She looks modern with her short permed hair. She dresses well, usually in line with the latest fashion. She has an inquiring mind and high energy.[17]

OZ joined me on one of my visits to Greenville. She was dressed in blue jeans, her hair was cut in the latest style. She seemed comfortable being in the gecekondu settlement where she once lived. She was talkative and ready to express

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[16]Students who belong to this program are expected to follow lectures on TV and then to take exams.

[17]She told me that once she took several of her girl friends to gecekondu settlements, talking to women about their relations with their husbands, including abortions. Another time, when she was in the team accompanying the Governor to a seaside resort owned by a wealthy man from Southeastern Anatolia, she tried to ask questions of the young women working on the site. She had suspected that these women could be more than just service personnel, and she was right--they were expected to satisfy male customers, and this sometimes included sexual acts.

her opinions.

These young women can have considerable initiative, trying to find ways to make a good thing out of their lives. On our way back to the central city from our visit to the gecekondu settlement, OZ told me about her plans for the future on the bus: She wanted to form a summer housing cooperative with her friends in Antalya (the coastal city where she used to work). She talked about the problems of being a single woman.[18] She was open-minded about gender relations and talked in favor of an intimate relationship between a man and a woman without a marriage contract as long as there was caring and honesty in the relationship.

The women in this group do not have close relations with the village. They do not display negative feelings about it either. For example, OZ has not been to the village for seven years. She says she cannot find the opportunity. She prefers to go to the seaside on her vacation. Now that she wants to spend her vacation in places close to nature away from crowds, she says, she is thinking of going to the village.

These women may take a rather arrogant attitude when they are with other migrants. I met such a woman (SNM)[19] at the gathering of a ZT's relative when the host (KI) invited her toward the end. Most of the women had left by then, and those few left behind, all relatives, had started talking about their villagers in Ankara. KI

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[18]Before the military intervention in 1980, men around her were like brothers to her: Men and women were fighting for the same cause. Today, everything was changed--men were only interested in sex.

[19]Although I did not have the chance to interview her, I decided to include her into the group, thinking of her as an interesting case.

mentioned SNM as a young woman from their village living in her building. So, SNM was invited. She at once attracted my attention when she entered the room. She looked very modern with her short permed hair and the way she was dressed. She was wearing black pants with yellow dot designs. The pants were tight and short, an example of the latest fashion. She was wearing long, silver earings and was holding a cigarette in her hand. She carried an air of arrogance with her. During the conversation, I got some information about her: She was born in the village, migrated to the city when she finished third grade. She worked in a bank. She had not been to her village for many years. This is what she said on this issue:

SNM: I don't have any relatives left in the village, except my uncle. I have a one month vacation, and I don't want to spend it in the village. I spend part of it at the seaside, and I save the rest for the winter to use when my children get sick.

She mentioned that she once tried on colored lenses (blue) to see how she would look with blue eyes.

Migrant-Community-Centered

In this group, there are those who grew up in the city, as well as those who moved to the city when they got married. Different from the previous group, these women are not employed and spend almost all their time in their home environment. Except for a woman in her early 20's, they are all married and have young children. They mainly socialize in their neighborhoods which mostly consist of rural migrants. Those who moved to the city when they got married seem to be happy with this, whereas those who grew up in the city do not.

MK and AG are examples of those who are happy at the present time with their social environment. Both of these women are in their early 30's, are married and have small children. MK looks modest in her appearance, whereas the other, AG, looks very modern.

MK started living in the city in 1978 when she got married to a relative established in the city. She has never gotten a paid job. She spends all of her time taking care of her children together with the children of her sister-in-law who has a job. She often visits her relatives in the neighborhood. She looks modest with her hair cut short, wearing the same blouse and skirt most of the time.

To MK, living in the city means being with her migrant relatives and people from her village. She lives in an extended family, although she occupies a separate apartment with her husband and her children. Her favorite district in Ankara is the area where she has been living since she moved to the city and where many of her relatives live. She is also close to the village: Her parents live there.

Like MK, AG moved to the city when she got married. Different from MK, she is from a small town and is a vocational school graduate, major in sewing. She is now a housewife and spends all her time with her developmentally disabled son, either at home or outside, visiting shopping centers, parks and playgrounds. Unlike MK, AG does not have many relatives living close to her. She socializes only with a few of her neighbors. Her husband owns a furniture store and is better-off. They own the apartment where they live as well as another apartment in the same building which they rent out.

AG looks highly modern. I noticed her for the first time while I was walking with ZT in her neighborhood. Her outward appearance with her make-up and hairdo was different from those of many others around her. She was coming from a visit to a fashionable park in an upper-class district.

Similar to MK, AG's favorite districts in Ankara are the gecekondu district where she used to live before she moved to her present apartment as well as the district where she now lives. She says this is so because she is familiar with the two districts. Yet, she adds, "Another district which I like is Cankaya (an upper-class district). To tell you the truth, I like Cankaya the most," and she laughs.

AG prefers not to visit her town where her stepmother lives.

I visited AG in her apartment. The apartment was lavishly furnished. I took her pictures, sitting on a classic style sofa, and then standing in front of the stove. It was a brand new stove which many people in that district could not afford.

AG seems not to mind her predominantly rural migrant social circle at the present time. She says her apartment neighbors are not very different from the neighbors she had when she lived in a gecekondu area--she had a few close neighbors there, and she has a few close neighbors here. She is new in her residential area and relatively new in the city. She seems more oriented to modern, urban society in her outward appearance and activities than the majority of her neighbors. In the future, she may tend to make friends with more established city people, and this may mean distancing herself from her neighbors of rural origins.

These women who once lived in gecekondus before they moved to apartments

prefer apartments. Yet, like the urban-society-oriented young women, they mention positive and/or negative aspects of both apartments and gecekondus:

AG: The walls of the gecekondu where we used to live were peeling off--they were built from mudbrick. Bugs from the garden were entering the house. The roof was leaking. On the other hand, apartments are clean--you clean the place, and it stays clean for several days. Here, the plaster on the walls does not come off. On the other hand, gecekondus have gardens, you can enjoy outdoors there. On some weekends, we spend a day in our gecekondu, having breakfast in the garden--the air is fresh, and the garden is full of flowers. (Her family keeps part of their gecekondu.)

MK: Living in a gecekondu is not boring if it is a single family house; it provides free-action for its residents. On the other hand, apartments are better in terms of cleanliness.

They do not consider themselves modern:

MK: Modern persons are better-off and educated. The way they dress and speak are better. I don't think of myself as modern.

In brief, socializing exclusively with other rural migrants seems not to disturb those who take for granted the way they live at the present time and do not have a vision of living differently, or those who are relatively new in their environment.

On the other hand, those young migrants in the "migrant-community-centered" group who grew up in the city may be frustrated with their social environment. Different from the case of the "urban-society-oriented" women who are relatively free from the control of their migrant community when they are at work, these young women spend all their time in their neighborhood. They may become highly disturbed by the criticisms of their neighbors and relatives whom they think of as controlling their lives.

Two of these women are NEB and HAT. Both of them grew up in the city,

and both of them are without a paid job. HAT is married, in her early 30's, and is an elementary school graduate, whereas NEB is single, in her early 20's and graduated from junior high. NEB looks more modern than HAT. NEB is similar to the "urban-society-integrators" in her rural identity, modern appearance, distant relations with the village and her growing up in the city. Yet, NEB does not have a paid job. She is looking for a job, but she has not found one yet. At the present time, she spends all her days inside the migrant community, either at home or visiting her neighbors and relatives with her mother. At those gatherings, she usually does not participate in conversations. She does not help out the hostess with serving tea and pastries. This, I suspect, annoys other women who believe in young people's serving older ones.

NEB is bored and wants to extend her social circle, yet she does not know how. She says, "I feel like I am abstracted from the rest of the world." Finding a job may open up the possibility of new relations for her. This may end her frustration with her social environment, and she may become one of those young women in the "urban-society-integrator" group, some of whom are her close relatives.

NEB is careful about her looks. I saw her wearing nice dresses or pants at social gatherings, with light make-up on her face. Even when she was alone at home, she would dress neatly, usually wearing jeans.

Like NEB, HAT grew up in the city. She has never worked outside the home. She spends almost all of her time in the neighborhood on weekdays, and on weekends she visits her parents and in-laws living in a gecekondu area. (HAT sometimes refers

to it by the name of the upper-class district next to it.)

Like SD and HKD, the two modern-looking women in the "urban-society-integrators," HAT grew up living in a gecekondu. Yet, unlike SD and HKD, HAT does not talk positively about her previous gecekondu:

HAT: I don't really visit my previous neighborhood. If I go there, it is to visit my parents.

HAT does not like the neighborhood where she lives at the present time:

HAT: I am not happy with this area because of the kind of neighborliness here. People here are conservative. They look down upon anything that is new. I don't like this. I mean, they are migrants from the village.

There are many migrants from her husband's village in her neighborhood. The social control they try to exercise on HAT disturbs her:

HAT: They interfere with everything in my life. If someone comes to visit me, they open the door and look out to see who that person is. They are jealous type.

HAT, as a woman who grew up in the city, does not regard herself as one of rural migrants. Different from the rest of the young women in the "integration-without-rejection" group, she implies urban identity (yet she does not say it openly):

HAT: Let me tell you, I cannot consider myself rural. I don't know about the village life, since I have never lived there. I grew up here. I cannot live in the village, I cannot harvest crops, I mean, I don't know how to do it. (When ZT pointed to the rural origin of those who migrated from the village), Still our origin is the village, we moved from the village (laughing), we cannot deny it, we cannot say we are not rural (laughing).

Also, her definition of a modern person implies that she can be included, although she refrains from saying it openly:

HAT: A modern person is someone who wears what looks good on her. To follow fashion is impossible for us, we are people of small income. What can a person with a limited budget wear? Anything that looks good on her.

Yet, her present life and social circle do not allow her to regard herself as an urbanite. So she wants to move out and live with "educated" people (that means established urbanites since, as a rule, rural migrants have low educational levels):

HAT: I will not definitely stay here. I will sell this apartment and move somewhere else. The apartment we will be living is in an area where all educated people live.[20]

On the other hand, HAT does not want to live in an area where she has nobody she already knows, and that means having relations with a limited group of migrants:

HAT: I cannot go and start living in an unfamiliar area where there are not any acquaintances. Nobody can.

About her favorite districts in the city, she says:

HAT: I like Dikmen (a middle-class district which was once dominated by gecekondus; her parents lived there for seven years), Cankaya (laughing) and Gazi Osman Pasa (two upper-class districts). I also like Whiteville.

HAT does not like "poor, distant areas at the peripheries of the city" and avoids visiting them.

Different from the women who are content with their migrant social circle, these women who are unhappy to have their social environment limited to rural migrants definitely prefer apartments and talk against gecekondus:

HAT: Sure, I prefer apartments. Gecekondus and apartments are not the same in any way. Apartments are clean, they are warm. Gecekondus are cold, it doesn't matter how much wood and coal you use to heat them. (She focuses on the

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[20]Her family is a member of a cooperative housing through the husband's workplace.

physical aspect.)[21]

NEB: Apartment areas offer many social facilities to their residents. Apartments exist in central parts of the city, so those who live there fulfill their needs easily. Cultured people live in apartments, whereas in my previous gecekondu area, ignorant people from the village lived. (She focuses on the social aspect.)

Integration-Without-Rejection; Apartment-Frustrated

Among female apartment residents, there are a couple of middle-aged women (in their 50's) who are frustrated with their lives in apartments. They are long-term migrants: EK moved to the city in 1969 and MK in 1970. Both of them own their apartments: MY moved to her apartment in 1986 and EK in 1984.

These women prefer gecekondus. They wanted to move to apartments. Yet, today they miss their gecekondu areas:

MY: When I visit my previous neighborhood, every one of my neighbors come to see me. My world turns into a rose garden. Here, nobody has rung my bell to say welcome after I returned from the village. Wouldn't I miss my gecekondu settlement?

Similar to the women in the "gecekondu-rooted" group, they talk positively about sharing and cooperation as well as informal neighborly relations in the gecekondu community:

MY: Gecekondus are much better places in terms of humaneness. There people become close to each other, they talk about their problems. If someone needs something, she can ring a neighbor's bell and get it from her....When I lived

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[21]Her omission of the social aspect may be due to her experience in her present apartment neighborhood: It is mainly inhabited by rural migrants whom HAT criticizes to be conservative and interferring. In other words, she knows from her own experience that an apartment neighborhood is not necessarily an area which is inhabited by urbanites.

there, I was not alone. I spent my time with my neighbors.

EK: In gecekondu areas, you go out and sit in front of your door, join a neighbor sitting outside or go to a neighbor or she comes to you. You never feel lonely.

They are frustrated with their apartment neighbors:

MY: Today, I went to a neighbor to ask for an onion. You go and say, "My neighbor, I need an onion." My darling, here they won't give it. Here, you have to buy it. But what about if you don't have the money? What can you do but have your meal without it. But in gecekondus, it is not like that. Your neighbor asks from you, and you ask from her. There is an old saying: "Neighbors need each other's ashes." And another: "Iron door may need help from a wooden one." Isn't that true? One day you may need something from your neighbor, and it doesn't matter how wealthy you are....Here, I get bored: I stay inside all the time....But here you cannot visit your neighbors anytime. You cannot go to them, and they cannot come to you. Now, I would pay back their visits if they came to say me welcome.

EK: Life in an apartment is boring....Here, if you visit a neighbor, she may return your visit, and if she doesn't, you cannot visit her again. In apartment buildings, relations between neighbors are formal. Here, you cannot just go to a neighbor and spend time with her. But since there is no formality in gecekondu areas, you can go to a neighbor's house any time when you are bored. Here you cannot do this. Last night I got bored very much. My husband and I, the two of us, stayed home all night, not a sound, not a single person around. But if it were a gecekondu area, I could go out and visit a neighbor....In the apartment building, if I shout a little louder, calling somebody, they (her neighbors) shout back, "Why do you cry like a gypsy?"

These two women look rural. They like to spend time in the village. They consider themselves rural:

EK: I did not change myself. I am the same person as I was when I lived in the village. I am rural.

MY: I think of myself as rural because I remember the times when I had to pick up wood in the snow, bare-footed. Can a human forget this? We had to tie pieces of cloth around our feet to prevent them from freezing. No, I cannot forget all this and become an urbanite today. Even if I had a whole world of fortune, I would not.

They define modern people as very different from themselves and do not include themselves into the group:

MY: In my opinion, we can call modern those who are wealthy, who dress in a modern fashion, who follow fashion. I mean, I am not modern. When I go to the village, I enjoy working on the land with a mattock in my hand.

They rarely travel in the city and spend their days at home. They stopped working as cleaning women when their ages advanced and their financial situations improved. They do not know how to read. It seems that these women need close and frequent relations with their neighbors, whereas those who work outside the home and those who go out of the neighborhood often, visiting friends, shopping, and the like, are less dependent on their immediate social environment. The first group of women want informal relations with their neighbors. They want to share their possessions and their problems with them. They want to be available when a neighbor needs them, and they expect the neighbor to do the same thing for them.[22] And they get frustrated when they cannot find the same approach with their apartment neighbors.

The frustration of these women with their lives in apartments does not necessarily mean that they do not want to socialize outside their migrant community. MY was interested in making friends with established urban people. She is also concerned about her appearance in the city although she looks very modest:

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[22]This does not mean that apartment residents do not share things among themselves. As a woman who has been living in apartments all her life, I have experienced many such occasions, such as asking for bread or ingredients from a neighbor. However, this kind of doing mutual favors seems to be disappearing as living conditions become harder and people become more individualistic.

MY: This summer when I was in the village, I covered my hair until I came back. And on my second day in the city, I had my hair cut, put on make-up, and became an apartment lady.

On the other hand, EK was highly oriented to her circle of relatives and preferred to spend her time with them.

Integration-by-Rejection; Urban-Bourgeois-by-Choice, Exclusively Apartments[23]

In this group, there is a long-term migrant family, namely, a middle-aged woman (GULD) and her two grown-up daughters, who have never lived in a gecekondu. (The husband died a couple of years ago.) Instead, all their lives in the city, they have been living in the apartment they own in a middle-class district. This family is the only one in this research who has been trying to belong to urban upper classes by rejecting their rural past and rural origins.[24] I wanted to meet this family when I heard about them from ZT. Yet, ZT was reluctant to take me to their

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[23]Although I did not meet this family in person, I decided to write about it, since the family seemed interesting and relevant to the research. The information given here was provided by the participants who knew the family, especially by my roommate, SUN, who was the younger sister of the wife, and my keyperson, ZT, who was a close relative of the family.

[24]The fact that this kind of migrants are invisible in the city (their attempt to keep themselves away from other migrants and their concern about not being identified as migrants make this group invisible; they live and look no different from urbanites) has made them mostly unavailable for this research which has defined rural migrants as its participants.

apartment, since she believed that they would not welcome me: "They lived in Germany and got conceited." I heard more about this family as the research progressed, particularly from my roommate SUN, GULD's younger sister. SUN showed me some photographs of the family. GULD looked modern in those photos taken some years ago, smiling next to her husband. Her hairdo reflected the fashion of the 1960s, while her husband had a rather long mustache.

GULD and her husband (MEH) went to Germany from their village in 1963 to work as factory workers. They had to return to Turkey in 1967 when MEH had health problems. They bought an apartment in a middle-class district in Ankara with the money they had saved in Germany, as well as a taxi which MEH started to run. Today, they still live in the same apartment. The older daughter (GUZ, meaning "elite") is married to an engineer. She is also a college student, majoring in physics. The younger daughter is in high school.

When they started living in Ankara, GULD's family tried to keep themselves away from their relatives and villagers:

SUN: He (the husband) even tried to keep his parents away. When his elderly father living in the village came to visit him, he made it clear that he did not like to have people wearing shalvars around him. He told his father to stay away when he had guests, saying, "Dad, you don't know how to speak, how to eat properly. Stay somewhere else tonight." He strived for this end until he died. After his death, his children kept the same attitude.

As the reason for this family's distancing themselves from their relatives and other migrants, SUN says:

SUN: They were afraid that, if they socialized with their people, they would be one of them; their friends in their new environment would find out who their relatives were, what their background was. Especially my sister's husband

was concerned that, if he became close to his relatives, they would give him harm, they would want to share his wealth, his home, the advantages he acquired. So he tried to establish a family for himself that consisted only of his wife and his children.

