

RECONSTRUCTION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY IN AN URBAN SPACE: THE  
CASE OF MIGRANT KURDISH WOMEN IN ISTANBUL-SULTANGAZI

Thesis submitted to the  
Institute of Social Sciences  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Sociology

by

Ruřan GÜNGÖR

Fatih University

June 2011

© Ruşan GÜNGÖR


All Rights Reserved, 2011

To my parents and Ferhat KENTEL

## APPROVAL PAGE

**Student** : Ruşan GÜNGÖR  
**Institute** : Institute of Social Sciences  
**Department** : Sociology  
**Thesis Subject** : Reconstruction of Ethnic Identity in an Urban Space: The Case of Migrant Kurdish Women in Istanbul-Sultangazi  
**Thesis Date** : June 2011

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.


  
Assoc.Prof. Ali Murat YEL

### Head of Department

This is to certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Assoc.Prof. Ferhat KENTEL

### Co-Supervisor

  
Assoc.Prof. Ali Murat YEL

### Supervisor

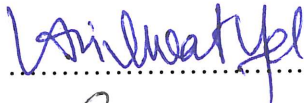
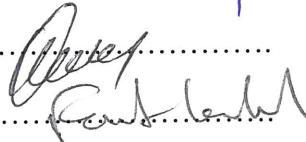
### Examining Committee Members

Assoc.Prof. Ali Murat YEL

Prof. Ömer ÇAHA

Assoc.Prof. Ferhat KENTEL

Assist. Prof. Serap KAVAS

  
.....  
  
.....  
.....

It is approved that this thesis has been written in compliance with the formatting rules laid down by the Graduate Institute of Social Sciences.

Assoc. Prof. Mehmet KARAKUYU

### Director

## APPROVAL PAGE

**Student** : Ruşan GÜNGÖR

**Institute** : Institute of Social Sciences

**Department** : Sociology

**Thesis Subject** : Reconstruction of Ethnic Identity in an Urban Space: The Case of Migrant Women in Istanbul-Sultangazi

**Thesis Date** : June 2011

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Assoc. Prof. Ali Murat YEL  
**Head of Department**

This is to certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Assoc. Prof. Ferhat KENTEL

Assoc. Prof. Ali Murat YEL

**Co-Supervisor**

**Supervisor**

### Examining Committee Members

(Title, Name and Signature)

.....

(Title, Name and Signature)

.....

(Title, Name and Signature)

.....

It is approved that this thesis has been written in compliance with the formatting rules laid down by the Graduate Institute of Social Sciences.

(Title, Name and Signature)  
**Director**

## **ABSTRACT**

**Ruřan GÜNGÖR**

**June 2011**

This thesis aimed to explore whether or not there are any changes in the ethnic identity of the women who migrated from the eastern cities of Turkey into the Cumhuriyet Street in Sultangazi, Istanbul over their daily life practices. The main focus is these women's reconstruction of their ethnic identity in city life. On the one hand, they reconstruct their ethnic identity within the urban space and they are exposed to rearrangements and reorganization in the subjects, such as plunge into employment life, consumption culture in city life, gender roles within family and division of labor.

**Key words:** Identity, Reconstruction of Ethnic Identity, Practice of Everyday life, Kurdish women, Urbanization, Urban space.

## KISA ÖZET

**Ruřan GÜNGÖR**

**June 2011**

Bu tez, Türkiyenin doęu illerinden İstanbulun Sultangazi ilçesinin Cumhuriyet mahallesine göç etmiş kadınların etnik kimliklerinde deęişiklik olup olmadığını gündelik hayat pratikleri üzerinden okumayı amaçladı. Temel argüman şehir hayatı içerisinde etnik kimliklerini yeniden inşa etmeleri ile ilgili. Şehir hayatı içerisinde bir yandan etnik kimliklerini yeniden inşa ediyorlar. Öte yandan; iş hayatına giriş ve şehir hayatındaki tüketim kültürü aile içerisindeki cinsiyet rolleri ve iş bölümünün yeniden organize edilmesine yol açıyor.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kimlik, Etnik kimlięin yeniden inşa edilmesi, Gündelik hayat pratięi, Kürt kadını, Kentlileşme, Kent alanı.

# LIST OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION PAGE.....	iii
APPROVAL PAGE.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
KISA ÖZET.....	vi
LIST OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLE.....	x
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	xi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	xii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I: THE CONTEXT OF IDENTITY AND EVERYDAY PRACTICE	
1.1. Identity.....	5
1.2. Practice of Everyday Life.....	7
1.3. Assimilation and Integration.....	9
1.4. Migration.....	11
1.5. Urban Space and Urbanization.....	13
CHAPTER II: THE CONTEXT OF RESEARCH AND METHOD	
2.1. Research Area.....	16
2.2. Research Method.....	17
2.3. Profiles of the Participants.....	18



CHAPTER III: THE FAMILIAL BASIS FOR THE REPRODUCTION OF THE KURDISH  
WOMEN'S IDENTITY

3.1. Family Structure.....	21
3.2. The Authority of Elderly Women and Hierarchy.....	25
3.3. Endogamy.....	28
3.4. Power of Men over Women.....	31
3.5. Sexual Division of Labor in Family.....	34
3.6. The Practice of Housework.....	36

CHAPTER IV: THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTAL BASIS FOR THE REPRODUCTION OF  
THE KURDISH WOMEN'S IDENTITY

4.1. Neighboring.....	44
4.2. The Practice of Identification in Social Environmental.....	46

CHAPTER V: THE ECONOMIC BASIS FOR THE REPRODUCTION OF KURDISH  
WOMEN'S IDENTITY

5.1. Consumption Practice.....	53
5.2. Employment.....	57

CHAPTER VI: THE POLITICAL BASIS FOR THE REPRODUCTION OF KURDISH  
WOMEN'S IDENTITY

6.1. Having Access to State Services.....	63
6.1.1. Educational Policies.....	63
6.1.2. Language Policies.....	67

CONCLUSION.....	70
-----------------	----

APPENDICES.....74

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....79

## LIST OF TABLE

<b>Table 1:</b> The profiles of Participants .....	<b>19</b>
--	-----------

**LIST OF APPENDICES**

**Appendix A:** Questions of the Semi-structured in-depth Interviews.....74

**Appendix B:** Short Life Stories of Participants.....76

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I am greatly indebted to my thesis supervisor, Prof Ferhat Kentel, who did spare his valuable time for me and motivated and encouraged me during my studies. I thank him very much.

I wish to thank my thesis supervisor, Prof. Ali Murat Yel, who was the principal guide and supporter of my research interest with his fatherly manners, sincerity and cooperation.

In particular, I am grateful to Asistant Prof Serap Kavas, for her advice and suggestions on my thesis. I also thank Zeynep Şahin, Erkan Toguslu and Ömer Çaha, who shared their knowledge and experiences during this research process.

Moreover, it is a great pleasure to thank my friend, Esra Tatlı, who helped me with my thesis. I thank, my father, Necati and all my family members for their unending support and confidence in me during my research.

## INTRODUCTION

The main question of the thesis is to examine everyday life practices of Kurdish migrant women and to investigate the reconstruction of their ethnic identities within the context of living in urban space in Turkey. The research attempts to examine Kurdish migrant women's identities in their private and public domains, with a special focus on everyday practices and ethnicity which are closely intertwined in these domains. Does Kurdish migrant women's ethnic identity change through living in urban space? If yes, how?

In the literature on migration, it is generally assumed that migration creates specific conditions which alter existing ethnic identities and gender relations, resulting in the assimilation of migrants. Urban space experience causes assimilation in different cultures. Living in the urban emerges to be the same as in consumption culture. In the case of Kurdish migrant women in the urban, migration experience led Kurdish women to meet Turkish urban women which are often identified as the other of Kurdish rural women. I argue that a way of reconstruction of migrant women's ethnic identity and gender relations is to examine the reproduction and transformation of their everyday practices in family, neighborhood, and workplace as well as their practices in having access to state services such as education.

It seems that women restructure ethnic identity and gender relations in their everyday practices. They develop coping strategies in order to integrate into city life without assimilation and reproduce their ethnic identity. Thus, while some everyday practices look like the continuation of their traditional Kurdish lifestyle in the rural, some other Kurdish traditional practices are subject to be transformed into the urban lifestyle. There is an ongoing interaction among transformed and untransformed practices. For example, changing practices such as women's entrance to labor market push gradual change in more resistant fields such as gender relations in the family. However, in general, Kurdish women get involved in urban life more effectively and originally than men do.

This thesis relies on qualitative data drawn from twelve interviews conducted with Kurdish migrant women who reside in the neighborhood of Cumhuriyet, located in Sultangazi,

Istanbul. The Cumhuriyet Street has been a settlement of squatters. It is made up by low quality, higher undetached apartments. It is populated by the residents with Kurdish origin. For this research, interviewees were selected from my friend's Kurdish neighbors. Interviewees were reached through the snowball sampling method in which an informant led to another informant.

Being Kurdish and having migrated from specific places during specific periods were sought as a criterion in the selection of interviewees. The interviewees were all born in the eastern part of Turkey and they are migrants. The interviewees were generally housewives and worked in part-time jobs. Only one of the interviewees was previously known by the author of this thesis. Despite the risk of a biased sample, these migrant women's stories were deemed representative. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted. Questions addressed the practices of everyday life; the questions about gender roles, authority, and hierarchy were asked to scrutinize the "ethnic identity" of the migrant women and their in family and out of family.

It is expected that their everyday practices and ethnic identities that will emerge in the urban will be effective in reconstruction of a specific identity. The nature of their identities is different from others as well. To begin with, they are Kurds and women in Turkey. They try to protect their Kurdisness while being Turkish is an ideal situation in Turkey. Especially after the foundation of the new state, the government tries to create a new ideal type in Turkey. This type is the one who speaks Turkish, defines Turk itself, and becomes nationalistic and modern. Yeğen (1999) emphasizes that exclusion of Kurds are by Turkish state in the process of nationalization, secularization and centralization. Therefore, Kurds are seen uncivilized, the opposite of the ideal, and most importantly the "Other", so after the foundation of Turkish Republic, Turkish State has tried to create a new identity. This ideal type needs an essential identity. The main identity of Turkish Republic represents 'Turkishness' and thereby 'Sameness'. There is no difference. Accordingly, the ideal type is to become a Turkish citizen. Kurds are seen ideal as long as they resemble Turks.

Women, who are Kurds, face with otherness when they migrate into the urban. There are two alternatives for them. One of them is to preserve ethnicity and to reproduce it or to be assimilated in the urban and to adopt "Turkishness". They prefer preserving ethnic identity and resist assimilation by developing coping strategies. Even, it can be said that they reconstruct

“ethnic identity” and “Kurdishness” in urban space. Therefore, identification process emerges. Encountering the “other” brings about the process of building identity. This process can be called identification. “Identification is constructed on the back of recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, or with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation” (Hall, 1996:2 ). Women are more active in the process of identification and they experience double oppressions than men because they are Kurdish and women. Therefore, my research is based on women. Women are the visible side of their own ethnic community and the bearers of everyday symbols. In addition, it is easy to understand everyday practices over women.

My thesis is focused on Kurds’ ethnic identity in order to understand the transformation of everyday practices in urban. Ethnic identity regularizes everyday practices and daily rituals. Kurdish women are not exactly different from Turkish women. Nevertheless, they have different ethnic features. Their everyday practices are embedded in their ethnic features. At least they immediately don’t give up their ethnical practices by living in the urban side.

Everyday practices are organized by identity based on ethnicity on the one hand. Everyday practices are organized by external factors on the other hand. The most important external factor is living in a specific environment. Therefore, I look at their everyday practices in order to understand the transformation of Kurdish identity. There are two-sided interactions about the process of Kurdish identification. The identity of Kurdish women are both shaped according to their ethnicity and shaped by their living grounds, that is, urban lifestyle. However, their ethnicity has strong influences on everyday practices. Their everyday practices are changed as long as they participate in urban life. The main purpose of the thesis is to examine the manifestations of the practices of everyday life based on ethnic identities and transformation of everyday practices in urban lifestyle for Kurdish migrant women on Cumhuriyet Street in Turkey.

First, I try to provide a brief summary of pertinent literature. It will begin with explaining the meanings of identity, practices of everyday life, assimilation and integration, migration, urban space, urbanization. Second, I focus on the method used and a summary of the data drawn from interviews. It will be given information about research area, research method and the



profiles of the participant in terms of age, occupation, and her husband's occupations. Third, in the third chapter, research findings will be analyzed by emphasizing the transformation of Kurdish migrant women's everyday practices. In this context, I will mention relations, everyday practices, and the division of labor in family. There are three important features in family relations and everyday practices. These features are extended family structure, the authority of elderly women and endogamy. In family labor is divided into two parts. One of them is about analyzing the sexual division of labor based on gender roles and hierarchy in family. The other is about doing and sharing division of labor in households. The following part of this chapter is about relationships with neighbors. I examine the relations of the migrant Kurdish women with their neighbors in a comparison with the other. I handle different aspects of encountering the other. The sub-part is related to identification which is different from that of neighbors. In urban context, I look at consumption practices. Consumption is the main domain which somewhat transforms their ethnical practices. And the other domain which transforms their practices is employment. Both these domains which are consumption and employment transform somewhat their practices. And lastly, I analyze the relations between the migrant Kurdish women and the state. In that, I handle in having access to state services, such as speaking and sense of mother-tongue, getting education and sense of Kurdish language and having the right to get education in mother tongue.

I benefit from everyday practices. I try to explore everyday practices. Because my main question is related to reconstruction of ethnic identity in context of everyday practices in urban space. Therefore, being women is not a unique criterion for this study. This study focuses on ethnic identity and everyday practices as long as it focuses on being women. That is, the main subject is ethnic identity. As a result, I have not only focused on being women. But, I try to explain the intersection of everyday practices and ethnic identity over the women. I look at everyday practices which are the visible aspect of ethnicity and symbolize the rituals of an ethnic group. Therefore, in this study, I examine Kurdish everyday practices in the context of ethnic identity which intersects in public and private life in urban.

## CHAPTER I

### THE CONTEXT OF IDENTITY AND EVERYDAY PRACTICE

#### 1.1. Identity

The study of identity forms a substantial cornerstone within modern sociological thought. Introduced by the works of Cooley and Mead, identity studies have evolved and grown central to current sociological debates. (Cerulo, 1997) In recent years, social scientists focus on questions concerning identity. New researchers are interested in “identity question” in terms of race, gender and sexuality.

For social science there are many definitions of identity. One of them is that identity is an individual's or a group's perception of themselves. Samuel P. Huntington describes identity as “a product of self-consciousness, that I or we possess distinct qualities as an entity that differentiates me from you and us from them.”(Huntington, 2004:21) Identity both points out the distinct qualities of any group and points out a stratification and category. That's why it can be said that identity is a social category which has cultural, religious, and national aspects. Social categories are embodied in people given a label and distinguished by two main features: “(1) rules of membership that decide who is and is not a member of the category; and (2) content, that is, sets of characteristics thought to be typical of members of the category, or behaviors expected or obliged of members in certain situations (roles)” (D.Fearon & D.Latin, 2000) Thus identity has two aspects. One of them is the rules that determine that society. The other is the roles that are expected by the members of that society.

On the other hand, identity has ambiguous boundaries. “It is such a concept-operating ‘under erasure’ in the interval between reversal and emergence; an idea which cannot be thought in the old way, but without which certain key questions cannot be thought at all”(Hall, 1996:2). However, the construction of identity prevails “under erasure” on some conditions. One of these

conditions is migration. Migration brings about the process of identity construction. This process can be called identification. It emerges with encounter with the 'other'. "Identity is constructed on the back of recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, or with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation."(Hall, 1996:2) The process of identification is an important aspect of sharing feelings of common background and common origin. These feelings provide solidarity between them.

On the other hand, identification emerges with some symbolic tools and practices. For this reason, identity requires some practices. It then becomes visible in everyday life. This can be called practices of identity. Identity becomes collective when these tools or practices are used.

Identity changes under some conditions. The changes are in two forms. The first is slow change that occurs as the meanings in the identity standard shift to be more like the self-relevant meanings that are perceived in the situation. This is an adaptive response that allows individuals to fit into new situations and cultures where meanings are different. It can be viewed as a socialization effect that might occur as individuals take on new roles and memberships. (Burke, 2006) "The error or discrepancy between the perceptions and the identity standard not only governs behavior, but also produces an emotional response. We feel distress when the discrepancy is large or increasing; we feel good when the discrepancy is small or decreasing." (Burke: 2006; 4) Hall (1996) refers to the saying of Derrida and he states that his definition has shown the constitution of identity is always based on excluding and establishing a violent hierarchy between the two resultant poles- man/woman etc. "Woman and black are thus 'marks' in contrast to unmarked terms of 'white' and 'man'"(Laclau, 1990:33 ). In Turkey, Kurdish women represent like black women. When they migrate in the urban they are looked down by other women. At least, they feel like such. Therefore, started identification in urban forces them. They want to solidarity between their ethnic enclaves. Both Seufert (1997) and Çelik (2001) have questioned whether Kurdish identity is reinforced or undermined by the multiplicity of communities and identities that migrants form in the city" (Secor, 2004:354). Not only they form their identities in the city; also their identities are reproduced according to their ethnicity. Furthermore, "in city the conceptualization of citizenship, as it was argued, came hand in hand with constructing a unique, unchanging and historic Turkish identity that would be made

possible only by newly fabricating and imposing a new monolithic culture, while ignoring ethnic and sub-cultural identities” (İçduygu et al. 1999, 194-95 cited by Secor, 2004:355).

As well as, “the boundary of the ethnic is often dependent on gender and there is a reliance on gender attributes for specifying ethnic identity; much of ethnic culture is organized around rules relating to sexuality, marriage and the family, and a true member will perform these roles properly. Communal boundaries often use differences in the way women are socially constructed as markers”. (Anthias& Yuval-Davis, 1992:113) Women are very important for their ethnic community. And their roles are constructed by the men. In this process, women are seen bears and carriers of their ethnic enclaves while women’s role and situation is constructed by men who represent patriarchal authority.

Akpınar emphasizes that it is important “to understand the symbolic role attributed to women as carriers and bearers of ethnic (group) identity, which makes them responsible for the transgression of group boundaries, whilst men of a given ethnic group are held culturally responsible for the definition of gender norms”. (2003:4)

## **1.2. Practices of Everyday Life**

“Everyday life is fast becoming a key concept within the social science and humanities” (Gardiner, 2000:i). Recently, social scientists focus on the concept of everyday life. It is clear that some notions of ‘everyday life’ have been a central, even foundational concept in its development, from its origins in the works of Richard Hoggart, E. P. Thompson and Raymond Williams in the 1950s, to the more formal establishment of British cultural studies (the so-called ‘Birmingham school’) in the 1970s and its more recent extension to Australia, North America, and beyond (Johnson: 1986;7). Everyday is regarded as different and is handled as different by many scholars.

There are some approaches which explain and assert daily life. Although such approaches assert that the starting-point of valid sociological knowledge must begin with daily life and its contextual or ‘indexical’ meanings, the everyday is generally perceived as a relatively homogenous and undifferentiated set of attitudes, practices and cognitive structure. (Gardiner, 2000: 5). Everyday life is based on any practices. These practices can be counted as cleaning,

washing, eating, consumption style, and so on. But the general meaning of everyday life is based on a ritual and regular one.

Gardiner (2000) says that “when referring to the phenomenon of everyday life, the great French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre was fond of mentioning G.W.F Hegel’s maxim ‘ the familiar is not necessarily the known’. European Geisteswissenschaften thinkers like Wilhelm Dilthey, Heinrich Rickert and Marx Weber, as well as American pragmatics like George Herbert Mead, claimed that it was not enough simply to describe the functioning of a structure, system or institution.” (Gardiner, 2000:12)

Everyday brings to mind banal space, time and routine. This space, time and routine organize and they emerge the practices of everyday life. Individuals produce their practices of daily lives with their own values which are cultural, social and religious. And their practices are produced by their living space as well. Hence their everyday practices are shaped by their living area, their cultural, religious and ethical possessions.

Some thinkers focus on the relations between genders and the practices of everyday life. One of them is Dorothy Smith. Her approach has multiple perspectives. Yet her writings are most distinctive in feminist theory in order to explain how gender-inflected social practices and modes of consciousness have impacts on everyday life. (Gardiner, 2000) when it is looked from relations between gender and practice of everyday life, it can be said that patriarchal structure exposure to women by holding all responsible related to households. Many feminist scholars deny to this exposure.

On the other hand, there is a relation between urban life, consumption in modern life and everyday life. In the 1970s and 1980s, Lefebvre focused on these topics and he broadened his interests to include urbanism, the phenomenon of space, and the reproduction of capitalism (Lefebvre 1995, 1996 cited by Gardiner). “In the essence, for Lefebvre the concept of everyday life constitutes the crucial vantage-point from whence to criticize the formalized and alienated social practices characteristic of capitalism” (Gardiner, 2000: 77).

What is more, globalization discourse effect on daily life is argued, and the changing of everyday practices regarding with space and outcomes on the daily life are tried to execute. “In

order for groups to know themselves and others, they must “announce” their identities. They do this by engaging in social practices that highlight their symbolic place in the world” (Hermanowicz, Morgan,1999: 198). So, everyday practices get visible with symbols. For an ethnic group carry out some ritual according to their ethnicity or tradition. The manifestation of their ethnic differences is their ethnical ritual and practice. This manifestation also emerges to culture based on their ethnicity. Their ritual can be exposed to transformation on any conditions. These conditions can be encountering with other. And this situation can create alienation. For Hellner, “everyday life under modernity is an alienated form of existence, because instrumental thinking and acting dominate our lives, and the concrete ‘other’ disappears as a genuine dialogical partner” (Gardiner, 2000:21). The urban life is exposed to alienation according to many scholars state or not. Because urban life is under the control of modernity it is felt well in urban life. The outcome of modernity emerges with consumption effects on everyday life. Practices of urban life are under the control of modernity and urban lifestyle too. Like Habib (1996) says that “sharing everyday life makes people belong to each other and to a culture.

### **1.3. Assimilation and Integration**

The centrality of assimilation for the scientific understanding of immigration is more recent, traceable to the Chicago School of the early twentieth century and especially to the work of Robert E.Park, W.I.Thomas, and their collaborators and students. They focus on assimilation of migrants and they define the assimilation from different perspectives. Actually, the use of assimilation in social sciences thus emerged at the substantial era of immigration and by means of observations in a urban space where the first and second generations then constituted the great majority of residents (Alba, Richard and Nee, Victor; 1997). Because of this reason, there are many definitions of assimilation. One of them is the study of Park and Burgess. In 1921, Park and E.W. Burgess (1969:735) provided an early definition of assimilation:

*"a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life."*

As we see, it is a process based on fusion and interpenetration. When read closely, this definition does not appear to require what many critics assume assimilation must - namely, the erasure of all signs of ethnic origins. (Alba, Richard and Nee, Victor ,1997)

Specifically, some scholars have seen urbanization as a process that invests Kurdish migrants in urban life and thus leads to their assimilation (Kirişçi and Winrow 1997), while others have seen the urban as a site of identity formation and mobilization where migrants are likely to forge stronger ethnic solidarities (Seufert 1997; Van Bruinessen 1998; Wedel 2001b in cited by Secor).

The family exerts strong influences on the identities that children adopt, but the socio-economic conditions of the immigrant generation are important for understanding this process. “Consequently, they may find little assistance when families in poor neighborhoods attempt to draw on group resource to reinforce their children’s ethnic identity and to encourage academic excellence” (Sanders, 2002: 18).

Many scholars talk about integration. It is an evolving concept especially after 1990. While some of them accept it, the rest of them deny it. On the other hand, “the common definition of integration accentuates protection from discrimination, social inclusion and cultural adaptation in the public domain of the host country, while allowing for diverse ethnic cultures and identities in the private domain of family and community life” (Martiniello & Swyngedouw (1999) as cited by Küçükcan & Güngör) Actually, integration is related to many concepts. These concepts are culture, sociality, economic condition, cultural, and social networks and so on. It can be explained with relation to these concepts. Some scholars state that “the most highly integrated community is likely to resist assimilation and to provide much stratification to hold its members. The highly disintegrated ethnic population is likely to be rejected by the host community and forced into a marginal position” (Sanders, 2002: 8). As well as, there are many manifestations for integration. Successions of integration are determined by how migrants attend to cultural, economic and especially social life in the urban space. But there is no static definition of integration which is generally accepted.

There are two approaches related to assimilation and integration. One of them is natural theory made by Park. He (1926) assumes that assimilation is a natural and inevitable outcome of race contact marked by stages of competition, conflict, accommodation and integration. Another approach is belonging to Beach (1934) and Thompson (1974). These scholars state that integration lie in the minority group and their old-world- cultures. They claim that some groups are not exposed to assimilation and are ethno-centric.

One of the principal definitions of integration belongs to Heckmann. “Heckmann defines that integration is to get to positions and statuses in the core institutions of the receiving society by the immigrants and their descendent”(Heckmann, 2003:46). When immigrants meet host culture, they participate in the main culture by producing identificational tactics. (De Certeau, 1984).“Identificational integration or measures are relating to feelings of belonging and identification particularly in forms of ethical and/ or national identification” (Heckmann, 2003:47).

Many feminist thinkers like Oakley (1989) have drawn attention to traditional social theory for excluding and marginalizing from social environment while seeing their experiences is exposed and marginalized to them from other. On the other hand, it is important to understand the integration over the practices of everyday life which take place in the maintenance of ethnic boundaries in urban. This study tries to investigate the intersection between everyday practices and ethnic identity. Women participate in the everyday practices which are seen essential to the survival of the ethnic group. Participating in everyday life not only provides integration, it also requires developing coping strategies for integration by preserving ethnic features.

As a result, this thesis is based on Kurdish women who have ethnic solidarity and experience identity formation in urban life. Because of solidarities and traditional practices of my interviewees in everyday life, my thesis defends that these Kurdish women are exposed to assimilation. However, they resist the assimilations of urban lifestyle. They have stronger networks and solidarity. As long as they participate in consumption, they alienate somewhat from their culture. This alienation is indispensable in urban life. Therefore, they are counted integrated community not assimilated community. They refuse to be Turkish. They always emphasize cultural differences. They are aware of their differences.

#### **1.4. Migration**

Especially after the Second World War migration has been one of the most important events. Migration emerged with political and economic reconstruction in urban life. At that time, many people emigrated from undeveloped cities to developed cities or from an underdeveloped country to a developed country. (İçduygu&Keyman, 1998:148). With the emergence of global capitalism, there was a decrease in migrations from the rural to the urban and from undeveloped



countries to developed countries. Social scientists were interested in mass migration. Some arguments were put forward for defining immigrant masses which consist of religious, political, ethnic, social, and cultural associations. Migrants who immediately come to urban spaces face many problems related to integration. In this process, some associations are seen around in context of ethnicity, religion, and feelings of townsmen. These associations are not only related to integration into urban life, but also they are related to the reconstruction of their identity. The relations of townsmen and the structure of their community are not temporary for only integration, also they provide solidarity in urban life. Thereby, the reconstruction of identity has started in the context of urban space.

Looking from this aspect, their protection of their ethnical bonds in urban life is a focal point for social scientists. Therefore, identity and migration are intertwined. Urban life presents a complex situation which is associated with modernization, globalization and alienation around capitalist culture. That is, as Hall says, the experience is defined “not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity: by a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity” (1989:80). As Bauman also indicates, “when the person is suspicious about where he belongs to, he starts to think about his identity that time.”(Bauman, 2001:112). For this complexity of urban life, migrants start to reconstruct their identity in urban life. “Modern human beings constantly construct and reconstruct their identities”(Erdoğan,2009:363). They try to redefine their identity. They differentiate from other associations by referring to their ethnical and cultural features. This is a kind of strategy for integration and reinforcing their solidarity among themselves. That is, after migrating to urban life, the process of reconstructing identity starts for migrants.

In this study, the protection of ethnical identity is a focal point in context of visibility in everyday life. Reconstruction of identity is unavailable for migrants who want to integrate into urban life. “Migrating ethnic group rethink their attachments and belongings; reconstruct their ethnic and cultural identities through inter cultural interactions.”( Erdoğan, 2009 :363). Even the identities of the same ethnic group can be different. “Each generation constructs its own form of ethnicity so that the ethnic identity of second generation is different from that of the first, and that of third is different from that of the second”. (Isajiw, 1999:33)

One interesting point is how to integrate into urban space, articulate and in this process what kind of strategies should be used for the integration of people who migrate from rural to

urban. Another interesting point is the protection of ethnic identity and the strategies to survive in urban space for the groups who break away from traditional relations. Throughout history, urban space has become the bearer of modernity on one hand, but it has also been seen as threat, source of alienation, and vagueness on the other hand. People who migrate into urban space have coped with different processes such as modernization, alienation and reconstruction at the same time.

The stage after 1980 has brought about many changes for Turkey. Most of these changes are related to migration from rural and urban. In this process, like world, the interest in the structure of identity has increased. In that context, migration and identity have been intertwined as two discussion topics.

The change of living spaces after migrations has involved the reconstruction of identity and review of identity. In Turkey, the bearers of this process are the relations of townsman in urban space. Therefore, it can be said that after the migration, migrants have established new relations and networks in urban life. Even, solidarity between them gets stronger owing to migrations into urban space rather than rural space. According to Light, even the solidarity does not exist before migration; the experience of migration produces a reactive solidarity. (Cited by Erdoğan, 2009: 374)

On the other hand, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) states that migration is a process which based on “gendered and gendering” structure in the sense which males and females attend into migration with different chances and migration also causes new arrangements in gender relations. From this aspect, it is important to make an effort to understand the reconstruction of ethnic identity in the context of relations between women and men in urban space.

### **1.5. Urban Space and Urbanization**

The concept of urban space has not only gained after emerging with modernity, it has become also focal point after migration. The establishment of urban space is so aged old, but the reconstruction by migrants is so new. Urban is defined by many social scientists in many different ways. One of them is definition of Davis. Davis (1973:1) defines that urban is a space of associated by many people in order to settlement and production. Other definition is Saunder. He (1986:7) put forward that the urban only is living space of many people. The definition of urban, there is no specific criterion. It is only defined living space. But after the modernity, its

meaning and function has been attributed more importance before ever. On the other hand, Eliot and McCrone (1982:5) state that the urban is complex organization and so special living space for people.

On the other hand, urban has become a subject interested from aspect of cultural space. Park's (2000) definition of the city, urban represent a cultural area and it is natural living space of modern people. As well, there is a process of being urbanize. Being urbanize is related to adaptation and integration to city or urban life. People who migrant to urban develop new strategies for integration to urban and it is a process of developing coping strategies. What is more, there are many requirements for being urbanize. The two important criterions are being educated, being and level of culture. (Kaya, 2003:143)

Gist and Fava (1967) put forward that urbanization is a concept which is related to sociological concepts of acculturation, diffusion, assimilation, and even amalgamation. "When nonurban persons acquire the roles, style of life, symbols, forms of organization, and cultural artifacts characteristic of the city, and when they come to share the meanings, values, and perspectives that are characteristically urban, we can say that they are experiencing the process of urbanization". (1967:271) so it can be said that urbanization is a process and migrant involve willingly or unwillingly this process.

"Some cities, especially those in underdeveloped areas, appears to consist mainly of clusters of residents who are bound together by kinship, tribal, caste, or language ties, and who follow their traditional way of life as much as possible"(1967:277). It can be said that "They are villagers within cities-urban dwellers who are not urbanized. So resistant are they to the process of urbanization that they identify, not with the city of residence, but with their ancestral communities or groups within these communities". (1967:277) It can be given migrant who come from rural to urban for this villager within city-urban dwellers.