SUN explains why the husband turned out to be like this as follows:

SUN: The reason that my brother-in-law turned out to be so different from others, in my opinion, is that he went to Germany to work and lived there for some years. Before he went there, he was an assistant to a minibus driver. He faced all kinds of hardship. And finally, he went to Germany, seeing it as an escape from all this. He worked there in a factory under difficult conditions. At the same time he tried to improve himself by learning a foreign language. This, I believe, made him see himself as different from his relatives whom he regarded as backward. But, they are just poor people practicing their customs and traditions.

SUN describes this family as "a family who makes efforts to belong to high-society, to live as a nuclear family, to be one of the small bourgeois by isolating themselves from their relatives." She sees them as "individualistic people who do not share anything with anybody. They want everything for themselves. They don't want other people to bother them, and they don't want to bother others."

This family gives significance to etiquette. They look up to people with high social positions in society and try to be friends with them, while they look down upon those with lower positions and try to keep them away:

SUN: My sister's family gives a lot of importance to one's standing in society. They want to spend time with professors and politicians, thinking that they will share their positions by being friends with them. This is impossible in their case, since neither their economic situation nor their culture permits it. Although my sister is not politically conscious, once she invited the mayor to her apartment, since other people in her circle were doing so. On the other hand, she looks down upon workers, upon kapici's. Once she got angry with me when I went out with a kapici relative. She said he was vulgar and crude. I said back, "If he had a car, then he would be a nice person in your eyes."

They try hard to live like upper class urban people:

SUN: Although they have financial problems, they still insist on living in a certain way--spending vacations at seaside resorts, dining out at luxurious hotels. They celebrate special occasions by drinking wine in wine glasses. They present themselves differently to the outer world than they really are. Once my niece made a cake, buying its ingredients with my money. Then, she gave more than half of it to a military officer living upstairs. If I had eaten more than a tiny slice, it would have been a big problem. They want to give the impression that they live in prosperity, that they are generous and open-handed, when, in fact, they are stingy and careful with their money.

They dislike the village and avoid visiting it. Earlier in their lives when they used to go to the village, it was to show off:

SUN: They went to the village only to put on airs, to make villagers jealous, to make them think, "The son of X who now lives in the city has a car, lives in an apartment, is wealthy. We still carry on our poor lives in the village."

They despise gecekondus and regard gecekondu residents as lower-class people. To them, living in a gecekondu is a disgrace. They are very careful to avoid visiting a gecekondu settlement:

ZT: When we first lived in a gecekondu, MEH rarely visited us. On his visits, he did not bring his children with him. He was concerned that they would learn cursing or get germs. As years passed, he stopped visiting us.

SUN: It is very unusual for them to visit a gecekondu area. If one of them happens to go there, the others say, "You must have been in a gecekondu. You carry its nasty smell on you. You smell like a gecekondu resident." They believe that those living in gecekondu areas are thieves, maids, whores.

It seems that the favorable economic situation of this family when compared to many other migrants enabled them to be independent of villagers and migrants in the city. This potentiality, when meshed with the desire to be "assimilated" fully into modern, urban society and to be accepted by the upper urban classes as one of them, resulted in their rejection of their relations with other migrants and villagers. The

negative image of rural migrants seems to be operating in migrants' rejection of their rural connections in their desire to be a "real urbanite."

No-Integration, No-Problem; Migrant-Community-Rooted, Apartment-Proud[25]

In the group living in apartments, there are some who are not interested in socializing outside their migrant community. They are religious and conservative and look rural in their long calico dresses (or shalvars in some cases), heads covered with a yemeni (cheesecloth headcovering). They are mostly older women who are long-term or recent migrants. There are also some young women who moved to the city recently and who live at the present time in the apartments of their in-laws established in the city. The furniture in these apartments (several divan placed around the room instead of living-room sets) adds a touch of rurality to the general atmosphere.

Although these women were not hostile when ZT took me to their apartments, they did not want to participate in the study and refused to have their voices recorded or their photos taken. In one case, only the elderly woman posed for me with her small grandchildren.

As I got to know one of the families better, I found out that they had very

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[25]I do not have information on their gecekondu/apartment preferences, rural/urban identities and their definitions of modern persons, since these women did not want to respond to the research questions.

strict rules about women, especially for the young ones.[26] The daugher-in-law of that family, was not allowed to go by herself, even to the local grocery store which was a few buildings away. Her mother-in-law believed in dressing women conservatively, covering up their bodies and hair. When ZT and I visited this family around 11 am on a week day, women and children were having fried fish while sitting on the floor around a big round tray.

After we left, ZT said to me, "This family is conservative and backward."

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[26]This family's being from the Hatay region of Turkey which was part of Syria until 1939, I believe, plays a role in the conservative attitudes of this family towards women. I met another family from the same region, and they, too, were religious and conservative.

CHAPTER NINE

MALE PARTICIPANTS IN COMPARISON TO FEMALES

Male Gecekondu Residents

Gecekondu-Rooted; Integration; Out-of-the-Question[1]

Similar to the female migrants, there is a group among the male migrants living in gecekondus which can be called "gecekondu-rooted." Different from the female group whose ages range from early 20's to mid 60's, these are all older men in their late 50's to mid 70's. They started spending almost all of their time in the gecekondu settlement either after they retired or when they moved to the city to live with their children's families when they got too old to live by themselves.

Most of these men spend time inside their houses. There are a few, and they are those who are too old to be regarded as active males, who sit outside, sometimes by themselves and sometimes in a group of women, preserving some distance between themselves and the women.

Except for a man who moved to the city over 30 years ago from a small town (ES), these men like the village. Those whose villages are close to Ankara visit them often, and those whose villages are distant spend some months there in the summer. On the other hand, ES does not visit his town any more, because nothing is left there.

Except for ES who moved to Ankara over 30 years ago (he says he is not from a village but from a small town), the men in this group consider themselves rural.

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[1]There are 7 men in this group.

They prefer to live in gecekondus. They want to live in a familiar environment where they are respected and cared. For example, ES, who has been living in the same gecekondu since 1963 says:

ES: When I worked as a cook, I brought home leftovers. When I came to the neighborhood, children would welcome me, cheering up and screaming, "Here is uncle ES bringing us food." I never took the food inside my house. I put it in front of the door for everybody to share. A neighbor still thanks me for this, saying, "When I first moved to the city, I lived in poverty. At that time, I ate your bread, I sustained myself on your food."

ES loves his gecekondu neighborhood. He enjoys the sharing and support in the gecekondu community. He also enjoys his garden where he grows fruit trees. He sells their fruits in the neighborhood. His wife says, "ES sells one kilo and gives two kilos for free. He allows children to pick fruits for themselves." She teases him, saying that, despite his advanced age, he feels free to join his female neighbors in their dancing. I heard comments from ZT about ES's being a naive man who failed to take advantage of the opportunities in his life: After so many years he spent in the city, he was still living in the same gecekondu (whereas ZT, his former tenant had moved to the apartment she owned, renting out the gecekondu she again owned). It seemed to me that ES was not a failure. He simply was not interested in "improving his life." He was happy with his life as it was and with his gecekondu neighborhood, and did not want to live elsewhere.

Another elderly man who also prefers to live in a familiar environment says:

HZ: When my son asked me to move to an apartment, I refused his offer. I don't like apartment buildings. One never knows who is coming in; nobody knows each other. Here, I know my neighbors, and my neighbors know me.

Yet, unlike ES, HZ is new in his neighborhood. He spends all of his time

inside his house. He does not go out of the house, saying that he got tired when he lived in Istanbul where he worked as a state employee and deserves some rest. He expects his neighbors to visit him and complains about it when they do not.

The rest of the men in this "gecekondu-rooted" group prefer gecekondus not for the sake of the gecekondu spirit but to live a peaceful life without being disturbed by others and without being concerned about disturbing others:

HA: I can act as I wish inside my hose, I can make noise. Here, I am in charge of my actions.

Gecekondu-Oriented; Integration: A Consideration?[2]

There is another group of men living in the gecekondu settlement who are similar to the "gecekondu-rooted" women in their strong preferences for gecekondus, but different from these women in their relationship with the gecekondu community. They all have paid jobs and, different from the gecekondu-rooted women, they spend most of their time out of the neighborhood. They prefer gecekondus not for the close and informal social relations in the gecekondu community, as in the case of the women in the "gecekondu-rooted" group, but for various other reasons:

ADG: In apartments, if you make a little noise or walk a bit faster, then those living downstairs are disturbed. If those living upstairs act the same way, this time you are disturbed.

AGH: Life in apartments is not to my taste. While listening to music, I don't want to keep it down.

ALI: Apartment buildings are too crowded. Apartment residents often have trouble

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[2]There are 10 men in this group.

collecting money for common expenses, such as kapici's salary. It is hard to live under one roof with people from different cultural backgrounds.

CL: In gecekondus, you can have a garden where you plant flowers. Gecekondus are comfortable.

VL: Gecekondus are better to me. I grew up in the village, and I don't feel comfortable unless my feet touch the ground. Here, I go hunting, wander about in the hills. I would miss it if I didn't. I am comfortable in this house. I wouldn't exchange it for an apartment in the central city: There is air pollution there.

Except for a middle-aged man who is planning to migrate back to the village because of his family's difficulty making a living in the city, the men in this group own the gecekondus which they live in.

They consider themselves rural, including those who grew up in the city:

ADG: I am a person with a rural origin. I am not an urbanite.

The two young men who are frustrated with their lives, like the frustrated women in the "gecekondu-rooted" group, complain about their limited living conditions as their reasons for not thinking of themselves as urban:

AHD: I am rural. I cannot keep up with urbanites. If I had money I could. Urban people buy new clothes all the time, they follow latest fashion. I wear everything for years (moved to the city "many years ago," very poor--works as a men's room attendance).

MD: I am a rural person. We don't live here like the way urbanites live. The lives of those who live in Whiteville or GOP are very different from ours (second-generation migrant and elementary school graduate; runs his father's taxi, and his family owns a two-story gecekondu).

Some of them prefer to live in the city and others in the village. Those who prefer the city do not have negative feelings for the village. They enjoy to visit the village on their vacations.

In this group, there are second-generation, long-term, and recent migrants as well as young (mid 20's-mid 30's) and middle-aged (late 40's) men.

Apartments: No Problem, Gecekondus: Fine, Too; Integration: A Possibility?[3]

There is a group among the male migrants similar to the "apartments: no problem; gecekondus: fine, too" group among the female migrants. Like the women in the "apartments: no problem; gecekondus: fine, too" group, they prefer apartments and as their reasons, they give better services and infrastructure in apartment areas:

YU: I prefer to live in an apartment. There is running water and electricity there. It is warm inside. It is clean. The roads in apartment areas are asphalt, they are clean.

On the other hand, again like the women in that group, they do not take a strong stand against gecekondus and mention their positive aspects:

CU: Otherwise, gecekondus are better in terms of tranquility, no noise around. Also, you can behave freely in gecekondus, you can spend time outside.

OR: Gecekondus are also good. Life there is calm and quiet. But they should be built well.

Different from the previous group of men, they are tenants, except for one man. Except for the gecekondu owner who is 38 years old, they are young men in their early 20's to early 30's.

These men are careful not to look down on their people (i.e. migrants and villagers). They want to improve themselves in the city and to help their people

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[3]There are 5 men in this group.

improve themselves. They do not want to forget their past. They feel responsible for these people and do not want to develop their future without them. They make it clear that they would not deny their rural origins. They say they are rural, yet they mention that they are changed or have to change in the city:

CU: I always see myself as a rural person, despite the fact that I am changed culturally in the city. Since I am from the village, it is my duty to take this culture back to the village. I am not a person who comes to the city and forgets his people in the village.

MM: My birth place is the village. I spent my youth there. Of course, I cannot forget the village. I cannot consider myself urban, it is simply impossible. Yet, we cannot stay behind our time. We have to educate ourselves. We have to take advantage of the technological progress in the city. So we try.

They criticize the inequalites between the city and the village and the inequalities in the city:

CU: I would like to live a better life, to live in a better house, to take my wife and my daughter out to a tea garden ("çay bahçesi"). But, I don't have the money. Sociallly conscious people won't do it, but there is discrimination against people living in gecekondus. Here, we are third class citizens.

MM: Job opportunities are very limited in the village. The government does not initiate industrial development there. For example, if there had been a factory in our village, I would have stayed there, working in the factory and cultivating my land in my free time.

They also have a critical attitude towards the village:

CU: In our village, there have been some improvements-- electricity, water, roads, TV. Yet, it lacks improvements in people's way of thinking, way of understanding the world. They never say, "Let's come together and do something cooperatively."

They like the village. They also find opportunities in the city:

CU: I would have stayed in the village if I had been better-off there. Life in the city is stressful. Yet, the city is advantageous in terms of job opportunities. If you are cultured, if you are confident, then you can get a job in the public

sector as a civil servant. If not, you can only be a kapici (building maintenance person). Also, there is cultural exchange in the city, there is communication. You can communicate to masses.

They do not visit the village often because of the high costs of the visits. When they do visit, they try to fit in.

Apartment-Oriented; Integration; A Desire[4]

There are several men in the gecekondu settlement who consider themselves urban or say:

FAH: When I am in the city I am like an urbanite, and when I am in the village I am like a villager.

Like the women in the "gecekondu-by-necessity; urban-by-determination" group, these men look modern and give importance to their outward appearances. This is particularly true for FAH and ED, two good-looking, young migrant men both of whom moved to the city in 1983. (Their pictures are all over the walls of their houses.) In contrast to their modern looks, their wives dress conservatively.[5] The jobs of these men require interaction with better-off city dwellers: ED works in a luxurious hotel as a valet and FAH in a fancy Chinese restaurant as a bartender.

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[4]There are 5 men in this group.

[5]Particularly ED is conservative about his wife. Neighbors mention him becoming less so as he spends more time in the city. Despite his conservatism, ED seems to be a modern young man. When I met him on my visit to AJ, he greeted me nicely, shaking my hand. Yet, he did not stay and left right away, going to the local coffee-house. Another time, when I tried to meet him to ask him my research questions, he was again nice, yet reserved.

On the other hand, different from the "gecekondu-by-necessity; urban-by-determination" women, the men in this group are on good terms with their neighbors. To these men, feeling urban yet living in a gecekondu settlement seems not to be so disturbing as to the women. They spend most of their time outside the neighborhood, working for odd and/or long hours and wandering in the city in their free time.

These men are interested in the outside world, and they seem quite enterprising. For example, FAH is planning to open a restaurant and, as neighbors say, ED is planning to buy an apartment in a cooperative. FAH keeps buying products of latest technology, such as a VCR, a TV set, and a music set. ED has a sister living in the Netherlands and is planning to visit her. (He got his passport already.) FAH bought himself a foreign-language-tape set to teach himself English which, he says, is necessary for the kind of work he does--requires interaction with foreigners dining at the restaurant. HY, who has been working for foreign people and spending time in foreign countries,[6] wants his wife to drive (very unusual among migrants). He wants to open a gyro place with the money he has been saving in Riyadh.

These men prefer to live in apartments. For their reasons, some of them, like the women in the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group, emphasize raising children with

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[6]He started living in Ankara as a teenager to continue his education. He graduated from high school. He took English courses at the Turco-British Association. Before he got married, he went to Austria, living with his uncle, in order to learn a foreign language (and to find a job there). After he came back, he worked as a cook in the Japanese Embassy and as a waiter in a fancy Chinese restaurant. At the present time, he works as a cook in Saudi Arabia for a Turkish construction company.

good manners in apartment areas:

ED: Apartments are good for raising children in terms of the way they talk and behave.

Some others mention living in comfortable and safe places:

FAH: In gecekondus, one has to make repairs all the time. Also, gecekondus are easy to break in. (He has valuable things to be protected from burglars.)

or living closer to cultural events:

HY: Greenville is like a part of the village. There are no cultural events here. We live away from those events.

On the other hand, unlike the women in the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group who describe gecekondu people as backward and uncultured, none of these men talk against people living in gecekondu settlements.

At the present, some rent small (and cheaper) gecekondus, saving money for future investments, and some live in the gecekondus their parents own. There is a man in this group (HY) who owns his gecekondu, although his original plan was not to build a gecekondu but to buy an apartment in a housing cooperative in a neighboring area. At the present time, he wants to continue to live in his gecekondu, since it is advantageous to do so.[7]

They prefer to live in the city. But, again unlike the women in the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group who hate the village, they do not mind visiting the

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[7]His gecekondu has two stories. On the ground floor, he has two spaces to rent out as stores and is planning to add another story, again, to rent out. If he sells his gecekondu to a contractor, it will be to his disadvantage. He holds a shared title with three other people, and it is hard to come to a decision with them. Even if he did, he would get only one apartment in exchange for his two-story gecekondu which has the potentiality of adding more floors, since it is reinforced concrete.

village, although they may get bored there after staying for a while.

Apartment Residents

Apartment-Proud; Integration-Without-Rejection[8]

Like the "apartment-proud; integration-without-rejection" migrant women, there are migrant men who are proud of their apartments, who regard moving to apartments as progress in their lives, yet who are careful not to become conceited after their move to apartments. Some have stronger orientations to urban society and some to the migrant community.

Stronger Orientation to Urban Society

In this group, there are a couple of men who are oriented to urban society. They are middle-aged (in their mid 40's). They moved to the city when they were young (SK when he was 14 and SA when he was in his early 20's). SA is employed as a civil servant, and SK is retired as one. SK does not visit the village any more and SA visits it for business purposes (i.e. to bring honey to sell in the city). They do not own land in the village. They prefer to live in the city. They say they do not forget their rural origins. Yet, they are not oriented to the village. They imply urban identity without rejecting their rural past:

SA: I don't have a relation with the village any more. On the other hand, I am proud of being from the village. It is the place where I was born. I spent half of my life there, working hard to make better of what I got.

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[8]There are 6 men in this group.

SK: I believe one should aim ahead, should improve one's life, one's ideas, should catch up with the progress in the world. They should be oriented to the future. Otherwise, it means that they are making no progress. Yes, I was born in the village, I grew up in the village, I didn't forget it. Yet, I don't envy the life in the village, I don't ever think of going back to my past life there. We have to move ahead.

They prefer to live in apartments. They prefer them for the following reasons:

SK: It was the time for us to move to an apartment. One shouldn't stay behind one's time.

SA: We have a better (social) environment here. The people with whom we socialize are educated and cultured, they are much more cultured than us. So we learn something from everyone living here.

Yet, they do not take a strong position against gecekondus and talk positively about their previous gecekondus:

SK: My house was in a gecekondu area, but it wasn't a gecekondu. We built it under the influence of our traditional way of construction in the village. We made a garden. It was a nice spare time activity for me to work there. I spent my early hours working in the garden before I went to work. And when I came home, I worked in the garden again. It was relaxing.

SA: Ours wasn't like living in a gecekondu area. We lived in our own social circle with our own people (i.e. relatives). We got along well. Those were the days.

These men have been working hard to improve their lives and to educate themselves and their families. For example, SK, who moved to the city to attend high school and who ended up working at a reservoir instead, finished high school by attending night classes, took the university entrance test and secured the right to attend a university in another city. (He gave up this opportunity because of his family and job in Ankara.) He became the manager of his office. Today, he is retired and works as a book-keeper for a company. His two sons are university graduates, and

his daughter is in college. His wife finished junior high by taking exams without attending the school.

Stronger Orientation to the Migrant Community; Problems With Apartments

Members of this group are in their mid to late 50's. Different from the previous group, they moved to the city with their established families when they were in their mid 30's. Some are retired, and others still work, some in the public sector as service staff and others in the private sector, helping out their sons with their grocery stores. Different from the previous group, these men, with one exception (HK), all like to spend months in the village, whereas HK gets bored in a few days spent in the village. (HK ran a grocery store when he was in the village and is not familiar with rural tasks.)

Again, different from the previous group, they consider themselves rural, with two exceptions. They are particularly careful about not becoming conceited after their move to apartments:

DD: The fact that I live in an apartment today does not make me think of myself as a wealthy urbanite. I am a rural person, and I am proud of it.

One of the exceptions (MUS) who has a high opinion of the city and who migrated to the city in his middle age says he is neither rural nor urban:

MUS: My children do not like the way I speak. (He has a thick accent). I lived in the village until I was 35. There is a difference in the way of speaking between the village and the gecekondu community in the city, and this difference is even greater with the cultured people of the city. We couldn't reach their level. We could be neither rural nor urban. We remained in-between.

And the other exception (HK) who gets bored in the village says he adapts both to the city and the village:

HK: I adapt to villagers when I go to the village, and when I come back to the city I adapt to urbanites.

And again different from the previous group, these men prefer to live in gecekondus. They complain about disturbance by noise and the need for self-control over their actions in apartments in order not to disturb neighbors:

HU: Here, the noise of children disturbs me. When I come home from work, tired and ready to go to bed to rest, I hear them screaming and running.

They miss the gardens of their gecekondus:

DD: Gecekondus are better. They have gardens. When I lived in my gecekondu, I used to go to my garden after I came home from work and enjoyed myself working there. It was relaxing. I am alright in this apartment, too, since we are not a crowded family.

HK, one of the firstcomers to the city from his village, talks with nostalgia about the dinner parties he gave to his villagers in his gecekondu where they danced and sang freely until late hours:

HK: When I lived in my gecekondu, I entertained my guests in my house, giving parties. We would sing loud, dance loud. We were free to do all these things. But in apartments, one has to be careful not to disturb other people. It becomes boring to live here.

On the other hand, they are not so unhappy about their apartment residences as the women in the "apartment-frustrated" group.

These men spend their time in the migrant community. HK, who has been helping newcomers find places to live and work in the city as well as accomodating villagers in his house, socializes mainly with his people from the village and is happy

about the respect and gratitude he receives from them. HU, who was not enthusiastic about moving to the city (he moved because of his wife who was unhappy to live with her in-laws in a village distant from her family's), also spends a lot of time with his relatives, who often visit his family. He seems content with his social environment which consists of his relatives and people from his village, and unlike his wife, he does not seem interested in forming relations with new people, including established urbanites.

Exclusively Apartments; Integration: Taken-For-Granted

There are a couple of young men in their 20's who consider themselves urban, yet who are on good terms with their families of rural background. In this respect, they are different from those young women who are inclined to consider themselves rural because of their rural families and their rural social circle, despite their modern looks and their interaction with urban society. They are also different from those young women who openly say they are urban and fight with their rural relatives and rural neighbors as well as with their families who force them to stay inside the migrant community.

For them, living in a gecekondu is out of the question:

MUT: I have lived in apartments all my life. I don't think I can ever live in a gecekondu.

NIC: Apartments are superior to gecekondus. I wouldn't like to live in a gecekondu.

They consider themselves urban:

NIC: I was born in the city. All my friends are here. I don't visit the village. If I do, I get extremely bored.

MUT: I grew up in the city. I am urban.

MUT's wife says:

HKD: MUT left the village when he was a baby. His parents have been living in better places in the city, in places of high cultural level.

They do not visit the village, because, they say, they get bored there.

MUT is a good example. He grew up in the city. His family is one of the few migrants in the research who have never lived in a gecekondu. They live in the apartment they own in Whiteville. His father owns a supermarket. MUT recently graduated from the university as a civil engineer and started working in a company. He got married to HKD, and they moved to the apartment they rented in Blueville.

Both the wife and the husband look modern and handsome. On the other hand, the difference between MUT and HKD in their relationship with other people in general and with their relatives in particular is striking. Whereas HKD is close to her relatives and people from her village and enjoys spending time with them, MUT keeps a distance between himself and his relatives and villagers:

HKD: When MUT lived in his parents' apartment, he kept himself back from his relatives and did not spend time with them when they came to visit his parents. Instead, he spent all his time with his friends from school. They were his whole environment.

MUT keeps the same attitude after he got married:

HKD: MUT does not like to socialize with many people, to be in crowds. I would visit many of my neighbors here if it was up to me. (They are mostly migrants.) Yet, MUT does not like it. He prefers to keep a distance.

What MUT likes to do instead of socializing with his neighbors and relatives is to dine out, to wander up and down a popular street in an upper-class district with HKD on his arm, or to go to a movie.

HKD and MUT had two wedding ceremonies, a traditional one during the day held in HKD's parents' gecekondu area and a modern one at night held in a wedding hall. MUT came late to the traditional ceremony when a few guests were left, whereas HKD was present all the time.

Socially-Conscious: Integration-Through-Radical-Change

There are a couple of young single men living with their parents who have a critical view of society and, among other things, they criticize the capitalist system and the discrimination against rural migrants. They grew up in the city. YUC is a high school student, and ORH is in college.[9] I had the chance to talk to YUC when he came home while I was interviewing his mother. He said he was very happy to find finally the opportunity to talk to someone who was interested in the problems of

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[9]ORH has been working hard to get an education. He continued his education despite the economic difficulties his family was facing. While he was in junior high, he helped his mother (ZT) with sewing when ZT worked at home for a factory assembling pieces of garments; he sold simit and shone shoes. He received a scholarship and became a teacher. He wanted more and took the University Entrance Test. He was successful and entered the university, majoring in math. The experiences he had in his life had made ORH socially conscious. He got involved in politics at the university. He had to leave the university after the military intervention of 1980 when he was declared guilty of his political actions. He returned to the university after several years when he was among the students excused of their past political involvements. At the present time, he is at the university, working hard to catch up with other students.

young people from migrant families. The following is what YUC said about the relationship of young people from migrant families with those young people from the better-off established families of the city:

YUC: Look at the Cankaya youth (those living in the upper-class area). They imitate Western culture, they look up to the bourgeois. They pretend that our people do not exist, they reject them. But we also reject them. We can never accept them as they are. I cannot be friends with them. This is against my personality, against my beliefs. I cannot listen to the music they listen. I cannot have a drink with them at one of the bars on Tunali Hilmi (a popular street in an upper-class district). I cannot walk with them in the street. I would be ashamed if I did. But they cannot walk with me in the street either; they, too, would be ashamed. Yet, we can live together with them if we are put in a room, but they cannot live with us. Why? Because they are conceited, they put on airs, they are inclined to look down on us. We tend to be satisfied with what we have in hand, but they want more and more. They have plans for the future, but these plans are fake--copies from the Western bourgeois. Since they want to materialize these fake plans of theirs, they never approach our crowd.

Both of them prefer apartments to gecekondus for the conveniences the former have. They are critical of the low standard of living in gecekondu areas.

YUC does not think of himself as urban but as someone with a rural origin. On the other hand, ORH says he does not consider himself in rural/urban terms:

ORH: I am not rural, and I am not urban. I am a human being. I am universal.

Exclusively Apartments, Urban-Bourgeois-By-Choice; Integration-By-Rejection

There is one man (MEH) in this group. He improved his economic and social situation by working in Germany. Although there are other migrants like MEH who tend to integrate into urban society by rejecting their connections with the rural

community, their attempt to keep themselves away from other migrants and their concern about not being identified as migrants in the city make this group invisible. I did not have personal contacts with him. (He died a couple of years ago.) Rather I got information about him through my keyperson ZT and my roommate SUN who happened to be his close relatives (see pp. 313-317 for more information).

Gecekondus-Left-Behind, Exclusively-Apartments-Today; Integration-Through-Wealth

The real-estate agent of Greenville, ATM (he is usually called by his last name which means "hawk") is a good example of those migrants who became wealthy in the city in the short run by taking advantage of the deficiencies in a "developing" capitalist system. There are various rumors about how ATM became so wealthy. When these rumors are pieced together, this is the picture that emerges: ATM moved to the city in the early 1950's from a village in Central Anatolia as a young and penniless boy. He slept on the street for a while. Then he started working as a kapici in a wealthy district. At the same time, he was taking care of a disabled foreigner (a German or an American) living in his apartment building. When that man died, he left all his money to ATM. ATM invested that money in the real-estate market, buying land on the peripheries of the city, including Greenville.

ATM is quite wealthy today. He owns apartments in three cities. He has a real-estate agency in Ankara, one of the offices in Greenville and another in Whiteville. (Some Greenville residents say his real-estate offices are all over the

country; my neighbors in Greenville say he owns half of Ankara.) Many Greenville residents bought their land from him. Some of them mention him with gratitude ("He allowed us build our house before we were finished paying money for the land") and some with anger ("We don't have title to the land, although we paid some money for it"). People in the latter group say he seizes land through illegal means, paying off city officers and does not deserve his fortune.

The number of this group of migrants has been increasing over the years, as the ideology of becoming wealthy using any means available is spreading in the society. This type of migrants have been receiving increasing criticisms from "intellectuals" who tend to make fun of them, talking about their "tasteless" outward appearances (dressed in silk shirts with several buttons undone, showing their hairy chests, wearing golden necklaces, long moustaches, high-heeled leather shoes), lack of education and manners, and their tendency to spend a lot of money at nightclubs with women. They even coined a term for this group of migrants, calling them "maganda."

CHAPTER TEN

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the factors that affect the process of migrants' becoming urban are discussed first. Then, some strategies used by migrants in their effort to handle their lives as rural migrants in the city are presented. Finally, the variety among migrants regarding their orientations to urban and rural societies, their relationship with the village, their preferences for the city vs. the village, and their orientations to gecekondus and apartments is addressed. Throughout this chapter, summary statements, which now and then take the form of hypotheses, are provided at the end of each discussion. The discussions are based on the findings in this study, whereas the summary statements and hypotheses (which are presented in the form of #1, #2, and so on) carry a more general flavor. That is, they may not be limited to the case of rural-to-urban migrants in Turkey; they may be applied to the cases of those who move from one place to another to live on a permanent basis. They may also refer to the general relationships of low-status groups to high-status groups in a class-stratified society. These hypotheses, which are a product of the grounded theory approach, form the groundwork for future studies.

Factors That Affect Becoming Urban

Becoming urban ("integration" into the new environment) is related first to the following factors:

(i) the social structure of society;

(ii) the degree of acceptance or rejection of migrants by established group(s) in the city (in the new environment); and

(iii) how and by whom an urban person (a person belonging to the new environment) is defined, and the degree to which migrants fit this definition.

Second, it is related to gender and age: It becomes harder for women to consider themselves urban, especially for young women, if there is the tendency in society to keep them in the familiar environment of relatives and neighbors.

Third, "becoming urban" is also related to the type of housing environment where migrants live, namely, the type of residential environment associated with established group(s) in the city (apartments) vs. the type of residential environment associated with rural migrants (gecekondus).

And finally, it is related to the relationship of the migrant to the village. Gender is significant here.

Adequate economic resources are a requisite but not a determining factor in the process of becoming urban. Neither is the time spent in the city. Although it may help familiarize migrants with their new environment, being in the city for a long time does not necessarily make migrants consider themselves urban.

These issues are elaborated in the following section.

The Low Status of Migrants and Their Relationship With Established Urbanites

As my research revealed, the majority of rural migrants, including those living

in gecekondus, want to form social contacts with established urbanites. This finding is supported by the literature. In the research carried out by Karpat (1976) in two gecekondu settlements, when asked directly whether they wanted to establish closer relations with the "city people," 81, 73, and 90 percent of the husbands, wives, and unmarried women and men, respectively, said yes. The reasons given by those who wanted to know "city people" better were as follows:

> to acquire knowledge, manners, and ideas of the urbanites; to promote their own professional and practical interest; to satisfy the yearning to become medeni (civilized or emancipated); to become fully assimilated into the city; and to satisfy the need for friendship. Incidentally, more than 52 percent of the women and bachelors cited the desire to acquire city manners and ideas and to become medeni as the chief reason for seeking closer relations with city people (Karpat, 1976; p.155).

They wanted to be accepted by "city people":

> ...and to be accepted as equal and respected by city people appear to be the average squatter's immediate economic ideal (Karpat, 1976; p.112).

On the other hand, in the same study, the established city population was found to be uninterested in forming relations with gecekondu residents:

> The established city population, however, showed no apparent desire to know and integrate with the squatters. Even the better educated, while acknowledging the existence of objective factors behind rural migration, blamed the squatters for undermining the established urban ways of life and manners and for spoiling the physical appearance of the city (Karpat, 1976; p.155).

Senyapili (1982) discusses in an insightful way the relationship between the gecekondu population and the urbanites as follows:

> ...the main economic functions of the gecekondu family in the city are twofold: provision of "cheap" labor and support of the internal consumption market. This, however, is as far as the city is willing to accept and integrate into itself the gecekondu population. No integration beyond this point, i.e.,

> along socio-cultural dimension, is allowed. This actually is the dimension where the real duality appears. The urbanites are not willing to share their homes and cultural institutions with the gecekondu population (p.243).

A number of points regarding the structure of Turkish society and the changes it has been experiencing over the years should be mentioned here. Pitman (1988) writes:

> To a large extent, modern Turkey is the creation of the bureaucratic and military elite of the Ottoman Empire....(In the Turkish republic) the elite continued to rule....(In the late 1980's) those who represented the "progressive" ideology of modernization and Westernization still constituted a fairly small, privileged elite, while the adherents of folk Islam, Islamic traditionalism, and the village values formed a large and predominantly poor social stratum....Many elite families are government employees....Families enjoying elite status presumably will continue to dominate Turkish life (pp. 135,136).

On the other hand, new upwardly mobile groups are emerging in society:

> Concomitant with the proliferation of urban business enterprises, white-collar and blue-collar employees of manufacturing and service organizations, together with self-employed producers, artisans, and tradespeople, came to regard themselves as part of the middle-class. They viewed themselves as having "joined up" with the more traditional members of the middle class, i.e., government employees, large commercial and industrial entrepreneurs, members of the professions, and large absentee landowners (Pitman, 1988; p.137).

The emerging middle-class groups, in which there is a significant number of migrants, are a serious threat to the national elite (the urban elite; "modern people" in the city). These migrants threaten the privileged positions of the urban elite and the exclusiveness of the places frequented by them, since this group of migrants have the money to go such places and are willing to do so in their efforts to become a part of the established urban people of upper classes. This makes the urban elite take a strong stand against these migrants. Thus, despite their move to the upper economic

level, they fail to achieve equality in terms of their socio-cultural position. They may cling to conspicuous consumption as a way of defining their identity, and this makes the urban elite blame this group of migrants for changing "the old urban values" for the worse. Also, the cases in which gecekondu owners improve their economic conditions by selling their gecekondus, increase the tension between migrants and the urban elite: Owners are blamed for making quick money from the land that did not belong to them in the first place.

Also today, different from the times when rural-to-urban migration first started, migrants outnumber established urbanites in some larger cities, including Ankara. The city is no longer the place of merely the urban elite; the migrant population has stamped its presence onto the city. This disturbs the urban elite. Today, it is common to hear complaints from them saying that they themselves have become the "minority" in the presence of the large number of migrants in the city. The urban elite may now be a small minority statistically. Yet, they dominate society, particularly in the intellectual/cultural realm. In the face of the fact that some migrants become wealthier than themselves, the urban elite attempt to increase their dominance in the intellectual/cultural realm, setting the norms for how an urbanite should be dressed, where and what he or she should eat, and the like, and judging who are real urbanites and who are not. In the case of migrants in this study, the urban elite appear to be successful to a large extent in their attempt to have control over the definition of established urbanites. Many of the participants regard "modern, urban people" as superior to themselves in terms of education, culture,

manners, and living conditions. Many say they cannot consider themselves urban despite the years they spent in the city because of their thick accent, their habit of using the terminology of the village (particularly true in the case of first-generation migrants who spent their formative years in the village), the way they are dressed due to their habits and/or their limited economic situations. On the other hand, there are some participants who define modern people as honest and modest people who are kind to others and who do not discriminate. In this way, they come up with a new definition of a modern urbanite. It would be interesting to know if this group of migrants will challenge the sense of superiority and cultural dominance of the urban elite in the future.

The intellectual dominance of the urban elite in society and their reaction against rural migrants affect migrants in a number of ways. Many migrants seem to accept that they are not equals to urbanites, sometimes resentfully. They mainly socialize with other migrants. In their case, the migrant community supports them psychologically and socially. (Not to mention material support and contributions in terms of physical labor and information; migrants help each other build a gecekondu, find a job, and the like [Bastug, 1979; Karpat, 1976].) The following hypothesis is developed based on this analysis:

#1. <u>Migrant Community: Social Buffer and a Means to Self Esteem</u>: For those migrants who do not reject their low-status migrant group, the migrant community (in this study, the migrant community in general and the gecekondu community in

particular) is likely to act as a buffer between the individual and other groups in society, supporting the individual migrant psychologically (and materially) and providing him or her with a sense of belonging and self esteem which the status quo declines. (Some examples in this study are ZT, pp. 283,284; HJ, pp. 288-291; MS, pp. 234,235.)

On the other hand, the migrant community helps maintain rural identity. There are many participants who say they cannot consider themselves urban because of their close contacts with other migrants. There are also a number of participants who first said they were urban and then changed their answers when their relatives or neighbors (migrants) pointed to their rural origin. This emphasis of the migrant community on rural identity and the high level of socialization among migrants has a negative effect on those migrants who want to become a part of urban society but who are bound to stay in the migrant community for economic and social reasons.