Especially, people who migrant from rural to urban firstly resist urban lifestyle. They create ethnical community which based kinship, tribal, language ties, and townsman relation. This ethnical community provide to their integration to new living area. This creating community is a kind of coping strategy for integration and establishment. Therefore, people who migrant to urban want to settle near to people who share with their same attachment. As well, urban space is an imagined place. It is reconstructed by people who come at every turn. "...The way social and

physical space is imagined and thus made into urban culture. Urban dwellers and users orient themselves by constructing an imagined city”. (Bender& Çınar, 2007:xii)

On the other hand, Benedict Anderson (1983) has introduced idea of imagination of constitutive national community. People who share with same ethnicity, language, kinship, townsman relation consist of imagined ethnic community in urban space. This ethnic community make easy to their integration to urban. As well, imagination of ethnic community provide to solidarity between them in urban space. Bender and Çınar (2007) state that “Cities are products of man solidarities and boundaries. Not only territorial borders mark a city. A complex web of social, economic, and cultural boundaries operating along class, gender, ethnicity, race, and other lines concertedly shape in way in which cities are imagined, perceived, and experienced”. Such boundaries are present not only on maps... also, in daily social interactions, habitual practice, imagines and icons, daily public discourse...What is more, they put forward these boundaries are from outside to inside. These boundaries separate ethnically, racially, or religiously defined communities (2007:xvi).

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THE CONTEXT OF RESEARCH AND METHOD**

#### **2.1. Research Area**

Cumhuriyet Street has been a settlement of squatters. It is seen that low quality and higher undetached apartments were built in this area. Since the neighborhood is populated by the residents with Kurdish origin, my respondents were selected from my friend's Kurdish neighbors.

It has a population of 11.800 people. Many of them are Kurdish people. To live there people were migrated from various cities of Turkey. Cumhuriyet's residents are migrants who have come from various cities of Turkey. These migrants do not have enough economic conditions. In addition, their education level is low. Therefore, they work at low-paid jobs. Migrant women work like migrant men at low-paid and part-time jobs.

Most importantly, a caution needs to be taken: this thesis will not claim that 'assimilation' is a myth after all. On the other hand, it does not claim that Kurdish ethnic identity is pure. Especially, in urban life, identity is intertwined with other identities. It is not mentioned that Kurdish ethnic identity is not involved in other identities.

What is more, in this study, participants only reflect a case for the transformation of ethnic identity in everyday life. That is, this sample is only a case study of Cumhuriyet Street, specifically, twelve Kurdish migrant women.

This thesis will not suggest that all Kurdish families have such ethnic features because there are many differences among Kurdish communities. Kurdishness and becoming Kurds have sub-

sections. Subsections are alevi, zaza, and so on. That is, Kurdish ethnic identity does not have constant features, as Kurdish ethnic identity is not pure and constant. Therefore, when Kurdish ethnic identity is observed, it is seen that it cannot be generalized. It can be given a representative profile with the case study of Cumhuriyet Street.

## **2.2. Research Method**

This thesis relies on data drawn from twelve interviews conducted with Kurdish migrant women who reside in the neighborhood of Cumhuriyet Street, located in Sultangazi. The qualitative research mainly (not exclusively) worked through the snowball sampling method; an informant led to another. Only one of the interviewees was previously known by the author of this thesis, despite risk of a biased sample, these migrant women's stories were deemed representative. Being Kurdish and having migrated from specific places during specific periods were sought a criterion in the selection of the interviewees. This study draws on 12 semi-structured in- depth interviews.

The interviewees were generally both housewives and worked in part-time jobs; however, questions addressing practices of everyday life, gender roles, hierarchy, authority, and relations in-family and out of family were asked to scrutinize the "identity" of the migrant women and their life experiences. The main question of the thesis is to examine the manifestations of the practices of everyday life and ethnic identities for Kurdish migrant women in Turkey. The research attempts to investigate Kurdish migrant women's everyday lives in their private and public domains, with a focus on their everyday practices and ethnic identities which intersect in these domains and will be effective in reproducing a specific identity.

Such a research with migrant ethnic women, who have very limited level of formal education, living in close boundaries within the neighborhoods surrounded with relatives or townsmen, is expected to face with difficulties. Those difficulties will be mostly related to reaching those women, gaining their confidence, being able to communicate on such a difficult topic of identity and being able to explain the research as such to those women using a different meaning system. The representativeness of this thesis is, however, limited for the purposes of

this research as I had to find migrant ethnic women, with a rather long urban experience and their cultural differences. When I started to search for the participants of my resources I kept in contact with some public offices. But, I would prefer to contact directly with these women. I stayed at the same house in order to observe an entire day. I both tried to talk with them safely and tried to observe them. I also participated in many special organizations of them and observed them. I attended neighborhood meetings. I joined wedding ceremonies, observed their preparations and ceremony stage. I used pseudo names instead of their original names as well. I recorded all their talks. I had noted the transcripts of all their speeches before I wrote my thesis.

The interviewees were all born in the eastern part of Turkey and they are second generation migrants. To make interviews, first of all, I got permission from them. We established a friendly relationship and I felt like them. The fieldwork took place over twenty days. I lived with them during over twenty days. Each interview ranged from three to five hours and the majority of interviews took place in the respondents' homes.

The sampling method used was that of the snowball sample. Once I had made the initial contact with a few women, other women were recommended to be interviewed. The respondents were easily accessible as they had already spoken to someone who had participated in the research and they weren't suspicious of me.

In the structured in-depth interviews I asked the women mainly about their practices of everyday life in family, outside family, their rate of education, employment, family, especially relations between households and their husbands, with their relatives and neighbors.

### **2.3. The Profiles of the Participants**

In the following table you can see the participants' basic demographic information, their employment status and their husbands' jobs. All these variables are indispensable since the evaluation will be based on these variables.

**Table 1.** Profile of Kurdish Migrant Women

<b>Names</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Husband's Occupation</b>	<b>Age</b>
Zehra	24	Employer	Construction worker	28
Ayşe	26	Couiffeur	Unemployed	32
Hatun	47	Retired	Dead	60(dead)
Kevser	28	Unemployed	Driver	29
Nur	34	Employer	merchant	45
Kudret	42	Retired	Dead	52
Fatma	30	Cook	Driver	37
Başak	32	Self-employed	Driver	37
Hacer	37	Housewife	Civil servant	43
Aysel	33	Self-employed	Sales person	41
Feride	39	Sales person	Sales person	46
Remziye	34	Self-employed	Security Guard	39

One of them is 24 years old. She is the youngest. The ages of two people are between 24 and 30. The ages of five people are between 30 and 35. General age profile is between 30 and 35. One of them is 37 years old. One of them is 39. One of them is 42, and she is both older and a mother-in-law. The last one is 47 years old. She is a mother-in-law and the oldest too.

All interviewed women are married. The husband of one woman is dead. Ten of them are daughter-in-laws. Two of them are mother-in-laws. All women got married at the age of between eighteen and twelve.

Three of the interviewees are self-employed and they make money by doing jobs including cleaning their neighbors' carpets, stairs, baby sitting and so on. They do not work



regularly. One of them does hairdressing. One of them cooks. She prepares food for the workers of a factory. Two of them are employers. They run small business stocks in which household goods are sold. One of them, a mother of six, is a housewife. She cannot find time to work. The husbands of these women constantly change their works. Moreover, most of them earn money by working in part-time jobs. Some of them do not work for months. They allow their wives to work in the neighborhood. It is stated that they are fine about working and helping their wives.

As we see from the table, only one of these women is a housewife and the rest jumps into work life to help their husbands in various ways. Besides, they are more eager than their husbands about this subject. The most influential point that reinforces integration and subverts gender roles is that women are included into work life.

Some changes occur up in some women's perception of authority. While the symbol of authority is the mother-in-law at home, gender relations are changed and need to be rearranged when young immigrant women strive to jump into work life even half-time. We can say that work life is the most effective field in which silent, young migrant women gain voice and visibility. As these women arrange daily life practices at home, they become more interested in jobs which require management by taking responsibilities. On the other hand, their husbands have difficulty in integrating into work life. The husbands of these women (not all of them) get hopeless and indifferent to work life, since various job sectors require skills and knowledge.

Another advantage that plunging into work life gives to young migrant women is that they find a chance to rearrange their relationships with their mother-in-laws. Their active participation in work life turns into a source of pride also for their mother-in-laws, but not for all.

### **CHAPTER III**

#### **THE FAMILIAL BASIS FOR THE REPRODUCTION OF KURDISH WOMEN'S IDENTITY**

In this chapter, I explore extended family structure, the authority of elderly women in family and endogamy and the power of men over women. These are some substantial manifestations which reflect their tradition. The extended family structure provides the continuation of their tradition. The authority of elderly women reflects the hierarchy between households based on the power of elderly women. And endogamy is a mechanism which transmits to their culture from one generation to next generation. It also provides solidarity between them.

After that, I will examine various aspects of migrant Kurdish women's practices of everyday life, by putting special emphasis on their relations based on gender structure and cultural practices. First, I will try to analyze sexual division of practices, and then the process of identity formation in their practices. In the following part I will consider women's relations to households in order to understand the relationships of women with households, the time spent together during their spare time and the type of leisure activities they share, and the degree of interactions with their husbands, mother-in-laws and Kurdish women are observed. Finally, I will focus on these women's make-practices with their children and other households.

#### **3.1. Family Structure**

Gist and Fava (1967) put forward that "family systems have been undergoing structural and functional changes all over the world. These changes are often in response to changes occurring in the larger social order. One of them is migrations to urban space. "The demands of urban life

have left such a deep imprint on family and kinship system function that changes have occurred in the organization of family life and in the function of family groups.”(1967:364)

I observed that these Kurdish families are extended families. My respondents have a traditional family structure. Family members include the mother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law and grandchildren. The daughter-in-law can establish a nuclear family after the father-in-law dies in traditional families (Kandiyoti, 1997). As Kandiyoti says, traditional families are actually extended families. Gist and Fava (1967) state that “the joint or extended family system may provide more security for the individual, though it is less favorable for upward social mobility.” These women constantly say that we need extended families, especially in the city life. Furthermore, Sussman and Burchinal (1962) assert that the urban family can be conceptualized as a ‘modified extended’ system, which is the representation and adaptation of the rural family as well as the urban society.

It can be seen that newly established shows less evidence for extended family and patriarchal structure. However, the separation of extended family is rarely seen. What is more, early marriages are very widespread although the marriage age increases in urban settings. I try to give calling these women’s ethnic identity rather than Kurdish family structure.

Hatun says that:

“My girl, we are in our own crowd as in our hometown. We are accustomed to this kind of sound. My breath runs out without my bride and grandchildren. We eat and drink altogether all the time. Especially here is a big city, so we need to be more attached to each other. Otherwise, as we observe on television, people die at home, and there is nobody near them. We do not want to die at home alone as it happens to many people.”

Like Hatun, many women stated that Kurdish women like large families contrary to other women. They constantly say that they like guests and having with many and they are not like their neighbors who do not like guests. Their relations with relatives are most important in everyday life. They always visit each other. They visit each other not only on special days, but also on any day or at any time. They think that they are assimilated by other women if they cute

relations with their relatives. According to them, if their relations come to their relatives they are mostly seen as the 'Other' and they are afraid of this discrimination.

Zehra states:

We are a crowded family and this naturally attracts the attention of other people. However, it is always good to live together. I would have had lots of difficulties if my mother-in-law hadn't been near me when I first came here soon after getting married. We were so crowded also in the village. We enjoy what we eat and drink a lot while we are all together.

Ayşe says:

My mother's family is also crowded. We grew up with our cousins together. We have been used to a crowded family structure since childhood. We feel bored when we do not see people around. We spend our days in this way: serve, cook, clean the house and so on.

Nur says:

Actually we have to be crowded in the city. Think that here is not like the village, that is, there are lots of expenses. Of course, we would like to live separately, but for this there should be suitable conditions and opportunities. However, if you do not have any children, you can die because of boredom even if you have a house. Yet we have lots of children.

Gist and Fava (1967) say that "traditional forms of organization are often unable to carry out expected functions or to perform other functions necessitated by changing conditions of community life". In contrast to this, the extended family structure among Kurdish families on Cumhuriyet Street as a traditional organization enables integration into city life and it provides solidarity between them. Therefore, they are more enthusiastic about settling down in city because they feel strong and attached.

On the other hand, they think that they do not need to get permission from each other to come and see each other. They even censure that their neighbors get permission from their

relatives or them for anything. They state that their neighbors are not sincere in their relations with relatives. If they need something, they only want from their relatives. Otherwise, they think that they will feel ashamed if they ask for something from their neighbors.

Their traditional family structure is seen as it is not affected by living in the city at the moment. Their gendered roles and division of labor in inter-family relations are reproduced once they join together in family. Traditional family values and gendered division of labor are very important for older women and all men even in the city. These women continue to carry out their traditional roles, such as doing all housework and taking responsibilities in family. Furthermore, these women participate in social life much more than before. Entrance to social life and working do not affect and change the division of their gendered labor and traditional roles in family. Only working women get visible near mother-in-laws. Maybe, in the later process working women force gender roles, the authority of elderly women, and the hierarchy based on the exclusion of young women in family. Their establishments of family and marriage practices in the city show that traditional values are constantly reproduced by means of Kurdish culture and identity.

These Kurdish families try to establish and transmit their lifestyle in rural life. According to Isajiw, they establish ethnic institution based on the model of those of the home country. This is the building ethnic ghetto in the new country and establishing or re-establishing relations with people whose sympathy and acceptance can be taken for granted". ( Isajiw, 1999:193) these women reproduce their role in family in context of their tradition. They transmit their tradition to urban life.

These families are generally crowded and they like being with people. Even if they are devoid of necessary financial opportunities, they prefer having children. However, young immigrant women are less reluctant about this subject than their mother-in-laws, who belong to the former generation. The women who realize that gaining both job experiences and money is hard think negatively about having children. Although their husbands come across the difficulties of city life, they still think positively about having children. There is no substantial change in their perspectives. According to the study of Karpat (2003), life in urban space affects having children negatively rather than the life in rural space. As I observed, their idea about having children change slowly in the urban space, but this change takes time.

Some families are divided into two by separating the house of the daughter-in-law and the house of the mother-in-law. First, daughter-in-laws stay with their father-in-laws and mother-in-laws at the first year of their marriage. Nevertheless, after a short time they want to move in a separate house. Moving into a separate house is seen as an `emancipatory` practice since it is a way of building authority for the daughter-in-law, who is independent from the mother-in-law. But the situation of living together is not changed by the lifestyle in the city. This tradition can sometimes be broken by young women and husbands in rural side. Even, the conditions of the city force them to live together.

Kudret says that:

“We should live together here. We cannot find enough money for our expenses. If we separate our houses, our expenses will increase more. If we were in the village, the daughter-in-law can live in a separate house, but there is no need renting another house here. We should not ruin our tradition.”

Their tradition require to living together according to them. But, they can allege to lack of economic conditions. They put forward that in city life is so hard.

As Aysel says,

“It is better to live with the mother-in-law here. Otherwise, it will mean double expenses. Moreover, they do not know the language and the ways here. I meet all their needs as in the village.”

### **3.2. The Authority of Elderly Women And Hierarchy**

One of the most common features is consulting each other in all topics. They consult their elders. They consult each other not to be mistaken according to their tradition and struggle against the authority of the older one. This older person can sometimes be the grandfather. Actually there are two authorities based on age. One of them is older men. The other is older women. Older men are the visible side of the authority and older women are the invisible side of the authority. Yet the grandmother becomes the authority after the death of the grandfather. At home the older women have more power and authority rather than older man. The daughter-in-law is afraid of the mother-in-law (older woman). The daughter-in-law gets permission from her mother-in-law. On the other hand, there is an invisible hierarchy and struggle between older

women and their daughter-in-laws. This invisible struggle emerges when the daughter-in-law acts out of the control of the mother-in-law. And it goes on until the daughter-in-law marries her own son. If the daughter-in-law marries her son, she can have the right to comment on something.

Feride states that;

“We visit our relatives very often. Anyway, we don’t have any relatives apart from them. If we have something wrong with us, we take care of each other.”