#2. Migrant Community: A Burden and an Obstacle to Identification With the New Environment: If the migrant community requires the individual migrant to keep his or her original identity, then the migrant community is likely to act as an obstacle for those migrants who want to become a part of the established group(s) in the new environment. If the migrant community expects the migrant to adhere strictly to its values and practices, then it is likely to act as a burden on those migrants who are oriented to the new environment. The kind of values and practices of the migrant community plays a mediating role. In the case of conservative values and practices

that differ to a large extent from those of the established group(s) in the new environment, the distance between the migrant community and the established group(s) increases. Conservative attitudes particularly affect women in a society where profound gender differences exist and where men are responsible for women's honor. (Some examples are HS and MI, pp. 294,295.)

(i) Rejection by the Migrant Community: If the migrant fails to comply with the rules of the migrant community, then he or she is likely to face rejection by the migrant community.

The disadvantaged position of migrants, particularly in the case of gecekondu residents, and the image of rural migrants as inferior to urbanites make some migrants, usually young migrants who grew up in the city, reject society and take a stand against it. They do not want to "integrate" into urban society and to try to fit into the category of "urbanites" defined by the urban elite, since that means to have a disadvantaged social and economic position from the start. They want to change society, so that they will not play the game by the rules of the urban elite. They are sympathetic to rural people, be it in the village or in the city. They believe that villagers as well as migrants are exploited by the urban elite, and they resent it.

#3. <u>Status-Quo-Rejection</u>: The disadvantaged position of the migrant group in the new environment and the negative images of migrants held by established group(s) is likely to make some members of the migrant group take a stand against the values and the ways of living of established group(s). They may try to change society for a

better social and economic position of the migrant group. (Some examples are SUN, pp. 267-276; YUC and ORH, pp. 334,335.)

On the other hand, some migrants tend to reject their past lives in the village and their connections with other migrants in the city to integrate into the established high-status urban society. Similar to the findings by Jones and her associates (1984) about stigmatized people, rural migrants, who are "stigmatized" as backward, ignorant, uncivilized, and the like, may hide their rural pasts by removing themselves from their relatives and villagers, and by trying to make changes in their outward appearances and behavior to fit in with urban society. Class aspirations are an important issue here: Through rejection of their rural past and rural connections, these migrants attempt to move into an upper socio-economic class.

#4. Root-Rejection: If migrants, as a group, are conferred low-status, while the established group(s) in the new environment are regarded highly, and if established groups are not willing to accept migrants into their community and define people who belong to that environment in such a way that includes only people like themselves, members of the migrant group who want to become a part of established group(s), and that means, moving into upper classes, are likely to reject their connections with their migrant community. (The example for this case is GULD and her family, that is, the "integration-by rejection; urban-bourgeois-by-choice" family, pp. 307-311.) The manner of rejection is tied to economic conditions and gender. The following hypothesis is suggested about economic conditions:

(i) **Economic Conditions:** In order to reject their connections with their migrant community, it must be possible for the members of the migrant community to afford living economically independent of that community.

The relationship between gender and "root-rejection is more complex: If migrants who want to become a part of urban society cannot remove themselves from rural migrants and have to share their environment with these people on a day-to-day basis, they are negatively affected. For example, living in a gecekondu area, which has a stigma attached to it as the environment of backward and ignorant people from rural areas, disturbs the women in the "gecekondu-by-necessity; urban-by-determination" group in this study. Hunter (1974) writes:

> Individuals whose self-identity does not fit the symbolic identification of their local area might exhibit signs of psychic and social withdrawal, or they might manipulate the symbolic definitions of the area or even move to a new area to bring about consistency between self-identity and community-identity (p.195).

In the case of this group of young, modern-looking gecekondu women who identify with urbanites, they do not have any other choice but to live in the gecekondu settlement, and they lack the power to manipulate the stigma attached to gecekondu areas. What is left to them is to withdraw themselves psychologically and socially from the gecekondu environment. The gecekondu community is where they exist physically. Yet, they do not belong to that community psychologically. As a consequence, by the way they look and behave, they constantly try to send to the world around them the message that they do not belong to the gecekondu community, that they are not like one of their neighbors. They occasionally fight with their neighbors, criticizing, blaming and disapproving. In their fights, they shout that they

do not belong to the gecekondu community and deserve to live in apartments. A few isolate themselves inside their houses. The following hypothesis is developed about this issue:

(ii) **Psychological Distancing and Gender:** In the case of those who want to belong to the established, high-status group(s) in their new environment but who cannot live away from their migrant group which has low status, "psychological distancing" is employed. (Some examples are DZ, pp. 221,222; YE, p. 222; YA, pp. 222,223.) Gender and the type of housing environment are mediating factors in this strategy. Psychological distancing becomes a day-to-day struggle for those women without paid jobs who spend most of their time in the neighborhood. On the other hand, for those women living in an established apartment district who have the opportunity to interact with people outside the rural community, as well as for men (both those living in apartments and gecekondus) who, as a rule, enjoy access to any part of the city by themselves and who spend most of their time at work outside their neighborhood, it is likely that psychological distancing is easier to achieve.

Let's elaborate more on the role of gender differences in the process of becoming urban.

Gender

Although the expression of gender may be different in different cultures, the existence of gender differences is not culture-specific: All over the world, women and men define themselves differently. Women, as a rule, define themselves in

relation to the house and family; men define themselves in relation to work and the world outside the house. (For a discussion of its causes and consequences, see Moen, 1979; Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974; Engels, 1891.) On the other hand, gender plays a particularly significant role in the process of becoming urban in a country like Turkey where norms and roles are largely based on gender, more so in the traditional society than the modern one. It is easier for migrant men to consider themselves urban due to the kind of relationship they have with the outside world. For migrant women, life is organized around families. They are "protected" against the "harms of the outside world," particularly in the case of young women from conservative families who are expected to stay inside their immediate physical environment. On the other hand, migrant men enjoy freedom to spend their time in places outside the neighborhood. This research reveals a significant gender difference regarding the relationship between self-identity and housing environment. Namely, in their self-definitions, women are more affected by their housing environment than men. There are men living in the gecekondu settlement who consider themselves urban (or as being urban when in the city and rural when in the village), yet who do not have strong feelings against the gecekondu community. On the other hand, the women living in the gecekondu settlement who consider themselves urban (the "urban-by-determination; gecekondu-by-necessity" group) occasionally fight with their neighbors. It is easier for men to keep a distance between themselves and the gecekondu community, spending most of their time out of the neighborhood. As the basis for their urban identities, they have their occupations and their interactions with the more established

urbanites at work as well as their interactions with the established parts of the city. On the other hand, the majority of women in the "gecekondu-by-necessity" group spend most of their time in the neighborhood, and their interactions with the other parts of the city are limited.[1] They do not have anything but their housing environment as the basis for their self-identities. Yet, their housing environment is almost exclusively inhabited by rural migrants. This makes these women unhappy about living there. They want to move out to the areas where established groups live. Meanwhile, they distance themselves psychologically and socially from the gecekondu community by taking the gecekondu community against themselves ("psychological distancing" mentioned above). The following hypothesis is developed on this issue:

#5. Identity, Gender, and the Housing Environment: The housing environment is likely to act as one of the basic factors affecting the self-identities of those women who are bound to stay in their neighborhood most of the time. They do not have anything but their housing environment as the basis for their self-identities, while men have their occupations and access to all parts of the city and interactions with people and places outside their neighborhood. Those women who identify with established high-status group(s) but who spend most of their days in the housing environment are likely to be negatively affected by the fact that it is associated with their low-status

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[1]The only woman in this group who works as a babysitter and lives with her sister (without a male in the family) seems to have less negative attitudes towards her neighbors. This may be due to her being less dependent on the gecekondu community for her self-identity because of her relations with the urban family she works for as well as because of her frequent use of the rest of the city.

migrant community (gecekondu area as the housing environment of rural migrants).

The relationship between identity, gender, and the housing environment is an interesting one and deserves further investigation. The psychological literature on identity ignores the physical environmental dimension. On the other hand, place identity, which is a relatively new concept in a relatively new field, has not been adequately studied in terms of gender.[2]

This research also reveals a significant gender difference regarding the relationship between self-identity and social environment, namely, in their self-definitions, women are more affected by their migrant social circle than men. Since men are relatively free to spend time away from their relatives and neighbors, with their friends at work or school, their urban identities seem not to conflict with the rural origins of their families. The second-generation migrant men who consider themselves urban are on good terms with their families of rural background. On the other hand, in the case of second-generation migrant women, identifying themselves as urban while being inside the rural community seems impossible. As a general rule, these women are expected to have close relations with their relatives and neighbors. As a consequence, second-generation migrant women tend to consider themselves rural because of their migrant families and the rural community of which they are a part. And those few who openly say they are urban try to keep themselves away from their rural relatives and neighbors, fighting with their families who

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[2]There are a few studies which explore place identity in relation to home, for example, Hayward, 1977, and L. Manzo (personal communication, Feb 3, 1993).

demand that they socialize with the rural community.

#6. Identity, Gender, and the Social Environment: The immediate social circle (family, relatives) acts as another major factor and as the basis for the self-identities of women who are expected to stay in the family circle, socializing mainly with family members and relatives. This is particularly true for young women who are protected against potential dangers from strangers (the age component). In order to identify with a group other than their migrant group (as urbanites), they are likely to fight against anything that is related to the migrant community (the rural community), including their families and relatives. If they do not fight, they end up identifying with the migrant group (as rural). On the other hand, men for whom the routes to socialize outside the migrant community are open (for example, at their workplaces or at school) and who are not expected to spend most of their time inside the familiar circle of relatives and neighbors, identification with a group outside the migrant community is unlikely to require taking a strong stand against the migrant community (psychological distancing through socio-physical distancing vs. psychological distancing through fighting).

This relationship between identity, gender, and the social environment is again an interesting finding and deserves further investigation.

In addition to the gender differences regarding the role of the social and physical environment in self-identification, this study reveals that the social dimension of the gecekondu community is more significant to women than to men, especially to

those women who do not work outside the home. The majority of men spend most of their time out of the neighborhood, and when they are at home, they tend to spend time inside their houses. What is most important to men about living in a gecekondu is to rest at home without being disturbed by noise, to be free from the obligation of being careful about one's actions in order not to disturb neighbors living downstairs, and to enjoy their gardens. On the other hand, what is most important to women about living in a gecekondu settlement is close and informal relations, and sharing and support among neighbors, as well as using the outdoors freely, often sitting outside with neighbors.

Hirschon (1985) and Joseph (1978) show how women invest psychologically and socially in their communities. This is very relevant in the case of the women in this study, particularly those gecekondu women whose relations with the rest of the city are highly limited (the "gecekondu-rooted" group).

The difference between men and women in the latter's emphasis on the social dimension in the housing environment is also true in the case of the apartment residents in this study. For those women who are frustrated with their apartments, the reason is related to the social dimension, that is, the formal and distant relations among apartment neighbors. On the other hand, men are usually frustrated with the noise inside their apartments and the obligation to be careful not to disturb their neighbors living in the same building by noise. And whereas in the case of women, this frustration with apartment neighbors may become very disturbing, in the case of men, irritations, such as the noise in their apartments, are not that overwhelming as to

make them unhappy with their lives.

#7: <u>The Social Aspect of the Housing Environment and Gender</u>: The social aspect of the housing environment (relations among neighbors) is likely to carry more significance for women than men, particularly if women are required to spend most of their time in their housing environment.

(i) In the case of women, the social aspect of the housing environment is likely to be deeper and more emotion-laden than the physical aspect.

<u>The Type of Housing Environment</u>:

<u>Apartments vs. Gecekondus</u>

Becoming urban ("integration" into the new environment) is also related to the type of housing environment in which the migrant lives. Apartment areas provide their migrant residents with a sense of becoming closer to urban society and promise them a better social standing.[3] Migrants perceive their move to apartments as a chance for integrating into urban society. On the other hand, for many migrants, this does not mean starting to identify themselves with urbanites. Many continue to

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[3]The distinction between apartment areas and apartment buildings in a gecekondu settlement should be made clear. In the latter case, apartment buildings hold shared titles; they belong to the informal housing sector. Thus, what is hypothesized here is more true in the former case. Living in apartments in a gecekondu settlement may improve the social standing of residents in the gecekondu community. But, since they still live in the gecekondu settlement, the feeling that they are becoming closer to urban society may not be as strong as in the case of those living in an established apartment area.

consider themselves rural. On the other hand, living in a gecekondu does not prevent residents from considering themselves urban.[4] Yet, it makes identification with urbanites harder. There are several participants who say they cannot consider themselves urbanites because they live in a gecekondu. And in the case of the "gecekondu-by-necessity; urban-by-determination" group, they have to distance themselves psychologically from the gecekondu community in order to consider themselves urban. For those migrants who identify with urbanites, living in a gecekondu area becomes a psychological burden that is hard to carry. They feel bitter and resentful about their gecekondu residences.

#8. Identity and the Type of Housing Environment: Living in a similar type of housing environment with established high-status group(s) (e.g. apartment residence) does not automatically make people identify with those groups (as urbanites). On the other hand, living in a housing environment that is associated with a low status migrant group (e.g. gecekondu residence) is likely to act as an obstacle in the identifications of its residents with established high-status group(s). Those who end up identifying with established high-status groups have to make deliberate efforts to distance themselves psychologically from their housing environment.

(i) For those migrants who want to become a part of established society, living in the type of housing environments that are associated with migrants becomes a symbol of

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[4]This is contrary to the expectation I had before the research that the majority of migrants living in the apartment area would feel themselves to be urbanites, whereas those living in the gecekondu settlement would feel themselves to be rural people.

their failure to integrate.

#9. Negative Identity With Place: The individual is likely to suffer from his or her identification with a place if that place has a stigma attached to it (e.g. gecekondu settlements). The social structure of society and the position of the individual in it are significant factors that produce negative identity with place. If the individual belongs to a group which has low status and for which the association with a place is created by dominant groups out of the control of that group, then negative identity with place results. For negative identity with place to emerge:

(i) the individual shares with dominant groups the negative definition of that place;

(ii) dominant groups and their values are significant to the individual; and

(iii) it is impossible for the individual to escape from identification with that place.

There is one last factor to consider which affects migrants' becoming urban: the relationship of migrants with their places of origin.

The Relationship of Migrants With the Village

The finding in this research that migrants generally retain their social and economic relations with the village is supported in the literature (Karpat, 1976; Levine, 1972; Kiray, 1970; Suzuki, 1964). Many migrants pay visits to the village and receive visits from the village. Some keep their land and get shares from crops, and many bring to the city various kinds of food from the village. The economic and social support they receive from the village is crucial in the lives of many migrants.

This continuation of intense relations with the village may mean that migrants will identify themselves to be rural. Many migrants in this study say that they cannot consider themselves urban because of their contacts with the village. This is particularly true in the case of women. As we have seen, on their visits to the village, migrant women, particularly those who migrated to the city in their adulthood, are required to dress in accordance to the village codes, covering up their arms, legs and hair.

#10. <u>Identity and Relations With the Place of Origin</u>**:** Visits to the place of origin (the village) during which they are drawn back to their original culture help maintain identification with the place of origin (as rural).

#11. <u>Identity, Relations With the Place of Origin, and Gender</u>**:** Relations with the village help maintain rural identification particularly in the case of Turkish migrant women who are expected to make major changes in themselves to fit into the village.

<u>The Time Spent in the City</u>

The findings show that becoming urban, or rather feeling oneself to be urban, is not related to the time spent in the city: Migrants do not consider themselves urban as they spend more time in the city. And a brief time spent in the city does not prevent some newcomers from considering themselves urban. The increasing contact between the city and the village, and as a result, some migrants moving to the city

with already established orientations to urban society, decreases the significance of the amount of time spent in the city. The possibility of living in the city as a rural person surrounded by the migrant community and of having limited access to the city outside the neighborhood also contributes to this.

#12. Identity and Time in the New Environment: The amount of time spent in the new environment is unlikely to be significant in the face of other factors that affect the process of "integration" into the new environment.

(i) Being in the new environment over time may increase the familiarity of the migrant with the new environment, yet it does not automatically make migrants identify with the new environment.

(ii) Being in the new environment only a brief time does not automatically prevent migrants from identifying with the new environment.

Economic Status

This research reveals that good economic conditions give the migrant the opportunity to live independently of the rural community in economic terms and to take advantage of urban institutions and services. On the other hand, it does not make migrants consider themselves urban if they are not accepted into the established urban society. On the other hand, limited economic conditions prevent migrants from taking advantage of urban institutions and services and makes it harder for them to consider themselves urban. In the case of those few who identify with urbanites, the

limited money is spent on clothing and other aspects of self-presentation as well as on furniture, which helps psychological distancing from the rural community.

#13. Identity and Economic Status: Good economic conditions are a necessary but not a sufficient factor in the migrant's becoming integrated into the new environment.

A Brief Summary of the Findings on Rural/Urban Identity

The majority of participants in this research consider themselves rural, including some second-generation migrants with modern outward appearances. Their continuing relations with the rural community, be it in the city or in the village, as well as their lower socio-economic positions in the city are the two major reasons given by participants for their rural identifications. (This finding supports Karpat's data, 1976.) A large number of participants say that they cannot consider themselves urban because they spend most of their time with other rural migrants in the city, and they have ongoing contacts with the village. Many of those who do not have contacts with the village any more still consider themselves rural, or at least not urban. These migrants, all of whom live in gecekondus, mention their low standard of living as a significant impediment to their urban identifications, as well as the attitudes of established city dwellers who do not accept migrants as being like themselves. Some participants explain their rural identities by their "failure" to talk, think or behave like urbanites.

There is another reason which the participants in this study often mention for

their rural identifications, namely, the moral/ethical dimension.[5] Many feel that one should not deny one's origin. Female migrants who moved to the city in their adult age feel especially strongly about it, despite their strong preferences for the city.

In the case of migrants who consider themselves urban, those first-generation migrants who turned their backs on the migrant community feel strongly about their urban identities. This includes migrants living in the middle-class apartment area who have been making deliberate efforts to live away from their relatives and villagers and to make friends with upper classes (the "urban-bourgeois-by-choice; integration-by-rejection" group). It also includes young, modern-looking women living in the gecekondu area who are on bad terms with their neighbors and who stress that what matters is the desire and determination of a person to become urban and not the place where the person is born (the "urban-by-determination; gecekondu-by-necessity" group). In this group, there are newcomers.

Those second-generation migrants who imply urban identity say that they are not familiar with rural tasks and that they grew up in the city.

Several other participants say they are urban because they moved out of the village and are now living in the city; they are used to the city; or they like the city. In this last group, some changed their answers when their migrant neighbors/relatives pointed to their rural identities. I believe their desire to remain on good terms with

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[5]This is not stated by the respondents in Karpat's study (1976). It may be a result of the historical period: As their numbers as well as the years they spent in the city increased, and as some migrants turned their backs on other migrants in their attempts to become "urban" and to improve their socio-economic status ("class aspirations"), migrants may have become more concerned about this issue.

their neighbors and relatives and their concern to stay inside the migrant community account for this change in their responses.

In brief, both rural and urban societies seem to function as significant factors in the rural/urban identifications of migrants. The rural community requires a rural identity from the migrant. On the other hand, the urban elite define what an urbanite is and make sure that this definition includes themselves but not migrants. This requires those migrants who want to become a part of the established urban society to make changes in themselves to fit into that definition.

There is also the individual dimension which is influenced by the social. Some migrants tend to keep their rural relations because it would not be right otherwise and they would feel bad about themselves ("ethical dimension"), and others tend to keep themselves away from rural relations because they want to be considered an urbanite, and, again, they would not feel good about themselves otherwise.

One point to stress is that identity is conceived here as a interactive process: It is constructed over time by interacting with external social forces. Thus, as structural changes in society (for example, the attitudes of the urban elite towards rural migrants, the relationship of migrants with the rural community), as well as changes as a result of one's life cycle take place, the identification of migrants may also change (for example, migrants becoming more oriented to the rural society as they become older, or as they become more secure about their origins as a result of the increasing power of and self-respect in the migrant community). What follows from this is that it will be beneficial to study migrants over time: at different points in

their life cycle, as well as in different historical periods.

Rural/Urban Identity in the Context of Place Identity

The concept of place identity was coined by Proshansky (1978) who defined "place identity" as:

> those dimensions of the self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioral tendencies and skills relevant to this environment (p.155).

He defined three dimensions of place identity, namely, cognitive-descriptive, affective-evaluative, and role-related dimensions. Other environmental psychologists attempted to further develop the concept theoretically (e.g. Sarbin, 1983; Krupat, 1983) or to advance it through empirical research (e.g. Stone, 1982). Also, Ittelson (1978), while talking about the relationships of people with the environment in the context of the city says as follows:

> (the environment is experienced) as an important part of one's self, as an integral component of self-identity....Any change in the environment is experienced as a change in the self. The self is actively defined and symbolized in the choice and manipulation of features of one's environment, people, and pattern of living (p.202).

In the case of Turkish rural-to-urban migrants, social factors that are external to the individual seem to play a major role in their identifications with the village/ city. Despite the years spent in the city, many migrants consider themselves rural because they mainly socialize with rural migrants like themselves. And despite their good knowledge of the city and their competent interaction with it, they consider themselves rural because they cannot talk, behave and think, nor live like urbanites.

The dominant values in the city define migrants as less than urbanites. They want to be a part of the established urban society, but are not accepted by its people. Those who want to feel themselves to be urban are inclined to turn their backs on migrants, whereas those who do not want to look down on the migrant community or who cannot afford to do so tend to consider themselves rural.

These factors, more than the individual migrant's ability and skills to use the city or to carry out the roles of an urbanite, affect his or her self-identification in terms of rural/urban. Many migrants, even those female migrants who dislike the village, say they consider themselves rural, in order "not to become conceited in the city."[6]

Competency in the physical dimension of an environment is a requisite but not a sufficient factor for people to identify themselves with that environment. In this study, most of those who do not consider themselves rural mention their unfamiliarity with rural tasks and/or with the village. Also, if those newcomers who hold urban identities fail to be able to use the city competently, they will probably start feeling themselves to be "not urban."

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[6]This may be partly due to fear of rejection by the migrant community whose support and cooperation many migrants cannot afford to lose. In the literature, the rejection of migrants by their migrant community when they become better-off in the city and move from gecekondus to apartments has been mentioned (Karpat, 1976; Mac Ewen, 1970). Karpat's research was carried out in 1968 when in Turkey, with only a few exceptions, rural migrants lived in gecekondu settlements. As we have seen, there is an increasing tendency among migrants to move to apartments. Today, migrants are not rejected if they move to apartments. Yet, those who move to apartments and who want to stay in the migrant community are careful not to disregard their rural backgrounds.

In brief, in addition to the physical environmental dimension, the social dimension affects one's place identity. Thus, the social groups that exist in that environment and one's relationship with and membership in these groups, as well as the wider socio-economic and political system which gives meaning to that environment and which defines its social groups with respect to one another (the social structure of society and the socio-economic position of the individual in that society) are significant determining one's self-identification with a place.

A point to stress here: I found out throughout this research that the rural/urban identity issue is a sensitive one. While some migrants may have a clear sense of their rural/urban identities and say definitely that they are either rural or urban, others may be open to the influences of others and affected by the social atmosphere. They may give different answers, depending on whether they are alone or with other people, and who those others are (migrants or city people; relatives, neighbors or unacquainted people).[7]

Another finding from which the development of the concept of place identity can benefit is what could be called "negative identity with place" (see p.356). My research reveals that people may suffer from their identifications with a place. This was the case of young women living in the gecekondu settlement, particularly second-

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[7]For example, at a gathering of relatives, a middle-aged woman who had a rather rural appearance said she considered herself urban. She added, in a joking spirit, that she felt like this despite the way she was dressed, since she did not like the village when she lived there and longed for living in the city. Later, she agreed with other women when they pointed to their rural origins and said they considered themselves rural.

generation migrants, who suffered from feeling themselves to be a gecekondu dweller and a rural person in the city.

In addition to the factors that affect the process of migrants' becoming urban, this study reveals a number of strategies used by migrants in their effort to become urban.

Some Strategies Used by Migrants in Their Effort to Handle Their Lives as Rural Migrants in the City

The following strategies are used by migrants in a society where major differences exist between the place of origin and the new environment in terms of the way of living, behaving and thinking, and where established group(s) in the new environment are unwilling to accept migrants into their community and tend to look down upon them as people who do not qualify as one of them.

"Social Space" and Interaction of Migrants With the City

Buttimer (1980), in her definition of "social space," emphasizes the importance of reference groups in people's interactions with the physical environment:

> The reference groups from which an individual derives his (sic) values and behavioral norms dictate certain aspirations and attitudes toward his milieu (p.26)....For each social group, a network of preferred places, interaction spaces, safe and dangerous locales, and frequented and avoided paths could be mapped. Individuals and groups feel their way through a city in activity space orbits with the nature and extent of circulation patterns generating and influencing images and establishing affective relationships with particular places, routes, and nodes....Such sociospatial reference systems can be viewed as filters through which the physical environment is known, evaluated, and used....In sum, places and spaces (areas, nodes, pathways, edges) assume

> spatial dimensions that reflect the social significance they have for those who use them (p.27).

The concept of "social space" is relevant in the case of migrants regarding favorite districts and interaction with the city. Migrants use their new environment creatively, selecting for use those parts that help strengthen who they are and who they want to become. In this study, those migrants who are oriented to urban society and look modern (or attempt to make changes in their outward appearances to fit into urban society) tend to use modern parts of the city where established urban classes live. They often mention these districts in their conversations, even though they may occasionally shop in those districts where cheaper merchandise is sold. This makes them feel closer to and as a part of established urban group(s). This group of migrants tend to mention as their favorite districts those areas where better-off, established urban people live. On the other hand, those migrants who are oriented to the rural community and are satisfied with socializing merely with other migrants are not motivated to do so. This group of migrants tend to mention as their favorite districts those areas where they live at the present time or lived in the past.

#14. <u>Interaction With the Environment</u>: Those members of the low-status migrant group who identify with the established high-status group(s) in the new environment are likely to use (or at least to mention) those parts of the environment that are mainly inhabited and/or used by the members of the established high-status group(s); and those members who are oriented to their migrant community tend to use those parts of the environment that are mainly inhabited and/or used by the migrant community.

"Impression Management" and Self-Presentation of Migrants

Another strategy used by migrants in their effort to deal with their migrant status is what Goffman (1959) calls "impression management." Through this strategy, individuals present their "social faces" by defining reality in their terms and by presenting that reality to others in a convincing way, hiding some facts and exaggerating others. The "personal front" (clothing, posture, speech, etc.) is important in carrying messages about who and what the person is. It takes a dual form in the case of many migrants who have ongoing relations with the rural community and who do not want to face the degrading of their behavior by the established urban society. They tend to sit and talk differently depending on whether they are with people inside or outside of their social circle (sitting legs crossed [Indian style] vs. sitting crossing legs; addressing each other by the titles used in the village, "kari" or "herif," vs. as "Ms" or "Mr"; calling their gecekondu settlements or newly developing apartment areas by their actual names vs. by the names of the neighboring upper-class districts). The dual nature of self-presentations of migrants is particularly true in the case of female migrants who dress differently when they go outside (of the house, the building or the neighborhood) or when they pose for photos.

The physical setting, and particularly the home, becomes significant in impression management. It is used as a "front stage" which is manipulated to convey the fostered image of the person to others. It also acts as a medium which communicates to the self as well as to others the personal/group identity of the person (Laumann & House, 1972; Duncan & Duncan, 1976; Pratt, 1981; Agnew, 1981).

This is true in the case of migrants who give a great deal of importance to the furnishing of their homes. Many furnish them with a less expensive but similar kind of furniture established urbanites have at their homes. They sacrifice food and entertainment to be able to afford this kind of furniture. In this way, they feel closer to being an urbanite (Senyapili, 1978).

"Impression management" becomes highly significant in the case of social mobility. Goffman (1959) writes:

> Commonly we find that upward mobility involves the presentation of proper performances and that efforts to move upward and efforts to keep from moving downward are expressed in terms of sacrifices made for the maintenance of front (p.36).

This is very relevant in the case of the "urban-bourgeois-by-choice" family in this study. The members of that family try hard to present to the outside world an image of themselves as middle-class established urbanites, spending money on the public realm, that is, on their clothing, furniture and the places they go, rather than for the activities done in the privacy of the family, including kitchen expenses.

Also, in the case of those migrants who want to become a part of urban society, yet who cannot due to economic and social reasons (the "urban-by-determination" group), impression management is done conspicuously. They pay a great deal of attention to their outward appearances and dress in a modern fashion at all times; they serve their guests the kind of food which is popular among established urbanites; they spend money on their furniture, trying to keep up with the recent houseware and technological products on the market.

#15. Self-Presentation: People tend to present themselves in such a way as to foster a particular image of themselves to the outside world.

(i) Those members of the migrant group who want to keep their relations with the community of origin (villagers, other migrants) and, on the other hand, who want to avoid the degrading of their behavior by the established group(s) in the new environment are likely to adopt dual self-presentations, behaving and looking differently depending on whether they are with people from the community of origin or from the established community in the new environment.

(ii) In the case of those members of the migrant group who want to become a part of the established group(s) in the new environment as well as those members who are not interested in forming relations with established group(s), dual nature of self-presentation is likely to disappear: The former tend to present themselves as similar to established group(s), and the latter tend to keep their original appearances and behavior.

"Psychological Closeness" and the Definition of Modern, Established Urbanites by Migrants

The majority of migrants in this study define modern urbanites as superior to them in terms of education, culture, manners, economic levels, and living conditions. They equate being a modern person in the city with being well-off, educated, cultured, and living in upper-class districts. They consider themselves neither urban nor modern. On the other hand, there are several migrants who define modern

urbanites as modest and kind people who do not discriminate. They are those who are oriented to urban society and want to become a part of it, usually without breaking their ties with the migrant community. By defining modern persons as modest, kind, and the like, they reduce the distance between themselves and a modern urbanite and bring themselves psychologically closer to being a modern urbanite. Yet, they do not feel they belong to the group of modern urbanites: They either consider themselves rural or someone between rural and urban.

The same strategy is also relevant in the case of those migrants who want to become a part of the established urban society and are unhappy living inside the migrant community (the "urban-by-determination" group). They emphasize the desire of the person to be modern and say that it is the desire and not the background of the person that determines whether the person is modern or not. In this way, they psychologically open up for themselves the path to become a part of the established group(s) in the city.

#16. "Psychological Closeness": Identity and the Definition of Established People in the New Environment by Migrants: Those migrants who want to feel like an established person in their new environment are likely to define an established person in such a way as to bring themselves psychologically closer to being one.

Varied Orientations Present Among Migrants

Varied Orientations of Migrants to Urban and Rural Societies and the Role of the Historical Context

As we have seen in this research, there is a considerable diversity in the migrant population regarding their orientations to urban and rural societies, ranging from modern-looking migrants who are oriented to urban society to rural-looking migrants who are content to socialize mainly with other migrants. Also, as we have seen, the structure of the society and the social, economic, and environmental conditions of migrants are significant factors that produce these diverse groups.

On the other hand, there are few studies which investigate these differences among migrants. The one piece of research on Turkey (Levine, 1974) which explored different value orientations of rural-to-urban migrants in Ankara is limited to male migrants who lived in gecekondus. However, since women are in a different position in society than men, particularly in a society like the Turkish one which prescribes highly differentiated roles and norms for men and women, it is worthwhile, and even imperative, to study women in the attempt to find out about the varying value orientations of migrants. Also, since the images of apartments are different from those of gecekondus, gecekondus being associated with rural migrants and apartments with urbanites, the type of housing environment is significant to the value orientations of migrants.

Levine (1974) identified three different value orientations which reflected three

different ideological positions: "embourgeoisment" (the Urban Modern type)[8] who accepted the values and aspiration levels of the urban middle-classes, which they could not achieve, and felt less adjusted and less happy in the city; "emulation" (the Urban Identity)[9] who adopted the success symbols of the middle-classes and identified with their success, and were the happiest among the three; and "traditionalism" (the Rural Oriented type)[10] who rejected the city and re-identified with rural areas and traditional practices (Levine, 1974). The urban conditions of migrants as well as their socio-economic positions in the village before migration were found to be significant in the value orientations of migrants.

The "bourgeois-by-choice; integration-by-rejection" family in my study overlaps to some degree with the "embourgeoisment" group ("the Urban Modern type") who identified with the urban middle-classes and accepted their values and aspiration levels. On the other hand, in contrast to Levine's description, they evaluated urbanites highly, and they wanted consumer goods that would make them

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[8]Migrants with the "embourgeoisment" ideology were relatively well-off in the city and had higher socio-economic status in the village. They were "pulled" to the city rather than "pushed" from the village. They were less religious, more educated and younger. They had less aspiration for consumer goods, and it was less likely that they would evaluate city people highly.

[9]Migrants with the "emulation" ideology had lower standards of living in the city and migrated to the city out of economic necessity. They were religious and had more limited education. They rejected their background, evaluated city people highly, and aspired to own consumer commodities.

[10]Migrants who adopted "traditionalism" (the Rural Oriented type) had poorer backgrounds and limited economic prospects and were again "pushed" to the city. They were similar to the "emulation" group in their educational levels and religiousness. On the other hand, it was less likely that they would evaluate city people highly.

similar to urbanites. This family also overlaps with the "emulation" group ("the Urban Identity") in their rejection of their backgrounds, in their evaluation of city people highly and in their aspiration for consumer commodities.

The "no-integration, no-problem; migrant-community-rooted" group among apartment residents and the "gecekondu-rooted; integration: out-of-the-question" group among gecekondu residents correspond to Levine's "traditionalism" group ("the Rural Oriented type"). Yet, one point should be mentioned here, that is, the men in the "gecekondu-rooted" group are older, retired, or moved to the city in their old age.

In brief, in the comparison of the migrant groups in my study with those in Levine's, there are some overlapping aspects across the groups, but with some differences. Also, there are groups in my study which do not fit into any of Levine's categories, for example, the "integration-without-rejection" group living in apartments who want to become a part of urban society without rejecting their rural background, and the "urban-by-determination" group living in gecekondus who evaluate city people highly, tend to reject their rural background, yet are educated and not religious at all (on the contrary very modern in their value orientations and appearances). These differences in the findings may be due to the differences in time since his study was done 15 years earlier. New groups of migrants with different value orientations may have appeared since then. Significant changes have been taking place in Turkey over the years regarding the phenomenon of rural-to-urban migration. The influence of the city on the village is increasing through the spread of modern means of communication and the migration to the city. Today, some migrants move to the city

with the expectation of living like "a modern urbanite"; they are not much different from an urbanite in their outward appearances and value orientations. (In this study, there were newcomer migrants who were hired as bartenders or waiters in prestigious hotels and restaurants.)

In addition, the number and influence of migrants in the city has increased over the years, making their mark on the city. Today, there are places in the city which are created by migrants (e.g. restaurants that sell food of their region). In addition, socio-economic differentiation is taking place in the migrant community, some migrants improving their economic conditions and moving to places where established urbanites live. Among them, there are those who cut off their relations with the migrant community.

As second-generation migrants who have different experiences and expectations from their parents start living in the city, they influence the dynamics in the city: Some criticize the status quo and tend to take radical measures to change it, whereas others try to fit into the mainstream urban society.

Despite these changes, the imbalance between larger cities and villages, and between the western and eastern parts of the country ("regional differences") still prevail. The majority of investments are made in larger cities and in the west, and villages, particularly those in Eastern Turkey, despite some improvements in the infrastructure (electricity, water) and services (school, health clinic), still suffer from economic hardship. Also, despite some improvements in the lives of migrants in the city, the attitudes of the urban elite towards rural migrants are increasingly negative

as their privileged position in the city has become threatened more by migrants. Many newcomer migrants face economic and social problems; many live in gecekondus. The spread of urban consciousness to rural areas through modern means of communication without economic development and social tolerance that parallels it creates a gap between reality and the expectations of migrants. This may result in increasing frustration which may turn into militant action against the status quo. This happened before the military intervention in 1980; gecekondu dwellers became supporters of militants. The increasing number of migrants in the city may help empower migrants, and it may help them develop a definition of urban persons which is different from that of established urbanites. As a consequence, more and more migrants may start challenging the values and norms of the urban elite. In this way, other than the efforts to make structural changes in society, which were supressed during the military coup of the early 1980's, they may make lasting changes in society. Future research will reveal whether these predictions will come true.

City-Village

The Varied Relationship of Migrants With the Village

This research is different from the studies which treat migrants as a single category, as if they were a homogeneous group in their experiences in and orientations towards the village. It is also different from the studies which argue for the positive role of the village on the lives of migrants (Levine, 1972; Suzuki, 1964). My research reveals that there is no black and white regarding the effect of the village

on the lives of migrants. Rather, there are shades of gray that show variation based on the migrant's present age, the age of migration, gender, and orientation to rural and urban societies. For some migrants, and they are usually men, older migrants and those who migrated to the city in their middle or old age, the village is the place where they feel at home among the people they know, a place of rest and recreation. Migrant men are pampered in the village; they get the chance to rest away from the stress and daily obligations in the city. Elderly migrants are treated with respect which they may miss in the anonymous atmosphere of the city. Those who migrated from the village in their middle or old age enjoy their time in the familiar environment of the village. These include women who are not expected to work in the fields or to participate in daily chores because of their older age. Visits to the village make life meaningful, particularly for those migrants who have been respected figures and/or from respected families in the village, as well as for those who have been successful in the city. They receive respect and recognition from their villagers and find the chance to compare their lives with those of the villagers, ending up content.