Nur explores,

“In our tradition everything is under the control of the mother-in-law. When you marry your son and becomes the mother-in-law, then you have the right to say something, otherwise, it is none of our business to make comments.”

They consult each other in almost all subjects. They think that we have to behave according to our tradition by consulting each other. Actually there is a hierarchical structure between them. The authority is oldest of family. Generally, is oldest person is man. But as I said above authority of family can be oldest women after dead of oldest man. The oldest women can be sometimes decision-center near of her husband. Even she can be more effective than her husband about many subjects.

Aysel says:

“Everything is under the control of my mother-in-law. It was so even when my father-in-law was alive. We would act according to what she said. We would follow what she says if we went to our relatives or neighbors. Anyway, our husbands do not intervene in these issues.”

Refika;

“We behave according to whatever our mother-in-law says. We want to go anywhere even if we do not get permission from our husbands. It is enough to get permission from our mother-in-law. When our husbands do not allow us, our mother-in-law intervenes and our husbands cannot say anything. Of course it is very good for us. You know Kurdish men do not allow for anything. They are so jealous.”

The authority of older women increases when their husbands go out of home. The young women do not want to fight with older women. Even these daughter-in-laws choose to obey their mother-in-laws, in contrary to the claims and permission of their husbands. Even, the older women are seen as authority for all men and women. Therefore, they think that she is the most experienced individual in the family and all households have to obey her. Interestingly enough, the older men also obey older women. Remziye’s statement exemplifies this situation.

Remziye states:

“Ask especially me about my mother-in-law. Last year, I insisted on sending the children to school. As she is the oldest one in the family, it was certain that she would not allow it. Nobody can say a word after hers. She persuaded also my father-in-law. The girls could not go to school because of her.”

The young women sometimes fight with older women. But for this it is necessary that they could take a risk. Generally, these women fight about some decisions at home. These decisions can be about the education of children, visiting other relatives and so on. When these women fight with each other, men defend older women. If a man defends his wife, he is seen to be devoid of masculinity. In this case, he has to build a new home or move with his wife and children. The older women do not tend to share his authority. When the young women and men fight with the older women, they are censured by all their relatives. There is a strong obedience towards older women in Kurdish families.

The daughter-in-laws have the lowest status even after boys in family. All households are divided according to their age and especially their sexes. They are given importance first because



of their age and secondly because of their sex. Becoming masculine is important. But becoming older is more important than it. When there is an event talked by households, the first remark belongs to the oldest person.

The grandmother is the oldest woman and authority. She decides all subjects related to households after the death of the grandfather. The mother-in-law is very important in Kurdish families in rural places. This tradition goes on in urban life. The daughter-in-laws sometimes want to break the authority of mother-in-laws, but this is not possible.

These women always defined themselves different. The strongest reference to them is their life in family. According to them, they are different and they are Kurdish. They differentiate themselves from Turkish women. They constantly refer to their relations and practices based on their tradition and their ethnicity. For them family is so important to preserve their tradition. Somewhat their practice and relations may reflect their Kurdishness. For example, elderly women are more powerful than older men, in contrast to patriarchal family structures. But in the general profile I observe that their family structure and relations in family are based on patriarchal structure.

### **3.3. Endogamy**

“In almost metropolis, there are families representing ethnic or religious groups that differ in marriage customs and kinship organization.”(Gist & Fava: 1967:364) One of marriage customs is endogamy. Endogamy refers to “a marriage system in which there is a rule forbidding marriage outside the group” (Pitt-Rivers cited by Delaney, 1991:101) Families make decisions about suitors and they tend to choose the prospective daughter-in-law or son-in-law from their relatives. Marriages with relatives are still very important and their maintenance is seen to be important in traditional societies. These traditional ways continue to dominate over girls who get married.

According to Goddard (1987), the establishment and maintenance of hierarchy based on marriage are provided by women who are the representative of group identity.

According to my observations, endogamy is the common type of marriage in these families on Cumhuriyet Street. They think that their girls should get married according to their tradition even in the city. Their girls should behave according to traditional ways. Otherwise, girls who do not behave according to her tradition are punished by men especially by her elder brother. Girls are warned by their mother to avoid situations which may damage their family name and honor. They are afraid that their relatives in rural places can hear of the bad actions or behaviors of their daughters and they can give up the idea of a marriage with this family. They are obsessed with what their relatives think of themselves, so their tradition still controls them in city. Even, their marriage type is arranged by their tradition. These women worried about changing their living place can also change their practices which are arranged by tradition. They are afraid of living in city because of its effects on their children's sense of Kurdish culture. They think that their children can change and rebel because they will be labeled as the 'other' in city. 'Becoming other' affects their children deeply.

Hatun says:

My girl, we prefer endogamy for our children to protect our Kurdish identity. It is hard to get on well with other families. They are Turkish and we are Kurdish. Besides, endogamy is always fine. There is no need to involve foreign people into our families.

Nur:

All of us got married with their relatives. However, we have the right to choose. For instance, the son of my maternal uncle asked for my hand, but I married the son of my mother's aunt. Both of them are relatives. What I want to say is that we also have the right to choose.

Feride states:

Our children always marry their relatives here. They do not have to get married here although they were born and brought up here. It is we that know us the best. The people of Istanbul cannot understand us and our Kurdish culture. I do not interfere in it if children love people other than their relatives. However, it is hard to love people from other nations and cultures.

Nur says:

My niece got married with a boy from the Black Sea Region. In fact she is very happy, but sometimes her mother-in-law says that she does not know anything as she is Kurdish. She experiences some difficulties when they argue or fight. However, it is said that her mother-in-law loves her most among her daughter-in-laws because she is the most hardworking and respectful one. My niece is both very beautiful and a graduate of university. That is, she improves herself a lot.

There is a solidarity mechanism based on endogamy. This is ‘milk gift’. This is called “süt takısı”. ‘Süt takısı’, a tradition in which the family of the son-in-law presents money or gifts to the family of the daughter-in-law, continues in marriage practices. Normally “süt takısı” is taken by relatives or not relatives of the girl who gets married. But “süt takısı” is not taken by relatives who are poorer than others. Thereby, solidarity develops between poor and rich relatives. On the other hand, girls do not attribute negative meanings to such gifts, because they regard money and gifts as the sign of the value given to them.

Kevser says:

They got “süt hakkı”( the right of mother milk) for all of us. It is a very nice thing. You feel yourself valuable although people sometimes exaggerate this issue in the village. They ask for a barn of sheep as “süt takısı” or dowry payment. Yet these traditions became a history. You get married in a way if you love someone and both your mother and father agree with it.

Hatun says:

I remember, my paternal grandmother used to tell it. At that time she was the daughter of a landlord from a clan. Her father asked for exactly 100 sheep from the father of my grandfather. Nonetheless, the father of my grandfather was not such a plain man. He also had the clan of a whole village although his situation is not like this now. They want “süt hakkı” only to satisfy the mother. In fact we call it also “su takısı” in Kurdish.

Nur says:

Süt hakkı is the act of giving whatever you desire to the mother of the girl. It is also regarded as “dowry payment”, but it is not so heavy. Those kinds of dowry payments were in films. Now the relatives with a poor background buy some gifts to please the mother of the girl. It is called as “süt takısı”. Supposedly, it represents the right of the milk that the mother gave to her daughter. Nonetheless, nothing can replace it. It is already a tradition.

### **3.4. Power of men over women**

In relation to the practices of everyday life, such as shopping, taking the children to school and paying bills nearly all women are seen as authority, and they don't need to ask their husbands since it has already been considered as their practices. However, because they are responsible for it, it cannot be said that there is a correlation between women's practices and their ethnical identity and backgrounds, but not in all cases. Therefore, traditional Kurdish women do not move without the permission of their husbands. But living in urban places occurs with free mobility in the lives of these women.

Nur says:

We are a little more comfortable here than we are in the village. We have more opportunities to visit our relatives here. There are no jobs. We go to either our sister-in-laws or mother-in-laws or neighbours. I do not get permission from my husband. I go with my mother-in-law and it is enough. In the village the way certainly crosses the café. If they saw us, they would make a great fuss. However, we are more comfortable here.

Başak states:

Everything is ok if we take the sister-in-law, mother-in-law and also children with us. My husband comes home in the evening and we arrive home until that time.

We try to please the mother-in-law. When she comes, we go to the sister-in-law, neighbors or market. However, my mother-in-law does not like going shopping or to the market as she is old. We go to chat or meetings or visit her daughters together.

Aysel says:

I do not get any permission from my husband about going anywhere. Yet I ask him for permission if it is a long-distance. I go everywhere, especially market, the school of children, and hospital myself. Sometimes others join me, sometimes I go out with one of the children. It helps me a lot as they are literate.

It is necessary to handle in the concept of the body aspect of these women. As Butler (1989) points out, the body is constructed culturally. These women's bodies are violently constructed by their culture. Their husbands possess their bodies. Before they get married, their families, which are sometimes their father or their elder brother, possess and have a voice over their bodies. They are owned by their household and especially men, so they cannot say anything about their bodies. Their husbands have all rights on them. If one of these women becomes pregnant, their husband decides on whether she gives birth to child or not.

Furthermore, their mother-in-laws intervene in their bodies. These women do not have rights on their own bodies until they lose their fertility. There are two conditions for having rights on their bodies. One of them is the loss of fertility. The other is to be older. In both situations they can talk about their bodies and they have rights on it. Akpınar (2003) states that "The control of women's sexuality in different forms has to be analyzed by locating it on a continuum of patriarchal domination, which may end up in violence". The control of women's fertility or sexuality is not embodied by ethnic identity; it is embodied by patriarchal structure and superiority of masculinity.

Hatun says:

I can go everywhere myself. Anyway, I am a widow. What can happen to me? We do not send our daughter-in-laws to everywhere. Once a sick woman would have

gone to the doctor to have her child aborted and I went with her as she had the danger of miscarriage. Poor girl, she already had five children. I advised her to have that child aborted and she did so.

Ayşe says:

In our family it is the mother-in-law that decides the birth of lots of children. Husbands also want to have lots of children, but mother-in-laws want it more. On the other hand, here is a big city and it is really hard both to look after and bring up children. Anyway, births are not so easy as in the past. The women here often experience abortions. I could not give any sense to it. Maybe it is because of the weather or water of this city.

Kudret states:

In our family daughter-in-laws do not make comments on every kind of topic. Anyway, they are inexperienced and they do not realize what is good or what is bad. I always indicate that having lots of children is always good. It is always good to have a large lineage. I also gave birth to a great number of children. I tell my daughters and daughter-in-laws to give birth to children even if we are even in Istanbul. They grow up somehow.

These women keep on their Kurdish traditions and ethnicity in family. In family gender roles, hierarchy, authority, power of men over women based on their ethnic identity, extended family structure, and endogamy are going on tradition on Kurdish women according to them. Extended family structure, endogamy, the authority of elderly women and the power of men over women provide solidarity between households and it contributes to the continuation of Kurdish traditions in city.

### **3.5. Sexual Division of Labor in Family**

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

Kandiyoti (1997) says that women are out of the domains of men and they are with their female relatives and neighbors in urban life. There is sexual division in relations and interactions in households. Women sit together with women while men sit together with men. But elderly women sit together with men. Young women should not sit in the places in which elderly women and all men sit. "Spatial trajectories of everyday life are gendered not only through divisions of labor and the production of "male" and "female" spaces and identities, but also through the ways in which walking and mobility are read by others." (Secor, 1997: 357) These Kurdish women are not free about mobility. The domain of women is only home. The outside of home is the domain of men.

Nur says:

We, women sit together with women and men sit together with men. It is our tradition. The situation is like this also in the village and it continues also here. Women are always at home while men are always outside. Men are at home at midnights or sometimes at the weekend.

Aysel states:

Daughter-in-laws do not sit together with their mother-in-laws and father-in-laws and even brother-in-laws, save for eating together. We, daughter-in-laws, generally eat meals in the kitchen after everybody finish eating. In fact, it is a nice thing. We feed the old people and men first and then we save time for ourselves. However, men, even mother-in-laws care us a lot. They check whether enough food is left or not. If there is no food left, we cook again immediately.

Hatun says:

I want my daughter-in-laws to eat together with me, but they are shy. There was this kind of a tradition in the village. Now they eat together with me, though. They are very respectful. They do not eat near their father-in-laws. In fact, my husband says respect does not mean not eating together. Even my elder daughter-in-law hasn't talked to her father-in-law for 25 years. She performs the requirements of her position as a daughter-in-law in this way. This is a sign of respect in our tradition. My husband promised to buy a special golden bracelet from Trabzon for her if she talks to him.

Kevser says:

I like both my mother-in-law and father-in-law a lot. Of course I will perform the requirements of being a bride near them. We feed men and children first and then we eat what is left. My father-in-law begs me to eat together at the same table, but I still feel embarrassed. Moreover, I serve them while they are eating.

As Bhopal (1997) states, strong sex differentiation and male dominance are traditional norms in many ethnic cultures. Two different roles for women and men are emphasized: homemaker and bread-winner. Nonetheless, these women are both homemakers and bread-winners. Hereby, these women both make housework and win bread. The division of labor roles is considered to be not only a part of the Kurdish traditions but also a part of living conditions in urban places and therefore it is not quite a natural behavior both for Kurdish men and women. It is regarded as an unusual practice for men to participate in the housework as well. But, on the other hand, husbands of many of these women do not earn money for house. This behavior is also an unusual behavior in Kurdish tradition.

Aysel says that:

“Now I bring home food which is given by the municipality. I try to look after my children. My husband does not work. He cannot work as there are no jobs for him



to do. We try to make both ends meet in this way. God is mighty and we trust Him.”

Kevser says:

It is we, women that always do housework. Anyway, housework is none of men’s business. Earning money is enough for them. We can do all housework. Yet we also try to contribute to home financially.

Kudret states:

My daughter-in-law does all housework. She does not allow anybody to do it. While in the village, I used to do some housework but here every kind of job is on her shoulders as I got older. Men do not care housework and I also think that they should not care it. Housework, especially kitchen, cooking and washing, does not concern them.

Sexual division of labor is based on patriarchal structure. While there is discrimination between sons and daughters, the division of labor inside home based on the duties that men and women should do changes and the notion that only the daughter-in-law should do all housework at home appears. That is, the daughter-in-law executes all work at home. The mother-in-law has a big role about this subject and she plays a significant part in managing and organizing. Men don’t help housework and they do not give their opinions about it. Even according to most of these women, all housework should be done by only women and men should not express even their opinion. Otherwise, they claim that the men who help with housework and are interested in this subject decrease their masculinity in this way.

### **3.6. The Practice of Housework**

The practices of women at home are cooking, washing, cleaning and so on for a day. In addition, they take care of their children. Their husbands do not care household and taking care of children. There is hierarchy based on the superiority of men in division of housework practices. The superiority of men affects and determines the division of labor in everyday

practices. Male superiority in private life causes all housework to be done by women. It is seen in the traditional division of labor. This division is accepted by all households that are all men and women. Women are more obedient about it. However, some women who see the experiences of their neighbors object to their husbands by they do not housework. This objection can result in their being beaten. Most of these women are beaten by their husbands. But they state that they are less exposed to being beaten than they are in rural life. And the most interesting thing seen in the situation of battered women in city is that men see beating as a control mechanism over women. They see and accept beating as a control mechanism over women. Resistance against being beaten is seen as disobedience by all men and women, so women, especially older women and men contribute to male superiority by accepting the beating.

Kudret claims that:

“My girl, all work is on the shoulders of us, women. We have to prepare food, wash dishes, feed children and even bring water for our husband. You know Kurdish men do not help with housework. Anyway, we want that he only works and earns money. They only support the future of our children.”

Hatun states that:

“Women must do housework, wash clothes and take care of children according to them. Men are so tired when they come home. Furthermore, if they do housework, Allah does not accept it.”

Zehra says that:

“I ask for help from my daughter. Of course they do it immediately, but my husband never helps me with housework. Even he does not go to the kitchen to get a glass of water.”

That their husbands do not help them is seen as normal. According to most of them, their husbands work under hard conditions; thus, they do not expect help from their husbands. On the other hand, they think that if their husbands help them, their husbands won't work. Therefore, they do not expect any help from their husbands.