On the other hand, for others, and they are usually women, young migrants and those who grew up in the city, the village is where they experience stress and face problems. Married women are overwhelmed by the expectations of the village, particularly daughters-in law who have to live with their in-laws during their time in the village. Those men who are in the process of establishing themselves in the city feel the pressure to prove their success to the villagers. Young migrants are bored in

the village; young women who grew up in the city feel imprisoned in a place where every action of theirs is under supervision. They are expected to make changes in themselves to conform to the village norms, thus ending up with a double, usually conflicting, role in order to fit both into the village and the city. For these migrants, visits to the village are undesirable obligations which they want to avoid but usually cannot.

#17. Relations With the Place of Origin: Visits to the place of origin are likely to benefit:

(i) males, older migrants, and those who migrated in their older age;

(ii) those who have become successful in their new environment; and

(iii) those who were respected figures when they lived in their old environment or were from respected families and who continue to be so.

Visits to the place of origin are likely to be undesirable to:

(i) females, young migrants, and those who grew up in the new environment; and

(ii) those who failed in the new environment and who have low-status in the place of origin.

Orientation of the migrant to rural and urban societies plays a significant role in the migrant's relationship with the village. Those migrants who are oriented to urban society and who identify with urbanites tend to refrain from visiting the village. Gender and class are two important factors here. Migrant women who identify with urbanites do not want to visit the village, whereas migrant men who hold urban

identities do not mind visiting the village, and may, in fact, enjoy it. In the case of men, being in the village seems not to disturb their urban identities. On the other hand, in the case of women, being in the village, which means dressing like a village woman and living like a village woman, seems to conflict with their urban identities, since they are required to make major changes in themselves to fit in.

#18. Relations With the Place of Origin and Orientation to Rural and Urban Societies: Visits to the place of origin are likely not to be welcomed by those migrants who want to integrate into their new environment if, on their visits, the place of origin requires migrants to make major changes in themselves to fit into the old environment.

#19: Relations With the Place of Origin, Orientation to Rural and Urban Societies, and Gender: Those migrant women who identify with their new environment are likely to refrain from visiting their place of origin. On the other hand, in the case of migrant men who identify with the new environment, they are unlikely to refrain from visiting the place of origin.

Class is another factor in the relationship of migrants with the village. In the case of those migrants who want to assimilate into the established urban society of upper classes and to distance themselves from the village psychologically as well as socially, their relationship with the village takes a different meaning: They may tend to use the village as an arena for displaying their success in the city and the changes

they have made towards becoming "a real urbanite." They visit the village not out of obligation but to prove to their villagers the progress they made in their lives. They will most probably completely cut off their ties with the village as they get more settled in the city.

#20. Relations With the Place of Origin and Class: For those migrants who are in the process of becoming a part of the established society in their new environment, visits to their place of origin help psychological and social distancing. They are likely to stop visiting the place of origin after they are assimilated into the new environment.

In brief, the village plays a significant role in the lives of migrants, affecting them positively, negatively, or both. The village is their hometown, and villagers are their people. On the other hand, the village and villagers act as agents of control over migrants. Some migrants want to preserve their relations with the village, sometimes to spend months there (mostly men) and some do not (mostly young women). In the latter group, some can keep themselves away from the village and many cannot. Some look forward to visitors from the village, whereas to others, they become a burden. This is especially true for women who are the ones to accomodate villagers in their homes and who are the most common subject of criticisms. Relationship with the village usually contributes to the lives of migrants in economic terms. On the other hand, it may have negative psychological outcomes. The presentation of the village by the dominant view in society as the place of ignorant

and uncultured people who lack proper taste and manners (Karpat, 1976; Michelson & Keles, 1985) makes some migrants, usually those who want to belong to established urban upper classes, take a stand against the village.

The Varied City/ Village Preferences of Migrants

Gender and age are the two major factors that play a role in the preferences of migrants for the city/village. In general, women and second-generation migrants (including those who were born in the village but grew up in the city) prefer the city, whereas men and the elderly prefer the village. The village means hard work, oppression and social control for women, and the city, less work and some autonomy in the family. On the other hand, for men, the city means hard work to earn one's living, usually under the orders of others and "third class citizen" status, and the village, economic self-dependence, social recognition and male superiority. The village pushes men away because of the impossibility of making a living, and the city pulls women in by promising a more comfortable (less difficult) and freer (less constrained) life. Thus, many migrant men want to move back to the village after their retirement, whereas migrant women do not. Migrant women have another concern now which is shared by some of the husbands: They do not want to live away from their children who are established in the city. For second-generation migrants, both males and females, living in the village on a permanent basis is out of the question.

#21. City/Village Preferences: The general trend among migrants is that women and second-generation migrants prefer the city, while men and first-generation migrants who moved to the city in their old age prefer the village.

Varied Influences of the City on the Lives of Female Migrants

The high expectation of women for the city life and their satisfaction with it were strongly stated by many female participants in this study. Yet, some other studies show that women may be disadvantaged in the city. For example, a study done in Cairo (Abu-Lughod, 1961) shows that migrant women may become confined to their immediate neighborhood, as informal associations for them do not exist in the city, whereas these kinds of associations, such as the coffee shop, exist for migrant men (Abu-Lughod, 1961). In addition, community events, such as religious festivals, births, deaths, and the like become more private and less communal (Abu-Lughod, 1961). In the case of migrant women living in apartments, they may become confined to their homes as daily informal social gatherings disappear from the lives of this group of women (Erdoğan Erman, 1981). On the other hand, there may be some benefits for women in the city, such as diverse job opportunities and greater access to education, although not many migrant women take advantage of them (Kandiyoti, 1977).

In contrast to the literature which argues either for the positive or the negative role of the move to the city on women, this study reveals variations about the question of whether migrant women become more confined/freer in the city. In the

village, women are rather free where mobility is concerned. The village community is small and familiar, and strangers are rarely encountered (Bastug, 1979); it is not hard to keep a track of women's movements. Also, women work in the village, going to the fields, and the like. In the city, some migrant women become confined to their immediate neighborhood and are excluded from the public sphere (including the economic one), for example, the gecekondu-rooted women (particularly young newcomer migrant women), young women in conservative families and the elderly living in the apartment area. On the other hand, some migrant women have a great deal of mobility in the city, particularly if they have jobs: In this study, there are many middle-aged, long-term migrants and young second-generation migrants, and even some newcomers, who interact with the city rather extensively, often travelling by themselves. Working outside the home or attending school as well as older age seems to increase migrant women's freedom to interact with the city. The tendency to protect young women against male strangers may end up with young women being confined to the security of home and neighborhood. In the case of those women whose husbands work abroad, interaction with the city increases. These women act as provisional heads of the family, going to banks, government offices, and parents' meetings at school, shopping, paying bills or fulfilling various official formalities. This is also true in the case of families that do not have adult male members.

Also, the time spent in the city may relax the control over migrant women's movements in their environment. In this study, there were long-term older migrant women as well as second-generation young migrant women who used various parts of

the city and travelled around by themselves. The religious sect (Alevi vs. Sunnite) seems to be a significant factor here, shaping the attitudes of the migrant community towards women: Alevis are more liberal than Sunnites, and so Alevi women are likely to be less constrained in their interaction with the city than Sunnite women. However, even in the case of Alevis, men are protective of young women. One point to mention here is that, in Turkey in general, women are discouraged from participation in the outside world as much and as freely as do men, for example, eating out or going to a movie theater by themselves, or to be out by themselves when it is late at night.

Despite the generally submissive role of women from all social classes in Turkey (Kandiyoti, 1977), the positions of women in the family improve for some women after their move to the city. They are away from the control of their in-laws and have some autonomy in the family. As some women in my study say, their husbands improve their relations with them by seeing different relations among married urbanites. In many cases in this study, working outside the home has contributed to women's liberation, although its antithesis exists in the literature which states that "patriarchal control will be tightened rather than relaxed, as men become more economically dependent on women" (Kandiyoti, 1982; p.117).

On the other hand, there are some women in my study who complain that their husbands are vulgar and cruel. They explain this by the fact that they are from villages in Eastern Anatolia (economically the most backward and culturally the most traditional region of the country).

#22. Influences of the City on Female Migrants: Age, working status, the religious sect of the migrant woman, and the presence/absence of adult males in the family act as mediating factors in the influence of the city on female migrants. Young and elderly women, those who do not work outside the home, and those from Sunnite families are likely to be less open to the liberating effects of the city than middle-aged women, those who work outside the home, and Alevis.

Differing Orientations of Migrants Towards Gecekondus and Apartments

Different from the arguments in the literature for or against gecekondu settlements, this research reveals that gecekondu settlements are beneficial for some migrants and detrimental for some others. Gecekondu settlements are indispensible, particularly for newcomers to the city (with the exception of those migrants who move to the city with already established orientations to urban society and expect to live similar to an established urbanite), as well as for young housewives and elderly people who spend a great deal of their time in the neighborhood. Those who have moved to the city recently do not feel lonely in the presence of their neighbors who take care of them and spend their time with them. And those who have been living in the gecekondu settlement for many years share a common history and enjoy the respect and recognition they receive from their neighbors. Gecekondu settlements are places for a collective way of living where sharing and support among neighbors is the rule. As we have seen, this aspect may decline as the gecekondu area becomes

more diverse and as gecekondu neighbors become more competitive and less dependent on each other. Yet, gecekondu settlements are still supportive of the lives of their residents in many ways. Gecekondu areas are "female environments" where there is a special concern on the part of gecekondu men not to disturb neighborhood women who are free to spend time outside with their neighbors. This freedom of gecekondu women is also true in the case of teenage girls who are free to travel around by themselves in the neighborhood where familiar people live. Children are free to play outside without their parents worrying about strangers. Parental concern for children's safety becomes less of an issue in a gecekondu settlement since outsiders are easily spotted, and as a rule, the number of roads on which traffic runs inside a gecekondu settlement is limited. This is different in an apartment area where apartment buildings are built along roads on which traffic runs. Most of the gecekondu areas are also "green environments," and this is a luxury in a city where concrete blocks keep replacing greenery. Also, participation in the construction of their gecekondus, and now and then fighting against the police to keep them, helps develop people's emotional ties to their houses.

All these features of gecekondu settlements make their residents attached to their neighborhood. Many empirical studies in the squatter settlements in the Third World (e.g. Lobo, 1982; Karpat, 1976; Peattie, 1970) show the attachment of people to their communities and the existence of social networks which operate as "social and economic welfare in an environment otherwise uncertain in the extreme" (Peattie, 1970, p.51). In addition, studies about the community attachment of "minority

groups" in the United States, as well as in other countries whose populations have a significant number of immigrants, show that people who belong to "minority groups," (Blacks, Hasidic Jews, American Italians, among others) are attached to their communities (Hunter, 1874; Rivlin, 1982) and experience "grief" when they are forced to move out, despite the "improved" housing in their new location (Fried, 1963; Young & Willmott, 1957).

On the other hand, this attachment to community may be replaced by "community repulsion." In this study, there are gecekondu residents who are unhappy living in the gecekondu community. They think of close relations with neighbors as undesirable. They feel that their lives are controlled by their neighbors. They do not socialize with them. Rather, they fight with or withdraw from them. These gecekondu residents identify with urbanites. Among them, there are second-generation migrant women, those who have been living in the city for many years, and a few young newcomers who moved to the city with the expectation of living in apartments.

Communication means, particularly TV, have been highly influential in transmitting the values and images of the Western world since the early 1980's, reaching rural areas. The values that favor individualism, privacy, and independence have been planted into society. Today, some migrants prefer their privacy and autonomy over the support and cooperation of the migrant community (including the gecekondu community), mostly those who have become less dependent on the migrant community over the years spent in the city and less in need of support from other

migrants. Also, as we have seen, the gecekondu community faces changes that may decrease the attachment of its residents, for example, gecekondu owners moving out to apartments and tenants from various parts of the country moving in.

These changes may decrease the significance of the gecekondu community for some, but definitely not for all of its residents.

The "gecekondu problem" lies as much with the low standard housing and inadequate services and infrastructure in gecekondu areas as with the stigma attached to them. Karpat (1976) writes about the reasons stated by his respondents for their embarrassement of their gecekondu residences as follows:

> Those who were embarrassed to say that they resided in the gecekondu attributed it to the fact that the city dwellers still considered them inferior. Others attributed their embarrassment to their own personal failures, to the unwillingness of the old urbanites to consider them true "sehirli" (city people), to poverty, ignorance, and lack of city manners (pp. 156,157).

Many migrants living in apartments are proud of their apartment residence. They feel that they have become closer to becoming a part of the established urban society and have improved their social status. In general, although they may complain about the lack of nature, disturbance by noise, and restraints on behavior in the apartment area, they are happy to live in apartments which are "well-built" and "comfortable" places "easy to heat and clean" with "proper infrastructure and services." On the other hand, for a few, and they are mostly women who do not work outside the home, moving to apartments becomes a highly frustrating experience, particularly because of living isolated lives away from their closely-knit gecekondu community.

Thus, the issue is not to decide whether gecekondus or apartments are better for migrants, but rather to give them choices.[11] And while giving migrants choices, the different groups among gecekondu residents, namely, gecekondu owners as well as tenants, those who want to keep their gecekondus as well as those who want to replace them by apartment buildings to provide housing for their children, to obtain income through rents, to make profit by selling their apartments, and the like. The practice today is more in line with the demands of those who want to "benefit" from urban land rent, probably since their case fits better to the kind of urbanization that is prevalent in a capitalist system (profit-oriented). And those who want to live in their gecekondus in a low density environment seem to be submissive in the face of this reality, not having the power to have their voices heard. Gender may be an issue here. As we have seen, women are more attached to their houses and may want to keep them, whereas their husbands may want to sell them for economic gains.

In brief, replacing gecekondu settlements by apartment neighborhoods and, thereby, taking away from migrants an alternative way of living and reducing the housing stock for this group to one type of residential environment, namely, apartment buildings, seems to create further problems rather than solving the "gecekondu problem." With the passing years, a diversity in the migrant population has emerged. There are migrants who have been living in the city for many years as

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[11]See the heterogeneity/homogeneity argument between Gans (1961) and Marcuse (1969) in which Marcuse questions Gans's assumption that people have some choice about what they want to be, and they make that choice freely. He argues further that freedom to choose is meaningful in the case of Black housing only when decent housing both within and without the ghettos is available to Blacks.

well as those who have moved recently. There are those who preserve their rural orientations despite the years they spent in the city as well as those who move to the city with already established urban orientations. The bottom line regarding gecekondu settlements is the need to improve their physical conditions through investments in the infrastructure, as well as to have soundly-built houses through providing technical knowledge and help during the gecekondu construction. And on the socio-economic level, it is essential to work against poverty as well as for an ideology which argues for human values shared by all groups of people.

#23. Housing Environment and Private and Public Realms: When the distinction between public and private realms in a residential area diminishes and the neighborhood becomes semi-private/semi-public, this is likely to benefit those who spend most of their time in the neighborhood and want to socialize often with neighbors; whereas, by acting as a control mechanism, it is likely to raise complaints in those who prefer some autonomy and privacy over intimate relations with neighbors. On the other hand, when public and private space is sharply divided, this is likely to work to the disadvantage of certain people, for example, women from conservative families (particularly young women), housewives and the elderly, confining them to their apartments; whereas it is likely to help those who prefer to keep a distance between themselves and their neighbors, reducing neighbors' control, and conferring them some privacy and autonomy.

The following factors are expected to play a significant role in the

neighborhood's becoming semi-private/semi-public:

(i) Social factors (e.g. residents who are familiar with one another, who spend a lot of time in the neighborhood, using the outdoors often, and so who guard against strangers by their physical presence in the neighborhood vs. a heteregeneous population whose relations with each other and with the environment are limited, particularly in the case of residents from the middle and upper occupational levels);

(ii) Physical environmental factors (e.g. low-density housing, single-family houses built on a slope, no traffic running inside the neighborhood, all of which help residents have control over their neighborhood vs. high-density housing, apartment blocks built along streets on which traffic runs); and

(iii) Cultural factors (traditional societies that favor community over the individual vs. modern societies that privilege individuality over community cohesion).

#24. <u>Housing Environment and the Amount of Time Spent in the Neighborhood</u>:

Those who invest most of their time in the neighborhood (mostly women) are likely to be attached more strongly or to reject more strongly than those who do not. They are likely to become very unhappy if they leave a community to which they are attached, and they are again likely to become very unhappy if they do not have any other choice but to live in a community for which they feel repulsion.

Epilogue

As we have seen in this study, migrants are in a disadvantaged position in the city, particularly those living in gecekondus. They feel they do not belong to the group of established urbanites because of their lack of education and culture, their "failure" to speak and behave like urbanites, and in the case of those facing financial problems, their unfavorable living conditions. Many live under economic hardship and cannot take advantage of the facilities and institutions in the city. Those living in gecekondus feel the burden of the stigma attached to gecekondu settlements. Those who lack titles to the land face the danger of losing their homes.

Poverty is one of the major factors responsible for the disadvantaged positions of migrants. Although there are migrants who have become well-off "by taking advantage of the shortcomings of a developing capitalist system," the economic conditions of the majority are limited. The underdevelopment of the country and its role as a country at the periphery of the capitalist system, as well as the unfair distribution of the country's revenues are relevant factors here. Poverty is experienced as shameful for any group of people, whether it is in the city or in the village. It becomes even more shameful in the case of migrants when they are blamed for their poverty and for their gecekondus. The negative image of rural migrants, and that includes those who have improved their economic situations, as ignorant and uncultured people lacking proper taste and manners who undermine the established urban ways of life adds to the disadvantaged positions of migrants. The urban elite, in their efforts to maintain the status quo, and that means, to preserve

their privileged positions and exclusive places in the city and to continue being the group who defines the values and norms of society, takes a stand against migrants.

Despite the social and economic problems migrants face in the city, they are optimistic people. They try hard to improve their lives. As the many examples of migrants in this dissertation show, they try to improve themselves; they want to learn new things and to educate themselves in their new environment. And they deserve recognition for their efforts. This dissertation will gain another level of significance if it becomes a step towards this end. It will serve its full purpose if it helps clarify the misconceptions about rural migrants, discarding negative stereotypes by informing the public about the diversity among them. Social scientists doing research with migrants (not only on migrants); urban planners planning with gecekondu residents (not without community participation); and architects offering their technical service to people building their own houses and building with prospective gecekondu residents, all of these, will help solve "the migrant problem." Also, the media, by fostering the idea that there may be different accents, different ways of looking and living, and that none of them is the "right" way, will contribute towards incorporating migrants into "urban" society.

APPENDIX A

INTERESTING EVENTS DURING THE RESEARCH

A Birthday Party in Greenville:

The Presence of Both the Very Modern and the Very Traditional

One evening several women living close by and their children gathered in my next door neighbor's house to celebrate her son's birthday. All but one of the husbands were not home: One was in jail, and the others were out, working evening shifts. On that evening, I was surprised to see modern and traditional kinds of entertainment taking place in the same house in different rooms. In one room, a woman told stories while sitting on the floor, and in another room, teenage girls danced to the latest disco music in the dark. They said they watched it on TV and practiced a lot in order to be able to dance like that. A young rural-looking woman (AJ), joined the girls, disco dancing in her shalvars. Then, women in the first room started singing folkloric songs. Some teenage girls laughed at them, saying they did not like that kind of songs, whereas some others started singing with them. The girls joined the women in the end, performing several short plays. Those plays were interesting in displaying their conceptions of high-society and the way they made fun of it.

In one of the plays, there were two high-society women, drinking whisky and talking snobbishly. One of them had a dog called "Fifi." The play ended when they found out that what they were drinking was Fifi's urine. In another play, they again played a high-society woman. She spent all her time doing nothing. She was bored

to death because of her empty life. She had a henpecked husband and a maid called "Dondu" (a common name among rural people). Dondu was polite to her boss but talked behind her back, grumbling, "You mean, nasty woman. I wish I had a henpecked and wealthy husband like yours."

When we were leaving, AJ said to me (in English), "good night."

SUN's Farewell Party For Me

SUN wanted to give me a farewell party before I left for New York. I liked the idea, yet I was concerned about the reactions of our neighbors to this joint gathering of young women and men. In the end, I decided to take a relaxed attitude and to regard the whole thing as an "experiment" for my research.

The party turned out to be smaller than we expected. There were seven of us at dinner, sitting on cushions around a tablecloth laid on the floor on which the table was set. SUN and I fried fish. It was an extravagance for SUN to spend money on fish, yet she did it for me. The stove was burning in one corner, cold draft was coming in through the door, and the floor on which SUN had laid a brand new rather thick carpet with plastic sheets and cardboards under it, was damp. Seven of us could just fit into the room. But we did not care about these discomforts. We sat there on the carpet, chatting, joking and laughing, while eating and drinking. The party was over far before midnight. Our guests said that everyone in the group had to wake up early in the morning to go to school or work. This suited me: It was almost the end of my research and I was busy finding out the last missing pieces of information

before I left for New York. I had expected the party to last longer because of having raki (traditional Turkish liquor) at dinner. I was wrong. Before they left, they suggested cleaning the table and washing the dishes. SUN and I told them not to lose time, since it might take a long time for them to reach home. (Public transportation was rare at night.) Despite our objections, they insisted on carrying dirty dishes and leftover food to the kitchen. After they were gone, SUN and I washed the dishes, cleaned the house, then went to bed, had our usual talk in bed, and went to sleep.

The next morning, I heard no negative comments from my neighbors about the party.

A Trip to a Park in an Upper-Class District With a Group of Teenage Girls From Greenville

One sunny Sunday afternoon in late October, I joined a group of teenage girls living in my neighborhood when they decided to go to a park in GOP (an upper-class district not far from Greenville). Their mothers (AY and SED) were away, visiting their friends in other districts.[1] Their fathers were also away, one of them working abroad and the other in jail. The girls, especially older ones, were concerned that they might annoy their mothers, since they would go there without their permission. Finally, after some discussion among themselves, they decided to go. They were dressed in nice clothes. Older ones (16-19 years old) were wearing stretch jeans or

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[1]AY accompanied FS, her young neighbor, to FS's sister's in-laws-to-be when FS asked her to come to talk about marriage arrangements. SED was visiting a relative in a neighboring area.

pants with big belts tied tightly around the waist, while younger ones (8-10 years old) were dressed rather modestly.

We started walking down the asphalt road, heading for GOP. On our way, we saw a wedding celebration in our gecekondu settlement. Men and women were performing folkloric dances outdoors with the music played by a drum and a pipe. One of the older girls said, "I don't like that kind of wedding celebrations."

On our way to the park, they kept looking around, noticing many things in the environment. One of the girls showed me a luxurious building, saying that their gecekondu once stood in its place. She was upset that the apricot tree which they had planted was gone. They were interested in the expensive furniture stores, luxurious apartment buildings and recent model cars in GOP. They were familiar with foreign brands, such as BMW's and Opels. SRP, AY's younger daughter, said her family was planning to buy a car. But, theirs would be Murat (a domestic car of small size).

I heard younger girls talking with admiration about almost anything they saw on the way, including a tiny dog. (SRP's family had a dog, but theirs was a big one to watch the house.) CIG (SED's younger daughter) said she saw the same ceramic tiles and the bathtub which the family for whom her mother worked as a maid had in their apartment. She was upset that her family did not have anything like that.

Their admiration for the luxurious houses, furniture, and cars around them did not prevent them from being critical. Once they complained about the fume coming from exhaust-pipes, another time about the dominance of buildings in the environment, lacking greenery.

While walking on the main street of GOP, they kept pointing out a bakery, a Chinese restaurant (SRP's father once worked there), among other places, mentioning them by their names. When I asked SRP why some of the signs were written in English, she said, "I guess to make them look modern." Another time, the same girl said, "Here, people put on airs with their cameras. Once I walked here with my father, carrying the binoculars he had brought from Riyadh."

When we reached the park, we sat on a bench and started looking around. AF (SED's oldest daughter) said, in a sad voice, "Look at these girls. They are young, and so are we. Yet, they are so different from us." SRP, pointing to a girl in a mini skirt, said, "Look, how short is her skirt. Shame on her."

Then they bought one simit (Turkish bagel) and shared it among themselves, giving a piece to me. A lottery vendor approached us, trying to sell a lottery ticket. I asked the girls what they would do if they won the lottery. (They did not buy a ticket.) AF said, "I guess I would be confused at the beginning. Then, when I got used to the idea of being wealthy, I would first buy a house and a car, and then many clothes. I would open a boutique and run it myself. I would also hire a cook." SY said, "It would not be easy to adapt to such a life after a life like ours. I would buy a house away from the city, since I would also buy a car."

They did not want to get home late, so we started walking back after less than an hour in the park. When it started getting darker, they decided to take a bus, so we headed to the nearest bus stop. While we were crossing the street, a car stopped, waiting for us to cross. AF said (in English) "thank you" to the man and, turning to

us, said, "I don't think you are a man who can understand what I just said."

When it took a long time for the bus to arrive, I suggested taking a taxi. They did not like the idea, saying that they were concerned about possible gossip. Finally, we arrived in Greenville in the mini-bus of a friend of AF's brother. SY wanted to get off at some distance from her house. She was nervous that she might be seen while getting out of the car of a young man.

While walking to our houses, the older girls looked rather upset. The following are what they said:

YAS, "Look how different GOP is from our neighborhood. I feel awkward. "

SY, "Heaven and hell" (referring to GOP as heaven and Greenville as hell).

We were all relieved when we found out that their mothers were not home yet.

A Visit to a Migrant Couple That Brought Back Village Times

One Saturday afternoon, my roommate, SUN, took me to a relative of hers at the last bus stop of the settlement. That part of the gecekondu settlement had a more rural appearance. There were cows around. Most of the houses were like shanties.

When we arrived, GS's husband welcomed us. GS was busy, making spinach pies for some male relatives of hers who were visiting her family, one of them on his visit from the village. She was sitting on the wooden floor, making pies on a low and round wooden table and cooking them in a teflon frying pan. The men present in the house commented on GS's cooking in a teflon frying pan, saying, "This is urban way of cooking. In the village, they use sac (round metal plate). Teflon frying pans are

common in the city today."

GS made pies for us, too. Her husband offered us tea. There was a divan and several chairs in the room. Some of us preferred to sit on the floor, while others sat on the divan, eating pies and drinking tea. Following this, we started playing cards. Suddenly there was a power failure, and we were in the dark. The people in the house did not think that it was a significant problem. Rather, they tried to take advantage of it. They said it was like in the village and started telling stories, making jokes and singing. It was the way they spent long winter evenings in the village in the past. It was another world to me. SUN told some stories of a sexual nature, saying she could not have dared to tell them if the electricity had been on, men and women staring at each other. Some time later, when we started getting bored, GS bought candles from the grocery store. One of the men, a teacher, made animals out of paper in the candle light. SUN read stories and poems which GS had cut from the newspaper.

When the power was finally restored after some hours, SUN and I left the house and started walking back home on the asphalt road. Two of the men accompanied us. The asphalt road was poorly lit. One of the men, the teacher, warned us about the cars passing by, saying it would be wise to carry some white bags with us to be noticed in the dark.

In our house, SUN offered them coffee. We talked about the great time we had that day. Then they left.

A Visit to a Woman Who Recently Moved to an Apartment

Once my neighbors in Greenville and I visited a woman (SER) in her new apartment in Blueville, bringing with us a gift (vase) bought collectively. SER had told her relative living in Greenville that she felt neglected when her previous neighbors had not visited her until then.[2] Upon hearing this, my neighbors decided to pay her a visit very soon and started collecting money for the gift. They were not willing to spend more than a couple of thousand on the gift, saying that amount was good enough for SER. It is my feeling that my neighbors felt some envy for SER who was young yet owned an apartment. When I told them that I would bring my camera with me to take pictures of SER's new place, one of them said, "Why do you bother to take pictures of her apartment? She doesn't need it, she has plenty of money."

When we visited SER, she took us first to the living room where the stove was lit, since my neighbors were cold and wanted to sit close to the heat. Later, she invited us to the guest room where she had set a table. We all sat around the table, eating various homemade pastries and drinking tea. Most of us did not use utensils, including SER, and only ZU (ZT's relative living in Greenville who enjoys a high standing among her neighbors) used a fork and a knife. As an excuse for not using utensils, my next door neighbor said, "When we had dinner at China Town (a

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[2]SER herself had been late visiting ZT in her apartment. She had finally paid a visit to ZT after she had moved to her apartment. This may be for practical reasons, namely, due to her living closer to ZT. It may as well be due to her feeling better about herself and as ZT's equal by living in an apartment.

Chinese restaurant where her husband used to work as a waiter), some foreigners started eating chicken with their fingers."

While sitting at the table, eating and drinking, we talked. Among the subjects of conversation were the furniture SER had bought after she had moved to her apartment, the disappearance of close relations among neighbors in Greenville and how much fun it used to be to live there, the superiority of apartments to gecekondus (SER said it), and intentions of moving to apartments (ZU mentioned it: She said she might move to an apartment, but she and her husband had not made up their minds yet). In all the talking, I noticed attempts on the part of SER to prove to her previous gecekondu neighbors her better situation and on the part of the gecekondu residents not to be less than equals to this recent apartment resident. For example, when ZU heard about the high price of an apartment in Blueville, she said, "One day I will be living in the apartment block that will replace my house (her gecekondu in Greenville). Then I will say, "I live in GOP" (an upper-class area). SER at once responded, "We live in Whiteville" (a middle-class area).

Before we left, SER took us to each of the rooms, showing us around. In fact, we were expecting it. My neighbors (and I) were curious about SER's new place. At the end of our tour, when ZU said to SER, "Your place is not big. To me this is the ideal size," SER responded, "In the future, we will sell this apartment and move to a bigger place with a central heating system."

On our way to Greenville, when I asked my next door neighbor if she liked SER's apartment, she said, "not bad." She seemed rather gloomy.

A Day of Making Red Pepper Paste in Greenville

One sunny day in the Fall, my proximate neighbors in Greenville became involved in making red pepper paste. It all started when ZU, a long-term migrant in the city, said that she would make paste from the red peppers sold cheaply at the open market. ZK and AJ, among others, liked the idea and decided to make pepper paste for themselves.

ZK would be doing it for the first time in her life. She said she did not know about red pepper paste when she lived in the village. So, she carried home 10 kilos of red peppers from the market place on her back, with her small daughter by her side.

The spirit of making paste flourished when ZK's oldest sister whose husband worked in Germany appeared in the neighborhood with a meat-grinder. Since ZK's house was small, they set the machine at the porch and started grinding peppers outside. Observing the convenience of making paste by using the machine, neighbors formed a line to take advantage of it. Yet, ZK's sister's time was limited: She had to take her grandson to the dentist. So, she left after she was finished with ZK's peppers as well as another neighbor's, leaving the rest in frustration and resentment. The next day I heard protests from my neighbors who did not have the chance to use the machine. The problem was solved when a woman whose husband worked in Riyadh, let them use her electrical meat-grinder brought by her husband. (ZK's sister's machine was manual.)

At the end of that day of making red pepper paste, the narrow unpaved path in

front of my house was practically covered with pepper seeds and pepper skins which were consumed by chickens and turkeys, a natural way of garbage disposal and an example of ecological functioning.

A Meeting of ZT and Her Relatives With a Better-off Migrant Woman

On my visit with ZT and her relatives to another relative, BZ, a better-off migrant woman living in a middle-class district, a neighbor of BZ joined us unexpectedly.

The presence of that woman (EME) changed the whole atmosphere. Before she came, everybody seemed relaxed, talking about their past lives in the village. In this woman's presence, ZT and her relatives became self-conscious about the way they spoke and behaved. EME was inclined to boast about her good socio-economic standing, while playing the modest migrant. Her father was an ağa (owner of several villages in a feudal system) in southeastern Anatolia, her husband a dentist. She started talking of how her father's chauffeur used to drive her to her friends, how she grew up with servants around. She did not want to participate in my research, saying that she did not have problems in her life. She talked about her husband as a modest man who would help everyone ("He even helps our kapici [building maintenance person]," she said). She criticized her neighbors who boasted about hiring cleaning women, affording meat, shopping at fashionable places, and the like. She said, in contrast to these women, she was careful not to boast about her privileged situation: For example, she would not wear her gold bracelets when she visited people who

could not afford them. Instead, she would wear her bracelets to parties where everybody would be wearing them. She said she did not use cleaning women, not that she could not afford it: She preferred to clean her place herself in order not to get bored. She told how her neighbor upstairs, knowing that EME did not hire a cleaning woman, used to talk about her as a dirty, cheap, and uncultured woman. That neighbor had made her children make noise, she had beaten rugs when EME hung her laundry on the balcony. Later, EME had invited her apartment neighbors, including that neighbor, accomodating them well at her place. Her neighbors were still talking about the variety of food she had served that day. After that visit, that neighbor had regretted her negative attitude towards EME and had started treating her with respect.

BZ said she, too, had friends whose husbands were lawyers and doctors and who liked to boast. (She imitated how they walked in a coquettish manner.) EME went on boasting, while criticizing those who boasted. She said, when she could not handle the stove at her place when she first got married, her father had bought her an apartment with a central heating system.

As EME talked more and more about herself, ZT and her relatives became more and more reserved and kept silent most of the time. When EME asked ZT where she lived, ZT said, "I live in Whiteville." (She preferred to say she lived in Whiteville, the middle-class district close to Blueville, instead of in Blueville, a previously gecekondu area.)

It was a relief for everybody when EME finally left.

"Duvaklik": A Women's Wedding Celebration in Greenville

On one afternoon, women (mostly neighbors and some relatives) gathered to celebrate a wedding. The parents and close relatives of the groom had come from the village that morning for the occasion.

I was invited to the party. FS, the groom's sister, made sure that I would be at the party to take photographs. I was one of the first to arrive. Soon the house was full of guests. A tape recorder was playing folkloric music. Chairs were placed around the room, reserving the central area for dancing. There were both rural-looking women in their shalvars and modern-looking young women in their fashionable outfits. There were also poor women as well as better-off women wearing gold bracelets, all living in Greenville.

Several women started dancing. Young women seemed uninterested in dancing to folkloric music. When they asked a young woman to join them, she said, "I will not dance to this music. I like disco music." The following are other conversations on dancing:

FM: Why don't you dance? There is not any man with us?

NN: Let's do village dancing.

TS: It has been 15 years since I moved out of the village. I forgot village dances, and I cannot manage the kind of dancing here."

The women who came from the village for the wedding danced somewhat differently from those living in the city. The latter group moved and twisted their bodies more, while the former group was more reserved in their body movements.

The party went on for several hours. Then, in groups, the guests left.

APPENDIX B

RELATIONSHIP OF PARTICIPANTS WITH EACH OTHER[1]

Those Living in Apartments

ZT: My keyperson
HU: ZT's husband and her mother's sister's son
OZ: ZT's daugher
ORH: ZT's son

HJ: ZT's youngest sister
SK: HJ's husband

RZ: ZT's uncle's daughter, HJ's and HS's sister-in-law (RZ's, HJ's and HS's husbands are brothers) and TU's older sister
DD: RZ's husband, SK's oldest brother
NEB: RZ's daughter

HS: HJ's and RZ's sister-in-law

SD: RZ's sister-in-law

HKD: SD's younger sister, HS's daughter-in-law
MUT: HKD's husband, HS's son

TU: ZT's uncle's daughter, RZ's younger sister
SA: TU's husband

ZU: VL's wife
VL: ZT's cousin (ZT's mother's brother's son)
DON: VL's second illegal wife (kuma)

KI: The sister-in-law of ZT's other sister who lives in the provincial town of their village

SNM: KI's neighbor

BZ: ZT's mother's brother's daughter, VL's younger sister

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[1]The participants who are mentioned in the dissertation are listed here. Those who live in the same house/apartment are grouped together.

EK: ZT's uncle's daughter, TU's older sister
HK: EK's husband

MUS: HK's youngest daughter's father-in-law

MK: ZT's relative, EK's daughter-in-law

GULD:ZT's husband's brother's daughter, SUN's older sister
MEH: GULD's late husband
GUZ: GULD's daughter

MI: ZT's distant relative, ZK's older sister

MY: ZT's once-neighbor from the village

AG: ZT's neighbor who lives in the building next to hers

HAT: ZT's neighbor from Greenville (Both of them moved to Blueville and now live not far from each other.)