Hatun says that:

“My girl, men do not have to do housework. Of course we have to do it. They get very tired. Besides, they should not help their wives. Thanks to them. They eat whatever food we prepare. They are thoughtful. I know many men which beat his wife as they cannot find dinner ready. Think that woman’s situation. Not only Kurdish men but also Turkish men beat their wives. Honestly, there is no discrimination about men as Kurdish or Turkish about this subject but there are only the ones who beat their wives unscrupulously.”

They think their husbands lose power when they help them with housework. They underestimate the help of their neighbors’ husbands to their wives with doing housework. According to them, men have to be like men by not doing housework, so their husbands must not do housework. These women support the beating of women. According to them, beating women is sometimes necessary. If a husband does not beat his wife when his wife deserves it, his wife will disobey her husband. On the other hand, the practice of living together gives different roles to women and men. Women play the role of motherhood, do housework and bring up her child while men play the role of traditional fatherhood. (Çaha, 1996)

Kevser says:

“Of course, Kurdish women do all housework themselves. We also cook bread here. We cook traditional dishes. We are same as we were at our hometown. There was a garden. We plant things here as we did in the village. It is good. Only our living place is different. Otherwise, our doing housework is always same.”

On the other hand, these women do not give up old habits of preparing some food stuffs in the family. They also try to reduce living expenses. They make yoghurt, bread, tomato paste, and jam and so on. The mother-in-law is more active in such domestic works. They get help from younger women in the family or call for relatives and neighbors. Some foods are prepared in a specific time, for instance, in winter or summer. These women are enthusiastic about

production and preparing food. They maintain their habits on their rural life. Even they try to cook bread by building a traditional place for it.

Hatun says:

“My girl, we do not spend much here. We prepare our food stuffs from tomato paste to bread. All daughter-in-laws come together and do a job. Preparing is cheap and it is not possible for us to go to our hometown now. We both want to maintain our habits and contribute to home.”

They organize themselves when they prepare food in specific seasons. The older women collect all daughter-in-laws. She directs and trains her daughter-in-laws for preparing. When daughter-in-laws do something for the first time, the older women help daughter-in-laws learn it and then the daughter-in-laws start to do it with the permission and choice of older women. The older women can sometimes be mother-in-laws and sometimes older daughter-in-laws. There is a hierarchy between all daughter-in-laws. This hierarchy goes on by passing from a hand to another.

Kudret says:

“Thanks to my daughter-in-laws. They help their husbands. We cook bread, prepare paste, jam, and canned food. We also prepare foods for winter and summer. Here conditions are better. We eat whatever we have prepared during a year.”

These Kurdish women carry out housework, take care of children, and produce various textile goods and foodstuffs for consumption in the family. They prefer doing shopping weekly from bazaar. In this way they contribute to family subsistence through reducing expenses. In addition to shopping, women also deal with other family responsibilities such as paying electricity and water bills, taking children to school or taking them to hospital. Moreover, educated daughters deal with paying bills and doing repairing too even if women work. Women try to minimize their consumption of food, clothing, and housing. Working women also tend to

prepare home dinner. Working at a job does not prevent these women from preparing food. Saving their earnings and avoiding luxury are important values for these women.

Most of these women work out of home as well, but they do not think about not doing housework. They see themselves responsible about doing housework, preparing the clothes of their husbands, cooking, cleaning, washing, taking care of children and so on. However, they think differently about bringing up their children. Some of them want to be given by their husbands to the upbringing of their children. The rest of them want the contrary.

Similar to eastern societies, Connell (1998) states that in a western city women are mothers and they are obliged to do a major part of housework and take care of children as part of conventional division work. This situation and division of labor does not only experience in eastern society or traditional society, but also it experience in western society.

Aysel says:

“For example, we did all work in our village. Here we try to do housework and contribute to home.”

They state that they had to do housework when they were at their hometown or in rural life. Now, they not only have to do housework, but also participate in labor market in urban life.

Nur says:

“Our husbands of course do not help with housework. We do it ourselves. Kurdish women are always at home and their husbands work so much. They have to take care of their children and please their husbands.”

They are enthusiastic about doing housework. Their mother-in-laws evaluate their performance on doing housework. Their relatives evaluate them as ‘good daughter-in-laws’ when Kurdish women exhibit their performance at housework. Furthermore, these women do not criticize their husbands’ lack of concern for housework.

Kudret says:

Our daughter-in-law is very skillful. She does all kinds of work. She both assumes all housework at home and supports financially. You should look for these features in a daughter-in-law. The more work she does skillfully, the better housewife she is.

Hatun states:

Our daughter-in-laws are very hardworking. They do even the work that men do. They are capable of doing every kind of work. We were so, too while we are newly married. A woman should manage and keep a home in order. Otherwise, you can accept anybody as a daughter-in-law.

Nur says:

When I am newly-married, my mother-in-law did not used to like me as she thought that I could not do anything skillfully. However, after I started to do housework, she liked me more than other daughter-in-laws of hers, even I am her most beloved daughter-in-law now. I hear that she talks about me and praises me wherever she goes.

Kevser says:

The more work you do, the more you are loved in our family. Your father-in-law, mother-in-law, even husband evaluate you according to the work you do. Anyway, a daughter-in-law who cannot manage anything is useless. A daughter-in-law should squeeze a stone till water comes out of it, that is, she should overcome every kind of difficulties.

These women prepare all meals. The organization of meals is only prepared by daughter-in-laws. Contrary to rural life, some of these women eat together at the same table in Istanbul, but these women are happy about this situation. Therefore, they do not have to prepare two different tables for men and women. They say that they had to prepare two, even three tables during meals when they lived in rural life.

On the other hand, these young women could not eat with other households during meals. For young women eating with older people and men is seen as an insolent behavior. But now some of them state that they eat together. However, some families keep on this rural tradition, especially if there are older men.

These Kurdish women not only do housework, but also they work outside home. They try to earn the money and help their husbands.

Ayşe says that:

“I actually do every work. I already do everything. These are cleaning stairs, haircutting and washing carpets. My sister, I am not ashamed for doing these jobs. As a result, we earn money in a way. We do not steal.”

The husbands of these women want these women to work in the neighborhood. What is more, they do not want their wives to work regularly. They want their wives to work at part-time jobs and in the neighborhood.

Hatun says that:

“It is not difficult to do only housework. Especially doing housework is not difficult in Istanbul. Here women do not do anything after all. You cannot imagine what we were doing in the village. Of course, here is a hard city. Working is more difficult. Moreover, you must work and help your husband. Otherwise, people will laugh at us.”

Some of them find doing housework easy. They always talk about the difficulties of living and working conditions. They see working out of home more difficult rather than doing housework at home.

Zehra says:

“Living in Istanbul is difficult. My girl, look at me. I try to work with my child. Actually, here I always sit, I do not do anything. But earning money is so hard. Our husbands did not go to school. They are not officials, not at all. There is no job. It is necessary to help them.”

If they work as part-time or even full-time, they think that their husbands will work more and harder.

Furthermore, the division of labor and sharing work distribution in household are applied according to their Kurdish tradition. Anyway, Kurdish tradition determines gender roles and duties in family. Young women get all responsibility related to doing housework. Actually, there are two authorities for them. One of them is older women and the other is men. Young women experience double oppressions based on the authority of elderly women and men. Doing housework is exposed to sexual division and hierarchal division. Sexual division orders young women to do all work rather than men. Hierarchic division orders young women rather than older women.



**CHAPTER IV**  
**THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTAL BASIS FOR THE REPRODUCTION OF**  
**KURDISH WOMEN’S IDENTITY**

**4.1. Neighboring**

Gist and fava claim that “social relationships in the city are of many dimensions. In a different sphere are the relationships occasioned or determined by voluntary associations. Even among societies in the initial stages of urbanism they are providing mechanisms by means of which many people are making an adjustment to city life”. (1967)

What is more, culture and space are intertwined with each other. The relation between two concepts has just been explored by social scientists. Until now, these concepts are examined independently from each other. Now, both anthropologists and geographers deal with them simultaneously. ( Öncü & Weyland: 2000)

In this chapter, these women’s everyday life practice based on their ethnic identity in context of living space will be tried to explore. The main question is whether they reproduce their everyday practice in their culture or not. In this context, I focus on relation with their neighbors. These women encounter with other women in same space. They feel to define and refer to their culture in this space. They differentiate themselves or not. They always refer to differences. For these women, there are special days and practices between their relatives and neighbors. These days of practices are ‘mevlid’(mawlid), ‘altın günü’ and ‘sohbet’(conversation). Two of them are religious. The other is based on economic aims. Kandiyoti (1997) states that “mevlid” is a practice in an urban area; it also controls the women’s intolerance to other.

“Mevlid” is organized for dead people. It is organized by the relatives of the dead people in order to give out food and get gain (credit). It is a religious ritual. Its aim is to serve people who participate in this organization in order to acquire merit for the dead one. On the other hand,

“altın günü” is an economic meeting. On this day people are organized and come together at one home. It aims to collect gold for the chosen person in meeting. “The sohbet” is a religious meeting too. Its goal is to inform collected people about religion.

According to Kandiyoti (1997), visits in urban life, which has different functions and structure, creates a network of women’s relations. Besides, the day of these visits does not reflect a hierarchy based on the jobs of their husbands, contrary to her saying, but the hierarchy of these women’s meetings is based on age. Especially, religious meetings are absolutely based on respect for older women. They do not consider hierarchy at this meeting. Perhaps, this is the only meeting or community which is not based on stratification.

The factor of “common religion”, which is shaped by their neighbors as well, makes their integration easier. They think they share common feelings by means of religion. Furthermore, these women state that they go to praying places like ‘mosques’ more than they went to in rural life. The most important thing is that the sect of the “mosque’ has more power than their mother-in-laws and husbands. They state that many mistakes they did are given up in urban life by means of their religious community. They state that the unique way that they do not feel as the ‘other’ is religious meetings in praying places, “mevlid” and so on. Furthermore, they reproduce their sense of religion and practice in city context. Even they break the sense of gendered place when they go to “the mosque” because they think the “mosque” is the domain of men. They are both more socialized and educated about religious practices. Moreover, they develop and reproduce their religious practices in cultural context. On the other hand, religion takes place of tradition as forced power. It forces tradition about doing some everyday practices as well. It starts to take place as authority in private life. If their husbands or mother-in-laws want to act in contrast to religion, they resist more according to the other area. Furthermore, religion limits looking down on people and even common sense prohibits it. “Mosque” is a place which enables their children to integrate with other children. Because their children do not go to school, they find a chance to meet and socialize with the neighbor’s children by going to “mosques” in summer.

Their religious identity helps integrate and it determines and shapes again their ethnical identity in city. They state that they feel more religious and ethnical than they were in rural life. On the other hand, they say that living in the city forces them in terms of both their ethnical and

religious identity. They spend more energy for doing religious practices rather than ethnical practices. They state that they are freer and more relaxed about doing religious practices in rural life rather than in city, but they state that the conditions of the city force them to perform also religious practices.

On the other hand, there are two difficult situations for them. One of them is 'being Kurdish'. The other is to 'attempt to be urbanite'. These Kurdish women get attached to their ethnical identity through social networks. On the other hand, if they find enough opportunities they change their practices into consumption culture.

Fatma says that:

“Of course we arrange meetings with our neighbors. Of course it is good for us. They know that we are Kurdish. We also behave like a Kurd near them. We never feel shame. Why should we feel ashamed? They are also migrants, but it is necessary for us not to be disgraced in meetings. We do not spend the money we collect unnecessarily. We hand it out again in meetings.”

They claim that they are seen as 'Kurdish' and the 'other'. They are happy about being labeled as 'Kurdish'. On the other hand, according to them, everyone is the 'other'.

Meetings are important for integration. They encounter with the “other” there. They feel safe and lively as they strongly integrate with each other. These religious and common areas with neighbors provide integration. They constantly state that they feel less “otherness” in there. There is not exclusion and assimilation in there.

#### **4.2. The Practice of Identification in Social Environment**

The identification process involves ethnical, cultural and religious identity. It is not independent from their living place, but it is based on their cultural backgrounds. Regarding the role of women in the identification process, their power is limited to immediate everyday life. There is always an authority based on older women and their husbands over them. They obtain respect in order to be thought for their following life, although they suffer a lot. Normally the

women are not important in the household, but the women gain respect as they get older. Actually they are regarded important separately by their husbands and their mother-in-laws.

Kurdish community has different divisions of hierarchy not exactly which are determined by their background, different gendered structure and especially different cultural guidelines which determine their practices of everyday life.

Weddings, funerals and cultural and religious ceremonies are important and different from the ones of their neighbors. A wedding is carried out with more people than their neighbors will have. This crowded organization is talked by their neighbors for a long time. This situation is a source of pride for them.

Kurdish women faced many problems not only related to economic difficulty but also related to identity process. This process emerged with discrimination against Kurds and women. Kurdish woman's identification process is different from a Turkish woman's. They both struggle with being an ideal Turkish woman and they try to prove their own Kurdishness, so identification process is different for Kurdish and Turkish women who live at urban places. However, Kurdish women are obliged to produce their identities. "Urban travelers become active participants in the production of difference, identity, and citizenship." (Secor, 1997:358) As well as, cultural possession sometimes does not reflect identity or requirement of difference, it reflects hierarchical structure and it is based on hierarchical structure. Therefore, one person can ask whether any manifestation based on cultural one or based on ethnic identity.

On the other hand, when we talk with them about modernity like these concepts, they emphasize on that they are out of it. According to them they are not modern because they are not educated. They see modernity as being educated and living in luxury. They want to be modern while their sense of modernity does not approve they are modern. They produce some tactics by saying there are some barriers. One of these tactics is to see their men as a barrier. They claim that if they try to be seen as modern, their husband will divorce and kill them and they will be seen by their relatives as an immoral woman. Thinking about each other is more important for them. Especially, the viewpoint of older women and all men about daughter-in-laws is so sharp and it brings to their mind the idea to continuing to be married or not.

As Secor (1997) points out, Kurdish women describe their everyday lives in the city and they indicate that they live in religiously differentiated neighborhoods and districts within which different performances of gender and identity are required. Despite this, I interviewed these women and asked them to talk about cultural differences instead of religious ones. These Kurdish women frequently refer to specific cultural differences. In a study of Secor which is related to migrant Kurdish women, she stated that her interviewed women represented Kurdish cultural differences and its spatialization as being strongly inflected by class, but not reducible to it.

Pervin, in Secor's studies, a 44-year old working woman from Ağrı who had been in Istanbul for 30 years, expressed a common sentiment when she explained, "certainly, there is a class structure in Istanbul, but a poor Turkish woman and a poor Kurdish woman live through very different things." (Secor, 1997: 357)

It is clear that this difference refers to 'Otherness'. There is an ideal type especially felt in urban life. Every society creates an ideal type. This ideal type needs an essential identity. The main identity of Turkish republic is based on 'sameness' and 'Turkishness'. Accordingly, the ideal woman is Turkish women. The Kurdish woman is seen ideal one as long as she resembles a Turkish woman, so Kurdish women are seen as the 'other'.

On the other hand, manifestations of their identities are their place of birthday, different names, and different traditional clothes. Even sometimes their dark skins can be included into this list.

Hatun says that:

"Everyone supposes that we are a crowded family as we are Kurdish. Our neighbors are constantly surprised. We live as we lived in our hometown. We organize our marriage ceremonies as it would be in our hometown."

Kudret states that:

"Our traditional clothes are very important for us. Even if we do not wear our clothes every time we wear them on special days. Look, our style of veil is same, so I wear same as I was at Ağrı. I cook the same food, I do the same housework."

They claim that they have not been changed in urban life or Istanbul. They try to prove this by showing and talking about traditional practices.

Nur says:

“Our relatives used to come to our home when I was at my father’s home. You know, Kurds are crowded. They do everything all together. Our neighbors ask us whether we feel tired when our crowded relatives come. We like guests. Besides, our Kurdish identity is obvious from our traditional clothes, our speaking style and behaviors as well.”