FAN: ZT's neighbor living in the same building
YUC: FAN's son

Those Living in Gecekondus

Greenville

SUN: ZT's husband's brother's daughter, ZT's tenant (my roommate)

SON: ZT's husband's sister's daughter, TU's tenant

ZK: ZT's distant relative, MI's younger sister, ZU's tenant
CU: ZK's husband, HS's younger brother

NZ: ZT's distant relative
MM: NZ's husband
HUL: NZ's older daughter
LEY: NZ's younger daughter

GS: ZT's husband's brother's daughter
YU: GS's husband, HS's younger brother

ADG: ZT's brother's son
YZ: ADG's younger sister

AY: ZT's former next door neighbor (and my next door neighbor) in Greenville
HY: AY's husband
SY: HY's daughter from his first marriage

EBE: AY's tenant

BU: AY's friend

LK: BU's neighbor and friend

FK: AY's former landlady

YT: FK's tenant

YA: YT's friend

YG: YA's brother's wife

MC: FK's villager and neighbor

FS: AY's close neighbor and friend
FAH: FS's husband

BAH: FAH's younger brother
KZ: BAH's wife

ST: FS's landlady
SS: ST's daughter
TK: ST's daughter-in-law

GL: FS's close neighbor and friend

NZL: FS's and GL's next door neighbor

EG: GL's husband's relative

SG: EG's older sister

AS: EBE's former neighbor

NI: AS's younger sister

AJ: TU's tenant
ED: AJ's husband

DZ: The "black sheep" of Greenville
CL: DZ's husband

DR: DZ's younger sister
OR: DR's husband

GUE: ZT's former neighbor before they moved to Greenville
FZ: GUE's grandmother (father's mother)
GUL: GUE's cousin

GN: GUE's younger sister

SED: AY's friend
AF: SED's oldest daughter, SY's close friend
YAS: SED's middle daughter
MD: SED's oldest son

AHD: SED's husband's younger brother

GLS: SED's close neighbor
SEV: GLS's daughter

SAF: AY's next door neighbor

EM: Her husband painted ZT's house when she lived in Greenville

NA: ZU's friend and neighbor
GD: NA's daughter

MS: ZT's former landlady
ES: MS's husband

HZ: ZT's tenant in Greenville

Blueville

CER: ZT's neighbor

AT: ZT's friend and neighbor
GA: AT's daughter-in-law

APPENDIX C: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON PARTICIPANTS

Gender

Number of Females: 105

Number of Males: 39

Total: 144

Research Sites

Number of Participants Living in Greenville: 88

Number of Participants Living in Blueville: 51

Number of Participants Living in Whiteville: 5

Ownership and Type of Residential Environment

	Owner	Renter	Total
Gecekondu	73	35	108
Apartment	27	9	36
Total	100	44	144

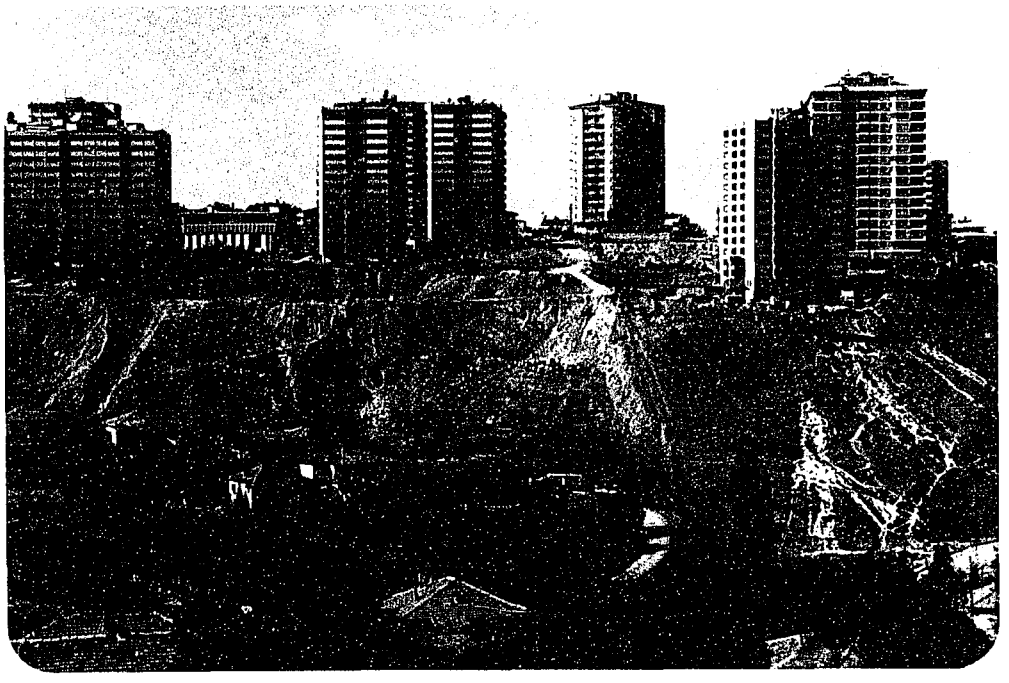
Ownership and Type of Residential Environment in Blueville[1]

	Owner	Renter	Total
Gecekondu	12	8	20
Apartment	24	7	31
Total	36	15	51

[1]In Greenville there are no apartment buildings, and in Whiteville, no gecekondus.

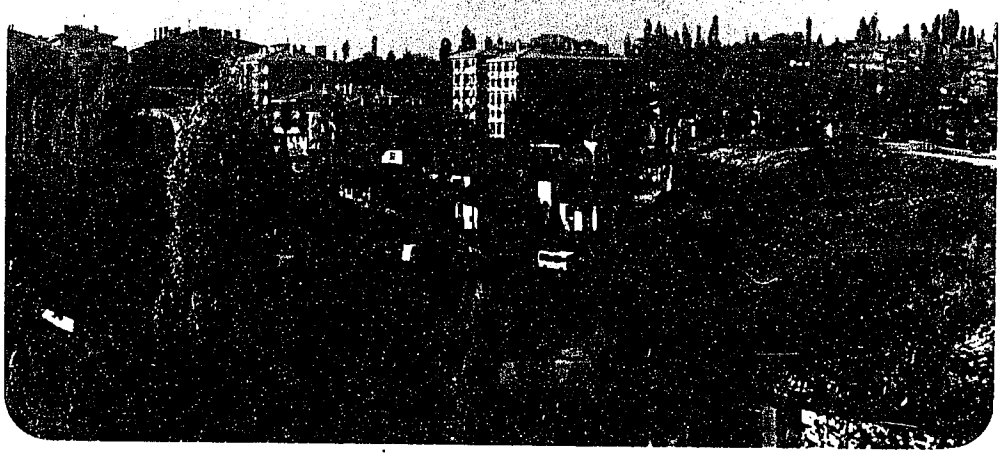
APPENDIX D: PHOTOGRAPHS OF GECEKONDU AND APARTMENT SITES AND RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRANTS IN TURKEY

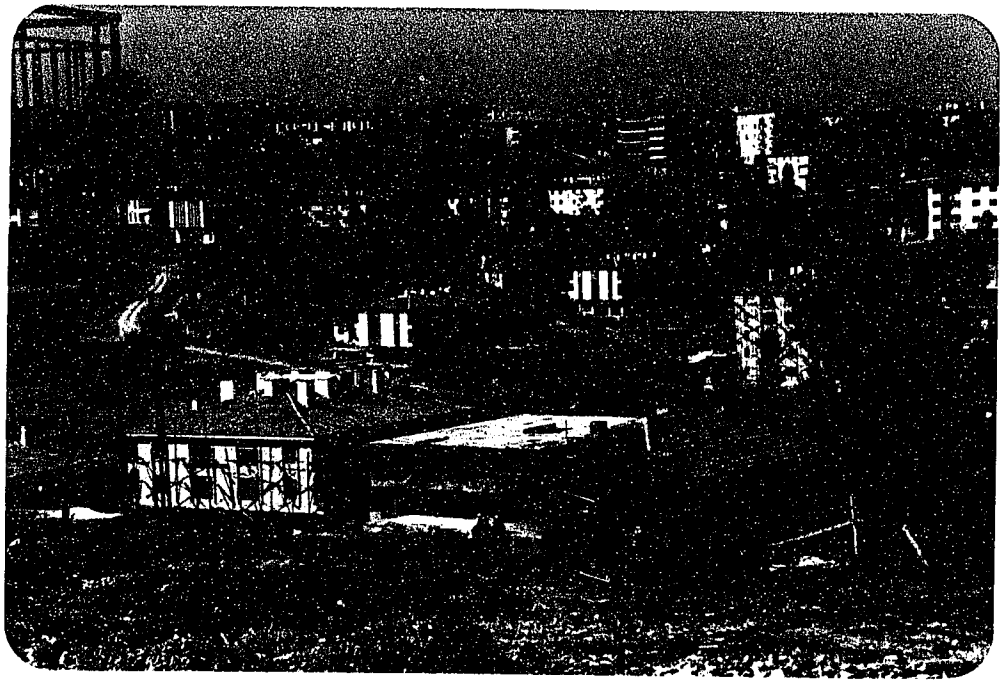
Photos. 1 & 2. An example of gecekondu settlements that looks like Greenville with its high-rise modern apartment blocks in the background.



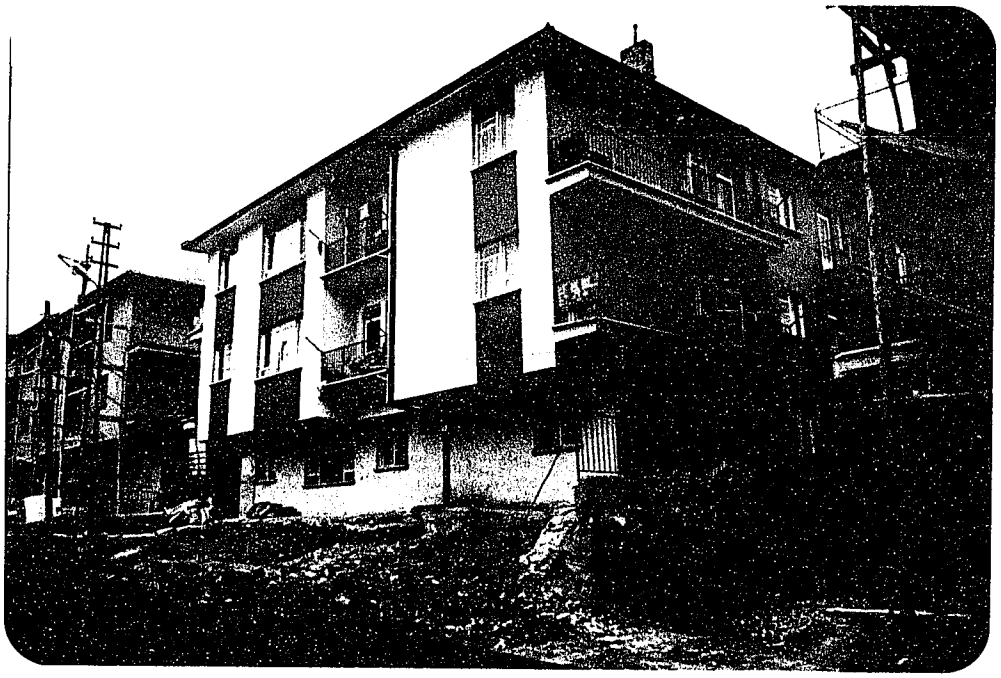
Photos. 3 & 4. A low-density gecekondu settlement similar to Greenville with its free-standing houses and paths connecting them.

Photos. 5 & 6. An example of apartment sites in transition that looks like Blueville.





Photos. 7 & 8. A recently built apartment building in a neighborhood similar to Blueville.



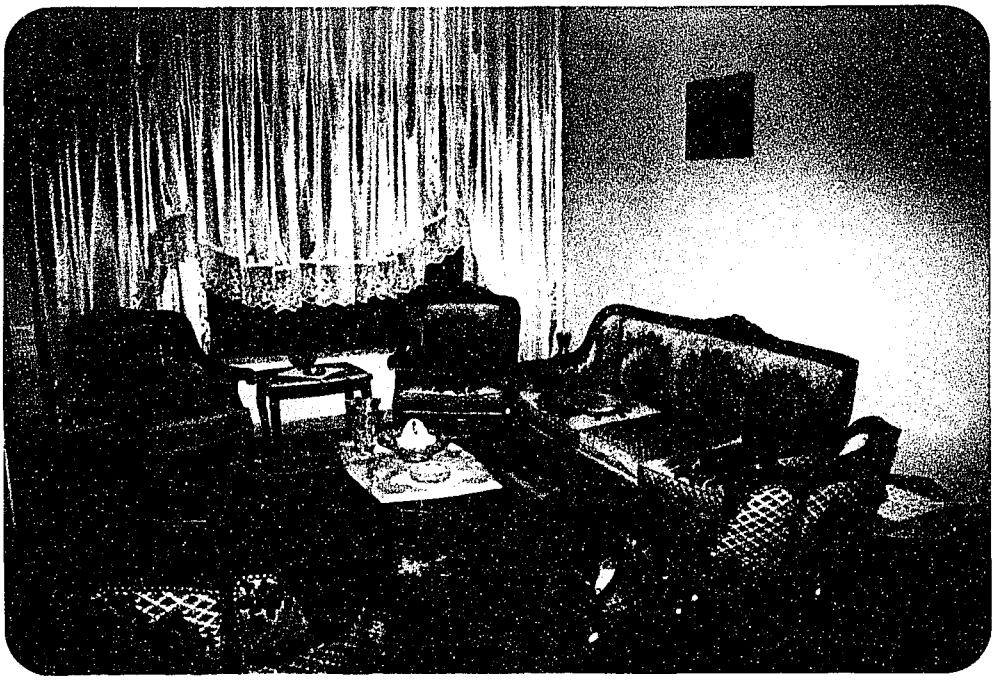
Photos. 9 & 10. Some examples of rural-looking women living in the gecekondu settlement.

Photos. 11 & 12. Some examples of modern-looking women living in the gecekondu settlement.

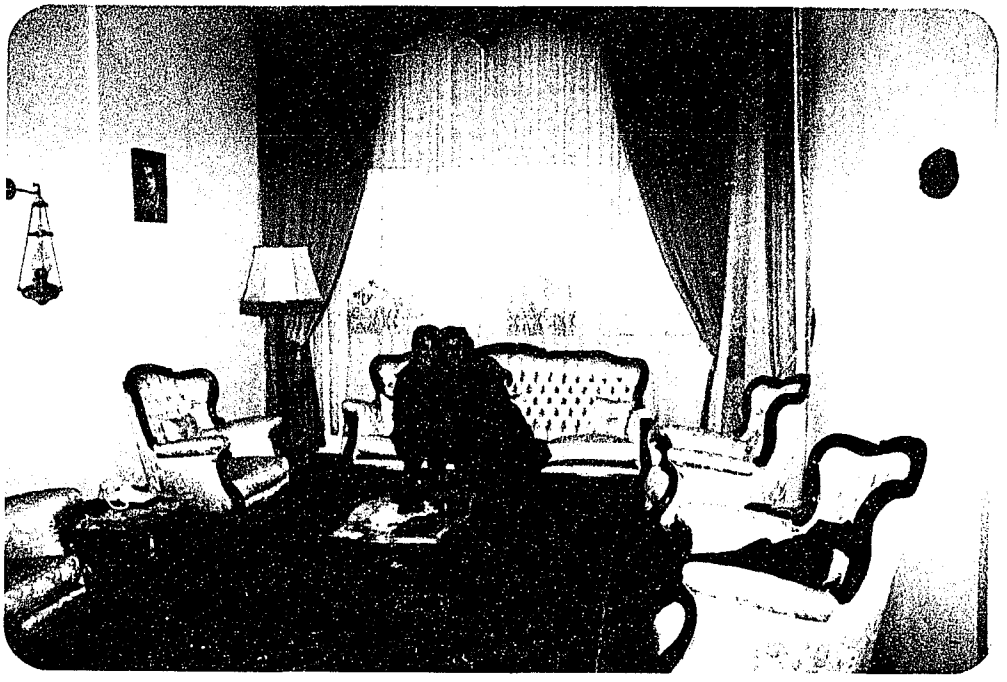
Photos. 13 & 14. Two young, modern-looking gecekondu women.

Photos. 15 & 16. Some examples of migrant women living in apartments.

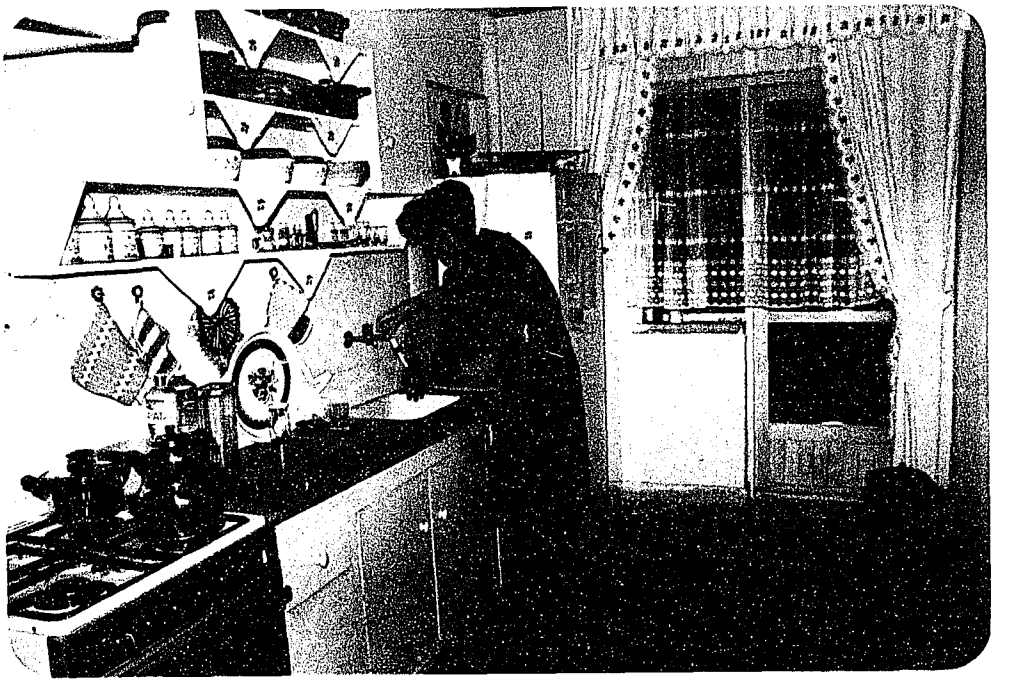
Photos. 17 & 18. Interiors of two gecekondus: the top photo depicts a rural way of furnishing and the bottom photo depicts one furnished in a modern fashion.



Photos. 19 & 20. Interiors of two apartments.



Photos. 21 & 22. The contrast between two women, one cooking in the living room of her gecekondu while sitting on the floor and the other one washing dishes in the kitchen of her new apartment.



Photos. 23 & 24. Social gatherings among migrant women: the one in the top photo is held in an apartment and the one in the bottom photo is held in a gecekondu.

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