They defend that people understand their Kurdishness from their traditional clothes, speaking style and even the color of their skin. They are proud of it, but they are sometimes disturbed.

Refika:

“We are understood to be Kurds outside when we go with our sister-in-law to other relatives. We take the children; we get in the car by collecting the three of us. We visit each other without permission, we go and come. But still we live like Kurds.”

Older Kurdish women state that we are more relaxed now. We go anywhere without asking anyone. The Kurdish women had to get permission from their husbands. Kurdish men play an important role in making decisions. However, in Istanbul, this role of Kurdish men is decreasing. On the other hand, women play an important role about new production of differences between ethnic/ national groups. They bear the culture and they are special determinants of national differences. (Kandiyoti, 1997)

Migrant women reproduce their culture by keeping on their traditional practices of everyday life which are from traditional cooking to style of bringing up their children and so on (Kandiyoti,1997).

Furthermore, some of these young women do not talk with older men and even older brother of their husbands. This behavior shows their respect for older people, even men. When a newly married daughter-in-law comes home, she cannot talk with anybody. After at least 5 months she can talk. This is a traditional ritual. If new brides do not obey this ritual they are censured by all households. When she gets permission for talking, then she can talk. Otherwise, she is seen insolent. Sometimes young women never talk with their father-in-laws until he is dead.

Identity changes under some conditions. Changes are in two ways. The first is slow change that occurs as the meanings in the identity standard shift to be more like the self-relevant meanings that are perceived in the situation. This is adaptive response that allows individuals to fit into new situation and cultures where the meanings are different. It can be viewed as a socialization effect that might occur as individuals take on new roles and memberships. (Burke, 2006: 14) Migrant Kurdish women try to fit with their everyday roles into new living place. They create new roles. “The error or discrepancy between the perceptions and the identity standard not only governs behavior, but also produces an emotional response. We feel distress when the discrepancy is large or increasing; we feel good when the discrepancy is small or decreasing”. (Burke: 2006; 4) When discrepancies between Kurdish women and neighbors increase, Kurdish women feel like the ‘Other’ and unsafe. Similarly, Kurdish women state that being Kurdish is the mark of otherness in Turkish Republic. Even Kurdish women are exposed to negative remarks by both Kurdish men and Turkish women.

On the other hand, living in the city should be taken into account when drawing any general conclusions about everyday practices of migrant Kurdish women on the one hand and the ethnical and cultural characteristics of migrants which have important effects on their relations with their neighbors on the other.

According to the definition of integration, the Kurdish migrant is not the possible aspect of the state’s policies, but Kurdish women reach success about integration despite violent discrimination and social exclusion. However, they show and experience their cultural features and traditions not only in private domains, also in the public life. Thus although they are looked down when their Kurdisness and traditional features are emphasized, they are not ashamed of the

exposition of their identity. They are always exposed to social exclusion, but they break it by participating in everyday practice with their neighbors.

These Kurdish migrant women play active roles in keeping their community together and keeping their ethnical identity during the migration process. They are more effective and active more than they were in rural life as primary agents of socialization. They are the bearers of culture as they transmit cultural and social values of their ethnic community from one generation to the next. In addition, these women create their own culture in a new social environment in the city. They produce new cultural patterns. They produce their differences with some tactics by manipulating traditional gender roles and their ethnicity to everyday practice; Kurdish women have been able to promote an identity in city. In this process, they integrate into city life and they are the strongest supporter of other households especially their children's integration to city. Furthermore, they decrease some of the social inequalities that lie at the root of gender inequalities.

Many scholars state that becoming a woman is not thought as 'a unique criterion' in gender studies. There are many determinative factors, such as different class, religion, sect, language and ethnic background which affect their gender oppression (Brah, 1991). In addition, these women are the actors who create their own culture under the effect of new social environment.

These Kurdish migrant women are enthusiastic about integrating into city. They develop some tactics in order to integrate into city with their ethnical identities. They reproduce their everyday practices with their identities. By means of their morals and everyday practices they are not exposed to assimilation. Even they reproduce their everyday practices again. Their Kurdish language is the indication of integration, not assimilation although they are looked down when they speak in their mother-tongue. Furthermore, they face many problems related to their "Kurdishness". However, they develop some tactics by producing their everyday practices. Some of them do not give up their mother-tongue in city and speak in Kurdish although they face Turkish organizations and they have to speak in Turkish. The other indication is their loyalty to their traditional days. The Turkish state denies and prevents them from celebrating their traditional days especially in the city. However, they try to celebrate it.



On the other hand, these women feel like the 'other'. Although they are exposed to 'otherness' more violently in contrast to rural life, they resist it and maintain their ethnical identities. In the case of women's meetings women do not feel their otherness in contrast to their feelings in other outdoor activities and commonalities among them eliminate the feeling of otherness. The most notable commonalities are religion and women's experiences of oppression. When they come together, they talk about their oppressions which are based on their mother-in-laws and husbands. Furthermore, their ethnic organizations provide an environment, which can be identified as ethnic enclave that facilitates women's integration into city through helping them and building solidarity. While institutions and organizations of the state force them to 'otherness', they find alternative areas for finding their selves. Moreover, when these women come together on traditional days, they develop coping strategies by talking and producing solutions for their oppression for otherness. On the other hand, these strategies reflect their changing everyday practices in city context. What is more, these organizations create ethnic enclaves through which all needs of the excluded ethnic community are provided to integrate into city. Experiences of migrations for these women are different from the ones for men. Because women have a different position in social life and they are affected by social life more than men are affected. Therefore, they develop strong coping strategies than men do. In this process of identification they are more active than men.

On the other hand, I handle up their relations in everyday practices outside family in order to understand integration into the city and with Turkish neighbors. In this sense, I observe their meetings with neighbors, consumption practices and employment experiences which present a social area for them. According to my observation, meeting contributes to a stronger integration network for them. Women state that they feel less "otherness". On the other hand, they contribute to meetings with their ethnic differences and features. They reproduce "us" and the "other" in there. The strongest network which enables their integration is meeting with their Turkish neighbors.

**CHAPTER V**

**THE ECONOMIC BASIS FOR THE REPRODUCTION OF KURDISH  
WOMEN'S IDENTITY**

**5.1. Consumption Practice**

“... consumption cannot be analyzed separately from other specialized spheres of social activity (including work), but only as part of a wider totality that includes everyday life and the wider dynamics of modernity” (Gardiner, 2000: 86). In urban life the differences of culture, ethnicity and so on are consumed with products of consumption culture.

Lefebvre emphasizes the (2000) exposure to cultural consumption and social transformation in urban. But my participants are not exposed to cultural consumption because they preserve their ethnical features. They transform some practices and rituals, but, this is not exactly a change like assimilation. This is a transformation. If it is accepted as alienation, this alienation emerges from everyday experiences based on urban lifestyle, not based on ethnic identity, ethnicity or cultural experiences. “It was an expression of alienation, a loss of control over essential human capacities and powers that should be firmly rooted in daily existence” (Lefebvre, 2000). But these women preserve ethnic capacities and power in daily existence and practice. “The production and culture were now almost entirely dependent on finance and industrial capital”(Certeau, 2000:159), while a culture based on finance and industrial capital is indispensable to cultural transformation with capitalist consumption. Therefore, these Kurdish women change by capital production rather than social ones, so it creates alienation to their culture, not assimilation, but this situation emerges when these women participate in consumption.

Kandiyoti (1997) stated that the consumption, one way of movement and articulation in urban life, finds participants that are enthusiastic women (Kandiyoti, 1997). On the other hand, the media encourages consumption culture. When the women have leisure time, they choose

consumption as a manifestation of their femininity instead of participating in production (Kandiyoti, 1997).

Lefebvre (2000) states that everyday life has to be increasingly rationalized and integrated into the cycles of production and consumption. These Kurdish women participate in cycles of production and consumption in urban life. They enter their ethnical community with their traditional daily practices and they integrate and rationalize their traditional existences. On the other hand, with consumption they consume the urban life. As a result, they are somewhat alienated to their cultural values.

Kevser says:

I am anxious about my children as they will not be able to become like us despite their Kurdish origin. Now my daughter sees something on TV and wants me to buy it for her. Even the son of my daughter said that he would have his ear pierced. The life we lead here causes them to acquire different cultural habits.

Kudret says:

Our opportunities were not so good before. We were the same here just as we were in the village. Nonetheless, as soon as we gain money, the habits of our children changed. Even the clothes of our daughter-in-laws changed. They maintain a fashion here now and they cover their scarfs in the same style. In addition, they are wearing trousers, then where is our Kurdishness left?

According to Lefebvre (2000), consumption gives us the illusion of freedom and choice, of spontaneity, and successful realization of pleasure. That is to say, these Kurdish women feel freedom and feel the disappearance of their otherness as long as they participate in consumption. Hence, “culture had become fully integrated into and subordinated to the needs of capital: the culture industry produced and distributed cultural artifacts for the express purpose of mass consumption and maximum profitability” (Certeau, 2000: 159). Hereby, that emerges from standardization. Kurdish women alienate their cultural differences in this process of standardization. These women are enthusiastic about consumption.

Aysel states:

We would like to do shopping and buy everything for our children and ourselves, but we make our ends meet with difficulty as life is very hard here. We can find everything in the bazaar, but still our children want us to buy more expensive things and of course they are right.

Nur says:

As I obtain money, I spend it for home needs and my mother-in-law does not interfere in it. I try to buy all things we need. Yet it is really hard to meet expenses because a new thing comes up every day. You can obtain the best and the worst of everything in Azar. It is your choice which one you desire.

Kandiyoti (1997) stated that the consumption, one way of movement and articulation in urban life, finds participants that are enthusiastic women (Kandiyoti, 1997). On the other hand, the media encourages consumption culture. When the women have leisure time, they choose consumption as a manifestation of their femininity instead of participating in production (Kandiyoti, 1997). However, Kurdish women prefer participating in labor market and they are deeply occupied with earning money to struggle to make a living more than other women.

On the other hand, traditionally there is a hierarchy about consumption between these women and even between all households. Firstly the older men and other men fulfill their needs. After that the older women fulfill her needs. Finally the children and the daughter-in-law fulfill their needs, but in urban life this arrangement disappears gradually. They pay attention to the needs of their daughter-in-laws more than before. Maybe this arrangement is collapsing. The most important reason why they meet the concept of 'other' is that they do not want to be disgraced to their neighbors. For example, having a cellphone is seen more suitable for older women in rural side or men rather than young women, but in urban side it is seen more suitable for working daughter-in-law. Some priorities based on their tradition change in urban life according to living conditions and their status in social life. On the other hand, to be organizer of consumption needs of a house is a statue. This statue is in the hands of older women in rural life

and in urban life it changes hands. The daughter-in-law gets this statue because of the idea that communication with sellers becomes easier by means of her speaking Turkish language. This statue is given by older women and their husbands to young women. Furthermore, in rural side the older women prepare all foodstuffs according to traditions and when she feels tired, her daughter-in-law does all work.

What is more, they firstly go to their relatives if these women need something. If their relatives do not have it when she asks them for something, then she asks her neighbors. Even, many times she does not ask her neighbors for it. Kinship is functional. Kinship between them provides solidarity.

Everyday practices in city are under more control in rural life than in urban life. In rural life, women produce all their foodstuffs in a traditional way without being part of consumption culture. However, in the city these women have to consume from markets for their needs. This consumption practice causes the creation of common enclaves in different cultures. It leads to global practices and they become same as long as they participate in consumption. This global practice is similarly experienced by all people in city. This common practice alienates them from their culture and ethnical practices. On the other hand, they develop coping strategies for consumption because their income is low. Furthermore, not being involved in consumption is a barrier to their alienation.

Their consumption and practices of everyday life are changed with urbanization and through the process of migration. They enter a new social environment and in this way they redefine and reproduce 'Us' and 'Other'. Therefore, it starts a new process of re-construction of identity for them. Based on this new identity, practices of everyday life change as coping strategies enable solidarity in the urban context. These coping strategies make their integration into urban life easier.

According to Lefebvre, the consumption society is briefly the instruction of everyday life as bureaucratic. Consumption is a part of everyday practice. Many thinkers state that everyday life is an area of non-alienation and creative practices. Every group creates their practices according to its own values. These values can be cultural, ethnical and religious. These women reproduce everyday practices in the context of their ethnic identity.

Many immigrant women in the Third World are reproducing various coping strategies for their different forms of oppression and differences (Bhopal 1997, Sinclair 1998). These Kurdish women talk about their everyday lives; they sometimes talk about their exclusion and alienation. I interviewed some of the migrant women and discovered that they felt alienation from their own culture and ethnic background. This alienation is related to the change of practices with urban consumption, but when they talk about their oppression, it is same for other women as well. Maybe their oppression is harder than other women's because of their ethnicity because they try to preserve their ethnicity through everyday practice and they do not have suitable economic conditions in order to participate in consumption. Therefore, they try to become Kurdish in the same consumption practice and they strive to help with their house needs in consumption culture because they do not have enough economic opportunities. They experience double oppressions and they develop double coping strategies. They want to live as Kurdish and they preserve their ethnic practices and traditions. They develop some strategies in the consumption culture which is formed through standardization and they develop coping strategies in order to survive in city because they do not have good economic conditions. Urban lifestyle presents common practices to them in consumption context. Therefore women become same and alienated as long as they participate in city life. These Kurdish migrant women become same with other women as long as they are involved in consumption. Kurdish women try to participate in public domains. When they participate in it, they reproduce some cultural tactics by using their cultural background. They especially use everyday practice in order to integrate. The order of their everyday life is not clear.

## **5.2. Employment**

Employment is important for their everyday practices. They spend most of their time by trying to find some jobs to support their husbands economically. These Kurdish women feel like bread – winner in Istanbul, in contrast to how they felt in rural side. Kurdish women try to earn more than Kurdish men. Contrary to traditional Kurdish men, these women's husbands do not try to earn. These women think that living conditions are difficult for their husband too. Because of this, these women feel that they have to participate in labor market. On the other hand, most of their husbands resort to informal ways to earn money. Most of their husbands work part-time.

Husbands of these women do not want their single sisters to work while most of their husbands want help and their wife to work. Connell (1998) stated that most workers are married women after capitalist industry. It is interesting for married women to work according to unmarried women. Because, married women have more responsibilities related to housework, such as cleaning, washing, cooking, taking care of children, than single women do. In addition, married women who participate in labor market show different claims. These women participate in labor market as they are obliged by both their husbands and living conditions rather than being married women who are enthusiastic about work. It is important for economic and social roles of women in family and in social life their positions are evaluated in the process of identity formation in the new social environment.

Ayşe says that:

“My husband does not work, so I try to do all work myself. I do hairdressing. I clean stairs. I go to the official municipality and bring food from there.”

On the other hand, some of these women are enthusiastic about helping their husbands and earning money. They think that they have to prepare the future of their children. They expect their husbands to support the future of their children. According to them after their son goes to military service and their girl gets married, they will not have to support their children. However, sometimes their sons come first rather than their girls. They constantly repeat that girl is like a river, she goes and son is like a rock, he stays with you forever. Because of this when they marry their sons, they expect their sons to stay forever with them and serve them. When their daughter-in-laws fight with them on any topic, they show all their power over her. And when their sons defend his wife in any topic, the mother of the son gets more disappointed. According to the mother-in-law, her son has to defend herself whatever happens.

Hatun states that:

“My girl, Istanbul is too expensive. We already visit our relatives on festivals and on other important days. We maintain our Kurdishness in this way. We sometimes speak in Kurdish. We talk about our hometown. We prepare our traditional dishes. We could go to the other places of Istanbul if we had more opportunities like our

neighbors, but life in Istanbul is spent to gain money and it is very difficult for men. Our husbands always say that the bread is in the mouth of the lion.”

Most of them find Istanbul so expensive. Conditions of Istanbul are a barrier for them to make visits. Traffic jams, distance of living places, low rate of literacy are problems for them to visit their relatives in Istanbul. However, they are more enthusiastic about visiting their relatives. On the other hand, they state that Istanbul has not many job opportunities contrary to the former migrants.

The imperatives of the peasant community (the village) regulated not only the way work and domestic life were organized, but festivals as well. (Lebevre,1991; 30-1). Thus for these women it is not only important for domestic life but also for festivals, celebrations and holidays. These women impatiently wait for the arrival of religious celebrations. They prepare for these special days very well in advance.

Kurdish women try to adapt to substantial possibilities. Because of lack of economic opportunities they try to adapt to social environment and area. Normally, these traditional families do not see women’s earnings as valuable. (Kandiyoti, 1997) However, these women feel strong by earning and helping their husbands about budget.

Zehra:

“I manage a store of hosiery. I have to do it. Life is so difficult here. That only one person is working is not sufficient. I have to work as well. Otherwise, we will be disgraced ourselves here.”

On the other hand, two daughters of Ayşe work at ready-made clothing shop. They both work and study. They are only thirteen and fourteen years old. Even, Ayşe does not want them to go to school. Therefore her mother-in-law does not want her children to go to school. She does not want her mother-in-law to interfere in the education of her children.



Aysel:

“Actually, it is said that there are many job opportunities in Istanbul. It is not correct. The conditions here are similar to the ones in our hometown. Many men are looking for jobs, but they cannot find any. Women can find more jobs.”

Aysel says:

“We do shopping from the bazaar or grocery. We try to eke out a living in this way.”

These women see shopping from supermarkets as luxury. They try to do all foodstuffs at home. Even they cook bread, make yogurt, prepare canned food and so on. They see spending money on shopping from supermarkets unnecessary. On the other hand, they see shopping from supermarkets as the sign of ‘becoming urbanite’.

They do shopping from bazaars or small groceries. They try to prepare every food in traditional ways. They do not want to spend money on food. And they are enthusiastic about asking the state for help. They try to get help from it.

Ayşe says:

“The municipality sometimes delivers lunch here. I go to take lunch from there when my children are in the school. “

Zehra says:

“Of course, we come together with our relatives. For example, our men get in a car and visit all our relatives on festivals. Sometimes our neighbors suppose that there happened a significant event or funeral. But only our men make visits to relatives on festivals.”

Many scholars state that women in many ethnic groups are concentrated in many labor markets as home workers who reproduce traditional class, gender and ethnic divisions of labor. They work part-time and they are concentrated in the lowest level jobs. Their ethnic groups do not have to work for the entrepreneur whose ethnic economy is made up of ethnic enclaves. On

the other hand, their ethnic identity determines the relations within the households in which ethnic and sexual divisions are particularly important.

Normally, the profile of women is same at consumption. Nevertheless, Kurdish women spend their earnings for their children and the main needs of their house. When women's employment outside the house for paid work is examined, it is seen that their expectations from their husbands are not same as other women. Being employed does not encourage them to have higher expectations from their husbands.

It is observed that the breadwinner role of men is deeper in Kurdish families. Most of these women expect not only better financial conditions, but also they try to help their husbands in İstanbul. Because they think that living conditions in İstanbul are difficult, they have to participate in labor market.

Traditional Kurdish men do not allow their wives to participate in labor market, but this tradition is gradually disappearing. According to them, the husband's role for women is not still the role of a breadwinner. However, these working migrant women only expect that husbands should support their children's future.

This research shows that nearly all men were more likely to control family budget. In the case of working women, they handed over their wages to their husbands and their husbands were not interested in how women's earnings were spent because their husbands trust them and know that their wives make necessary expenses. As a result Kurdish women's participation in the labor market has not given them more power. Only it is seen that they help their husbands.

Kandiyoti (1997) stated that the efficiency of women on budget provides indispensable increase in urban life. These women are the cornerstone of their home. They think about their budgets more than their husbands, but the participation of these women in labor market does not give extra power and only their efficiencies ameliorate the conditions at home. These women are regarded as uncontrollable by their mother-in-law and husbands when they insist on working without permission from their husband and mother-in-law.

Kudret says:

“My husband always used to tell me that he did not know how to manage our home without me. My girl, we do not resemble other women. We do not spend extra money on our hair to change its colour. When it was necessary, I did not eat anything. I made them eat and wear. Fortunately our situation is better now.”

These women not only decrease the burden of their home, but also they try to earn various jobs in urban life. Most of their husbands see their wives as the main supporter of themselves. These women do not want to spend much on the needs. Even, they call spending money on their clothes as luxury. Furthermore, the experiences of these women are different from Turkish women just as the experiences of black women are different from those of white women in labor market. Phizackle and Wolkowitz (1995) and Miles (1980) state that the experiences of black women in the labor market are different to those of white women because of the racist system in paid work. Therefore many significant differences are seen between black and white women, which need to be taken into account. As a result of their ethnic identity, these Kurdish women experience more different practices and oppressions than Turkish women. Furthermore, with the changing of living area everyday practice may alter ethnic and gender relations in public and private domains.

The other factor which makes their integration easier is finding jobs. These migrant women generally find part-time jobs and they serve their neighbors who are Turkish. Serving Turkish women and spending time with them help their integration as well. On the other hand, their husbands do not find jobs and get economic opportunities in contrast to other men. These women develop and use some adaptive strategies to help their husbands. Working provides both these women and their husbands with adaptation and integration. Limited economic opportunities attach these migrants into their Kurdish relatives and neighbors. This situation creates solidarity between them as well as creating an ethnic enclave. The situations provide Kurdish migrants with a social environment to survive without obtaining economic opportunities.

The most interesting point for these women is related to their plunge into labor market. When these women enter into labor market, they force their gender roles in family and thereby they force the authority of elderly women and men. But this process of challenge is gradual. It does not directly undermine their authority. They also develop many coping strategies for integration. These coping strategies are divided into two parts. The first part is related to reproducing “otherness” by preserving ethnic features and identity. The subsequent part is related to struggling for survival in city by finding employment and participating in consumption. These strategies help preserve ethnic features and identity.

**CHAPTER VI**  
**THE POLITICAL BASIS FOR THE REPRODUCTION OF KURDISH WOMEN'S**  
**IDENTITY**

**6.1. Having Access to State Services**

**6.1.1. Educational Policies**

Education has a significant place in integration, socialization and assimilation. Through educational policies we can construct a nation in a desirable profile. Education has different functions in every society and it has turned into an institution whose importance is understood gradually. That's why there is an increase in the rate of participation in education even in traditional societies. Of course, in this increase the effect of not only education itself but also the effect of the side-factors that education is connected to is undeniable. The experiences of these women in city life in the jobs in government offices, service buildings hospitals and other jobs which require literacy have made them more susceptible and enthusiastic about education. Literacy among these women's children is increasing. The children are more likely to continue their education after the primary school than their parents. However, on the other hand, the economic destitution that city life brings destroys their interest in education. But, most of them left the primary school due to their old age and economic difficulties. Furthermore, there is also a gap between men and women in terms of literacy. Men get education until primary school and then they get married with uneducated women. The criterion of marriage for them is not education level. They look for someone whom their mothers confirm for marriage. All these women get married in accordance with the choices of their mother-in-laws. Mothers evaluate the potential of the prospective daughter-in-law in terms of doing homework, chores or by looking at their beauty.

Aysel:

“Our mother and father used to say that it was enough to read in our time. Thus I had to leave school at a very early age. Actually, my father was regretful for his attitude. Thankfully, attitudes regarding education are changing nowadays, for example, both of my children go to school. Their school performance in lessons is very good. Even, they attend courses after school at weekends. As a result kids are getting longer and better education than we got.”

They see themselves unlucky about educational opportunities. They state that they did not have opportunities, but there are many opportunities for their children according to them. According to them their children know the value of given opportunities better than the children of their neighbors. One of them says that their children cried for one year because she did not have economic resources to send their children to school. Four children of theirs have learnt how to read and write without going to school.

Being educated is so important among them. They show more respect to educated people. When they have to go out of home, they want to go with a more educated person between them. They are proud of giving education to their children. On the other hand, education is attributed more importance by these women. Like Karpat (2003) emphasizes, education way getting opportunities for entering to labor market cause to attribute more importance.

What is more, they see education in Kurdish is unnecessary, but when I talk deeply with them I see that they sometimes rebuke the lack of education in a mother-tongue. Therefore, they state that they are obliged to get Turkish education. Most Kurdish families did not send their children to school for education. They do not have good economic conditions.

On the other hand, there are biases related to girls' going to school. Some Kurdish families do not want to send their girls to school. Especially, the elder brothers don't give permission to their sisters. Therefore, nine of these women could not get education because their elder brothers did not give permission.

It is observed that there is a direct correlation between increasing their education level and their process of urbanization. They are more enthusiastic about education and send their girls

to school although they do not have sufficient economic conditions. However, they want to learn to write and read. Their children make slow progress because of their economic disadvantages. On the other hand, they prefer contacting with their neighbors according to their level of education. They do not want to become together with more educated neighbors. They claim that if the education level of their neighbors is low, they would get on well with each other. They think that becoming educated or not are the most effective determinant for relations between neighbors. Furthermore, they are more enthusiastic about giving education to their children in contrast to previous generation. All these women want to send their children to school, but they complain of the lack of economic conditions. Besides, they constantly say that their mother-in-law is a barrier in front of their children's education. The older women do not want to send their grandchildren, especially girls to schools. These older women think it is better to work for children and their family rather than going to school. Otherwise these older women state that if their grandchildren go to school, there are no workers who help family budget, so the reason why they do not want to send their children to school is a traditional one rural life, but its reason is an economic one in city. On one hand, there are daughter-in-laws who were from the former generation, and were not sent by their parents to school because of traditional reasons according to their children. On the other hand, there are children of new generations who are not sent to school because of economic reasons.

Nur:

“I wanted to go to the school a lot, but my brothers opposed it by claiming that education is none of the bussiness of girls. I signed up for the Open University. Now I am preparing for the university exam. However, our children will study more and surpass us if Allah permits and presents more opportunities.”

Most of these women have dreamt about having a job while studying, but they rebuke their families for becoming barriers in front of their education. According to their families, if a girl gets education and later the life of that working girl will be against her tradition and family.

In some families the father is not only the head of the family, but he also has right to make decisions on the education of children. On the other hand, the mother does not have any

right in the process of decision. Moreover, in that family if there is a mother-in-law, the daughter-in-laws do not make decisions about the education of their children.

On the other hand, some women try to keep on their traditions given by their families, so they think that their children should not go to school after the primary school. Some of these women are more obedient about hegemony of older women and men. The rest of these women does not want to send their children to school and they encourage them to work.

Ayşe:

“I always say my girl that primary school end up. That is enough. My husband does not intervene in education of my children. I take in hand everything of my children. I say fully participate garment industry. But of course, I want their participating in education. But they should work.”

Nur:

“I always tell my daughters that you should finish the primary school first. That is enough. My husband does not intervene in the education of my children most of the time. I deal with everything related to my children. I advise them to be employed in garment industry, but of course, I want them to complete their education.”

The education issue can sometimes be a problem between spouses despite the fact that women prefer submitting to the desires of their husbands in general. Even when the father denies sending the children to school, the mother can insist on it. The older women participate in decision process about the education of children. The older women are seen as the authority on such important topics.

The husband sometimes decides about whether a child is going to get higher education or not. Most of the women stated that decisions on children's education are not only made by the father, but also by the mother who feels it necessary to express their opinion about the education of their children. For some of them, decisions regarding the education of their children should be taken by both of them. On the other hand, some of the mother-in-laws care the decisions of

daughter-in-laws about the education of their grandchildren. However, some of them deny their daughter-in-laws the right to say something during the process of making decisions. Specially, some mother-in-laws deny their daughter-in-laws the right to make decisions about their grandchildren. Furthermore, some of these women are enthusiastic about literacy. One of them goes to a writing- reading course. She is too enthusiastic about writing and reading.

Refika:

“I am going a course which was opened by the state. I learn how to read and write. I have already learned them.”

On the other hand, a woman who wanted to send her daughter to school, forces her husband and mother-in-law to give permission. She can be beaten by her husband because of her insistence. Most of these women think that if their child goes to school and this child is female, they become emancipatory. They think that their households do not care their education because these women did not go to school and did not become emancipatory. Because of this they insist on sending their daughters to school.

Their interest in education increased in a parallelism with their experiences in city life. The profile of mothers and fathers who were very conservative about especially sending their children to school has started to change with city life. Nonetheless, on the other hand, economic inadequacy strongly reveals the belief that mothers have about children's entering into work life.

### **6.1.2. Language Policies**

The language of a society is built over the language of that society. For a society to survive and maintain its differences it needs to transfer its native language into its children. Firstly, they think differently about education in the mother-tongue. Some of them defend education in the mother-tongue, and the rest of them defend the opposite, but they accomplish freedom of speech in the mother-tongue in public space.



Hatun says:

“My girl, it does not matter whether we have our education in our native language or not. What unites us is our religion. We already speak in Kurdish at home and it is enough for us. We cannot send our children to school because of financial problems, so it is nonsense to ask for a system of education in Kurdish. On the other hand, some of them defend education in mother-tongue.”

Ayse says:

“Of course our children should learn their native language. Thanks to God, I pay attention to speaking in Kurdish even at home. If they have not forgotten how to speak in Kurdish even among such crowds of Turkish people, they will never forget their native language.”

Nur:

“There are ones who forget our language even in our home-country. Our children do not forget their native language although they have to speak Turkish only in schools and other governmental places here. Anyway, we try to protect and maintain our native language and culture with all our effort.”

According to Kandiyoti (1997), Kurdish women learn Turkish more lately than Kurdish men even though the Kurdish women come across Turkish language and national Turkish organizations. This shows that Kurdish women are still the bearer of their own language.

Refika:

“We, women, come and go to each other. We cook our traditional dishes when we come together. We eat together and share our sorrows and problems. We speak in Kurdish when we come together. However, we like also the other neighbors of ours. They are also good people, but one’s relatives have a different place from any other person.”

They feel relaxed in their ethnical communities. They say they miss their villages, but when they come together, they say they feel as if they were in their village. According to them, speaking their mother-tongue is a privilege for them and they are proud of speaking in Kurdish among themselves.

One manifestation of integration is speaking the mother-tongue. They speak in Kurdish although they are looked down when they speak in their mother-tongue. Furthermore, they faced many problems related to their “Kurdishness”. However, they develop some tactics by performing their everyday practices. Some of them do not give up their mother-tongue in the city and speak in Kurdish although they face in Turkish organizations and they have to speak in Turkish.

Furthermore, the micro-processes of talks become the macro-structure of the organization. Kurdish women constitute ethnical organization while speaking Kurdish. Thereby they feel less ‘Otherness’ and unsecured. “They constitute their ethnical community as well”. (Cerulo, 1997:18) In this ethnic community or enclave they gain strong solidarity. And they both integrate with the other and their ethnic enclave in the city.

These state services are about getting education, rights and sense of speaking the mother-tongue. These women think differently about getting education in the mother-tongue. Some of them see it unnecessary, while some of them see it necessary. On the other hand, they do not send their children to school because they do not have suitable economic conditions. This lack of economic conditions creates a challenge against the integration of their children. However, their children are included into labor market at early ages because of the conditions of city life. They integrate into society. For instance, going to the mosque for religious education in only summer months provides their children’s integration.

I can say that their greatest difference is language, which is the only field in which they do not see themselves differentiated although it is their native language because they say that they show their Kurdishness and ethnic identity through the differences in practices within daily life. There are some people who see Kurdish as a right that should be given by the government to them. There are also some people who find it sufficient that Kurdish should be spoken within family. However, they all accept that they have to act cooperatively in passing their native language on to next generation through either government or their own effort.

## CONCLUSION

Most of gender studies focus on only the concerns and priorities of the white feminist perspective of the white. However, there are many perspectives based on cultural differences and experiences. The study of gender can no longer be assumed to be focused on the experiences of white, middle class women, but must be examined in terms of differences of culture, ethnicity and the implications this has for women and their personal experiences. The pattern of gender relations for Kurdish women shows that there are different claims and affiliation perspectives of feminists, in public and private domain, experienced by Kurdish women. Furthermore, there is a strong relation between their ethnicities and gender identities in the context of everyday practice. I have emphasized the affiliation of identity and practice of everyday life, because I believe that their everyday practices are not independent from their identity. Moreover, differences of their everyday practice are not the only source of social inequality; also they are influenced by living in urban side and by the style of urban consumption. Ethnicity is deeply embedded in women's lives and their identities. It defines and determines the main parameters of women's lives and their practices. On the other hand, related to various aspects of women roles in decision-making, these women's decision is limited to immediate everyday issues. Their everyday practice rooted in their ethnic identity may change in the context of social environment. On the other hand, some of everyday practices, which provide their ethnic solidarity, get stronger in the urban space. In relation to everyday duties, such as shopping, taking children to school and paying the bills nearly all women have authority, and they do not need to ask their husbands, contrary to their tradition since it has already been considered as their responsibility. However,, older women are much more uncomfortable about letting their brides to be independently going out as they want. Older women have authority in family as they have in rural. Men lost their own authority anyway and older women dominate the decisions regarding matters outside home and related to money such as visiting friends, and even organizing family budget. Women who do not work constitute the lower rank of decision-making process. It can be seen as a transformation from men's authority to women's authority. However, these young migrant women obtain the right to

make decisions and say something as long as they participate in labor market. They preserve ethnic features and traditions in family and out of family. Women's entry into business world forces the organization of relations and gender roles by elderly women and men. Somewhat some traditions are broken in this field.

On the other hand, debates indicate that in urban places which have consumption culture, individuals' daily lives change from ethnical to the ideal one. These women transform some everyday practices and ethnic traditions into urban lifestyle by dominating labor market and participating in consumption. Nonetheless, they are not exposed to assimilation. They develop many strategies for resisting 'Sameness' and 'Turkishness' in consumption, so it can be said that there are two areas that transform their everyday practices based on their ethnic identity. One of them is work life. The other is participating in consumption in urban lifestyle. Their consumption and practices of everyday life are changed with urbanization and through the process of migration. They enter a new social environment and this leads them to redefine and reproduce 'Us' and 'Other'. Therefore, it starts a new process of re-construction of identity for them. Based on this new identity, practices of everyday life change as coping strategies provide solidarity in the urban context. These coping strategies make their integration easy in urban life as well.

These women maintain their Kurdish traditions and ethnicity in family. In family gender roles, hierarchy, authority, power of men over women based on their ethnic identity, extended family structure, and endogamy are common traditions applied on Kurdish women. Extended family structure, endogamy, the authority of elderly women and the power of men over women provide solidarity between households and it contributes to the continuation of Kurdish traditions in the city.

Furthermore, division of labor and sharing work in household are accepted according to what these women call "their Kurdish tradition". Anyway, this "Kurdish tradition" determines gender roles and duties in family (which is not different from traditional or patriarchal role distribution). This tradition is based on patriarchal structure. Young women get all responsibilities related to housework. Actually, there are two authorities for them. One of them is older women and the other is men. Young women experience double oppressions based on the authority of elderly women and men. Doing housework is divided sexually and hierarchically. Sexual division orders young women to do all work. Hierarchical division orders young women.

On the other hand, I have examined their relations between everyday practices out of family in order to understand their integration into city and with Turkish neighbors. In this sense, I observe they meet with their neighbors, perform consumption practices, and jump into work life which is a social area for them. According to my observation, meeting provides a stronger integration network to them. Women state that they feel less “other”. On the other hand, they contribute to meeting with their ethnic differences and features. They reproduce “us” and “other” in there. The strongest network which provides their integration is meeting with their Turkish neighbors.

The most interesting point for these women is related to their involvement in labor market. When these women enter into labor market, they force their gender roles in family and thereby they challenge the authority of elderly women and men. But this force is gradual. It directly does not undermine their authority. They also develop many coping strategies for integration. These coping strategies are divided into two parts. The first part is related to reproducing “otherness” by preserving ethnic features and identity. The subsequent part is related to struggle for survival in the urban by finding employment and participating in consumption. They both preserve ethnic features and identity.

The last part concludes their access to state services. These state services are about getting education, rights and sense of speaking the mother-tongue. These women think differently about getting education in the mother-tongue. Some of them see it unnecessary, while some of them see it necessary. On the other hand, they do not send their children to school because they do not have good economic conditions. This lack of sufficient economic condition creates a challenge against the integration of their children. However, their children participate in labor market at early ages because of the conditions of city life. They integrate into society. A factor such as going to the mosque for religious education in only summer months provides their children’s integration.

In sum, they both resist assimilation and become integrated. They integrate out of political structures and demands. That is, these women strive to identify their Kurdish identity with urban life after reconstruct their Kurdishness as social beings within society without being involved in politics. They develop strategies of resistance to be integrated within this process.

They all integrate into society. Their integration becomes easier owing to developing coping strategies. They preserve their ethnical features and ethnic identity and they reconstruct “us” and “other” in city. Some of their everyday practices are exposed to transformation and some traditional features of everyday practices go on in urban lifestyle. Even some of their ethnic rituals get stronger in urban by providing solidarity between them.

## **APPENDIX A**

### **QUESTIONS OF THE SEMI-STRUCTURED IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS**

#### **DEMOGRAPHIC**

- \*Place of Birth:
- \*Marital Status:
- \*Age of the interviewee
- \*Ages of the interviewee's husbands
- \*Number of children:
- \*Occupation of the interviewee
- \*Occupation of the interviewee's husband

#### **RELATIONS IN FAMILY**

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

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

### **RELATIONS OUT OF FAMILY**

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

### **SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ROLES OF WOMEN**

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



## **APPENDIX B**

### **SHORT LIFE STORIES OF PARTICIPANTS**

#### **Zehra:**

Zehra is aged-24. She is an employer. She has three children. Her husband's is her relative; he is her cousin. She got married in nineteen years old. She not only got married with her husband for being relative, she also has loved her husband. She stays with her mother-in-law, father-in-law, and two brothers-in-law. So, they are nine people in a home. She manages a small stock in neighborhood with two women employer. She has wear Kurdish traditional clothes less than other participant of this study do.

#### **Ayşe:**

Ayşe is aged-26. She has four children. She is hair designer. Her husband does not work. He is unemployed. She got married with her husband in traditional way. Her relation with her neighbors is very well. She can communicate with her neighbors easily rather than other participant in this study. She is very successful in her work. She also is very enthusiastic about working.

#### **Hatun:**

Hatun is aged-47. She is retired from working a factory. She has been living in İstanbul for 20 years. Her husband was dead. She got married with her husband 30 years ago. Her husband was her relative. She also got married in traditional way like other participants in this study. She has seven children. Her all children get married. Some of her children live different township of İstanbul. Some of them live different country of Turkey. She stays with her biggest son and bride. She also is mother-in-law.

#### **Kevser:**

She is aged-28. She is not working now. But, she worked part-time jobs. She had done cleaning of her neighbors' stair, carpet, baby sitting and so on. Her husband is driver. He has just found this job. Her husband is her relative. She got married eighteen. She has two children. She is literacy. She went to school until primary school. Her husband is literacy. Her two children go to school.

**Nur:**

She is aged-34. She is employer. She works with two employers. She was married in sixteen years. She has six children. Two of her children go to school. Four of them work various jobs. Her husband is her relative. She is illiterate. Her husband is literacy. She is living with her mother-in-law, father-in-law, two sister-in-law, husband and children.

**Kudret:**

She is aged-42. She is retired. Her husband was dead. She is mother-in-law. She has seven children. Six of them are married. She has twenty-four grandchildren. She was married in fourteen. She has been living for seventeen years in Istanbul. She is illiterate. She was married in fourteen. She has been living for seventeen years. She is living her bride, son and four grandchildren.

**Fatma:**

She is 30. She is cook. Her husband is driver. He is aged-37. He is her relative. He is taxi-driver. He has just working for 5 months. He does not work regularly. She has five children. She has been living with her mother-in-law, father-in-law, sister-in-law, children and husband. She is illiterate. Her husband is literacy. He went to school until middle school. The four of her children go to school. One of them works in a market as a seller.

**Başak:**

She is aged-32. She works various jobs include cleaning of her neighbors' carpet, stair, baby sitting and so on. Her husband is driver. He transports various goods for a factory. Her husband is her relative. She has four children. She stays with her mother-in-law, one brother-in-law, sister-in-law, children and husband. She has never gone to school. She is illiterate. Her husband is literacy. He has gone to school until last of primary school. Her all children go to school.

**Hacer:**

She is aged-37. She is housewife. She has six children. She state that she cannot find time to work. Her husband is a civil servant in a hospital. She will be a mother-in-la in one year. Her

biggest son will be married after eight months. Her husband is her relative. Her future's bride is her sister's girl. Endogamy is very widespread in these families. She is illiterate. Her husband is illiterate too. Their all children are literacy. They went to school or they go to school. Her biggest son is teacher. One of her children prepare for university. The rest of them go to primary, secondary and high school.

**Aysel:**

She is aged-33. She is self-employed. She does various jobs include cleans neighbor' carpet, stair, baby-sitting like Başak and Kevser. Her husband is sales person. Her husband is her relative. She has five children. She stays with her mother-in-law, father-in-law, husband and children. She is illiterate. She is very enthusiastic about reading-writing. She wanted to go given a reading-writing course by the state. But, her mother-in-law has not allowed to her. She tries to send to school her children.

**Feride:**

She is aged-39. She is sales person in a market. Her husband also is sales person in a different market. Her husband is her relative. She has five children. She is living with her mother-in-law, father-in-law, husband and children. She is illiterate. But, she knows Arabic in reading. She tries to learn to her children too. All her children cannot go to school. Only two of them can go to school. The rest of them work at various jobs. Her husband is literacy. He has gone to school until high school. Her husband knows Arabic in reading and writing.

**Remziye:**

She is aged-34. She is self-employed. She earns the money by knitting wool sweater for her neighbors' and their children. She did kin-marriage. She has four children. All of them work various job. They cannot go to school for lack of economic possibilities. She is illiterate. Her husband is literacy. He went to school until primary school. He is security guard.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Anthias, Floya, & Yuval-Davis, Nira (1992). *“Racialized boundaries. Race, nation, gender colour and class and the anti-racist struggle”*. London, Routledge.

Akpınar. A. (2003), “The Honour/Shame Complex Revisited: Violence against Women in The Migration Context” *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Vol. 26, No. 5, pp. 425 – 442,

Alba, R. & Nee, V. (1997), “Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration” *International Migration Review*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 826-874.

Anderson. Benedict. (1983). *“imagined communities”*, New York: Verso.

Aydoğan. A. (2000)” *Şehir ve Cemiyet: Weber, Tönnies, Simmel”*, iz yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Bauman, Zygmunt(2001), *“ The individualized Society”*, Blackwell Publisher Ltd. Oxford, UK

Beach, W.G.(1934), Some Considerations in Regard to Race Segregation in California, *Sociology and Social Research*, 18, pp. 340-50.

Bhopal, K. (1997) *Gender, race and patriarchy, A study of south Asian women*, London: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Burke,J.P, (2006), Social Psychology Quarterly, *American sociological association*, vol. 69, No. 1 pp. 81-96.

Butler, J. (1989), Foucault and the Paradox of Bodily Inscriptions, *The Journal of Philosophy*, *Eighty-Sixth Annual Meeting American Philosophical Association*, Vol. 86, No. 11,pp. 601-607.

Cerulo, K, A. (1997), Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 23, pp. 5-40.

Connell, R.W,(1998), *Toplumsal İktidar ve Cinsiyet*, Istanbul, Ayrıntı Press.

Çaha, Ö, (1996), *Sivil Kadın 'Türkiye'de sivil toplum ve kadın'*, Ankara, Vadi yayınları,

Çınar. A. & Bender.T. (2007)"*Urban Imaginers: Locating the Modern City*", university of Minnesota Press, London.

Davis, K. (1973) "Cities: Their Origin, Growth and Human Impact",San Francisco: wh. Freeman and company

Delaney, C. (1991)."*The Seed and The Soil: Gender and Cosmology in Turkish Village Society*",University of California press, oxford, England.

Eliot, B.& D. Macrone(1982) "*The City Patterns of Domination and Conflict*",Londra: Macmillan

Fearon. D. J. & Latin D. D. (Autumn, 2000), "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic identity" *International Organization, Mit press, Vol. 54, No. 4* pp. 845-877.

Gardiner M. E. (2000), "*Introduction*", *Critiques of Everyday Life, Routledge*, pp. 1-23;

Gardiner, M. E. (2000), "Henri Lefebvre: *Philosopher of the Ordinary*", *Critiques of Everyday Life, Routledge*, pp. 71-101.

Gardiner, M. E. (2000), "Micheal de Certeau: *The Cunning of Unreason*", *Critiques of Everyday Life, Routledge*, pp. 157-179.

Gist.N. P.&Fava. S.F. (1967) “*Urban Society*”, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.

Goddard, V. A. (1987). “*Honour and shame: The control of women’s sexuality and group identity in Naples*”. In Patricia Caplan (Ed.), *The cultural construction of sexuality*. London:Tavistock Publications.

Habib, N. (1996) “The research for home”, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 9(1), pp.96-102

Hermanowicz, J. & Morgan, H. (1999), “*Ritualizing the routine: collective identity affirmation*”, *Sociological Forum*, vol.14, No. 2, p.1.

Heckmann Y. (2002). *Kürtlerde Aşiret ve Akrabalık İlişkileri*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayıncılık,

Heckmann, F. (2003), “*From Ethnic Nation to Universalistic Immigrant Integration: Germany*” in F.Heckmann, D.Schnapper (ed.) *The Integration of Immigrants in Europe Societies: National Differences and Trends of Convergence*, Stuttgart: Lucius and Lucius.

Hungtinton. S. P. (2004). *Who are we? The challenges to American’s National identity*, New york, Simon & Schuster.

Isajiw, W.W. (1999) “*Understanding Diversity, Ethnicity, and Race in Canadian Context*” Toronto: Thompson educational Publishing, Inc.

Kandiyoti, D. (1997), *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurtdaşlar ‘Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler’*, İstanbul, Metis yayınları.

Karpat, K.(2003). “*Türkiye’de Yapısal Dönüşüm*”, İmge kitabevi yayınları, Ankara

Kaya. E. (2003)“*Kentleşme ve Kentlileşme*”, Ilke yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Küçükcan,T.& Güngör, V. (Eds.) (2009), *Turks in Europe*, Turkevi Research Center, Netherland.

Laclau, E. (1995), *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, London, Verso.

Marvin.B.Sussman & Lee Burchinal, (1962) “*Reappraising Kin Networks in Urban Society*”, American Sociological Association, Washington

Miles, R. (1980) *Racism and Migrant Labour*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Oakley, A. (1989) ‘Women’s Studies in British Sociology: The End at Our Beginning’,*The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.40, Number 3, pp.441-470.

Öncü. A. & Weyland. P. (2000) “ *Mekan, Kültür, İktidar: Küreselleşen Kentlerde Kimlikler*”, İletişim yayınlr, İstanbul.

Park, R. E & Burgess, E.W. (1969). *Introduction to the science of sociology*, Chicago, Chicago of University Press.

Phizacklea, A and Wolkowitz, C. (1995), *Homeworking Women: Gender, Fascism and Class at work*, London, Sage Publications.

Sanders, J. (2002), M. “Ethnic Boundaries and Identity in Plural Societies”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 28, pp. 327-357.

Saunders, P. (1986), "*Social Theory and The Urban Question*" Londra , Hutchinson.

Secor, A. "There Is an Istanbul That Belongs to Me": Citizenship, Space, and Identity in the City, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (Jun., 2004), pp.352-368.

Sinclair, N.T. (1998) "*Women and Skill; Economic Theories and Feminist Perspective*", in Radcliffe, M. and Sinclair, N.T., Roudledge.

Smith, Philip (2001), "*Cultural theory: an introduction*", Blackwell, Oxford

Thompson, S. (1974), "Survival of Ethnicity in the Japanese Community of Lima", Peru, *Urban Anthropology*, pp.243-261

Yeğen, M. (1999), "*Devlet söyleminde Kürt sorunu*", İstanbul, İletişim.